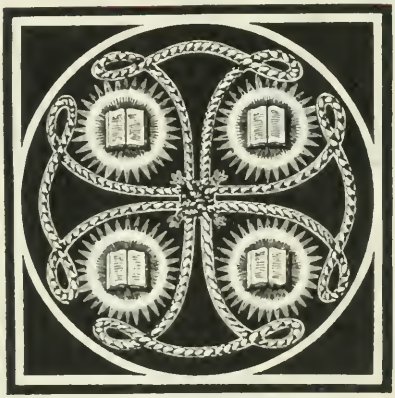
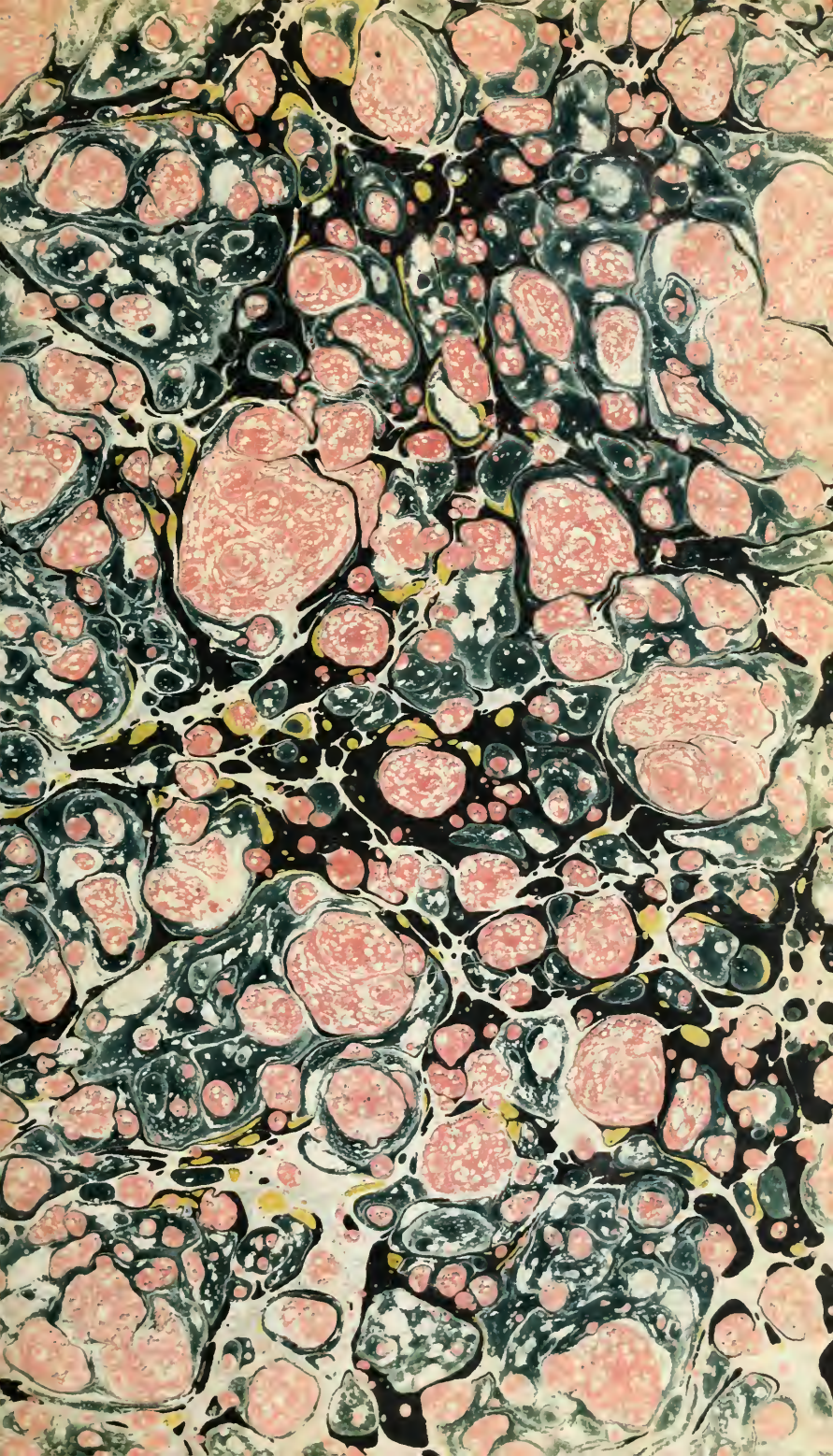


Non de errore neque in dolo

JAMES·HARDY·ROPES



UCSB LIBRARY
X-00133

THE

WORKS

OF THE

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JOSEPH HALL, D.D.

SUCCESSIVELY BISHOP OF EXETER AND NORWICH:

NOW FIRST COLLECTED.

WITH SOME

ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE AND SUFFERINGS,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

ARRANGED AND REVISED,

WITH A GLOSSARY, INDEX, AND OCCASIONAL NOTES,

BY JOSIAH PRATT, B.D. F.A.S.

LECTURER OF THE UNITED PARISHES OF ST. MARY WOOLNOTH AND ST. MARY WOOLCHURCH HAW, AND LADY CAMDEN'S WEDNESDAY EVENING LECTURER AT THE CHURCH OF ST. LAWRENCE JEWRY, LONDON.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

VOL. IX.—POLEMICAL WORKS

LONDON:

PRINTED BY C. WHITTINGHAM,
Goswell Street;
FOR WILLIAMS AND SMITH, STATIONERS' COURT;
J. BURDITT; BYFIELD AND SON; T. CONDER; J. HATCHARD; MATHEWS AND LEIGH; J. NUNN; F. C. AND J. RIVINGTON; L. B. SEELEY; VERNOR, HOOD, AND SHARPE; J. WALKER; AND J. WHITE.

1808.

CONTENTS OF VOL. IX.

POLEMICAL WORKS.

PART FIRST: ON THE QUESTIONS BETWEEN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE CHURCH OF ROME.

Page

I. A SERIOUS DISSUASION FROM POPERY. To W. D. REVOLTED, &c..... 3

II. NO PEACE WITH ROME. WHEREIN IS PROVED, THAT, AS TERMS NOW STAND, THERE CAN BE NO RECONCILIATION OF THE REFORMED RELIGION WITH THE ROMISH: AND THAT THE ROMANISTS ARE IN ALL THE FAULT. WRITTEN FIRST IN LATIN, AND NOW ENGLISHED.

Dedication to the True, Sound, and Holy Church of God..... 27
Opinion of George Cassander..... 28
INTRODUCTION:
Sect. 1. THE STATE OF THE NOW ROMAN CHURCH 29
Sect. 2. THE COMMODITIES AND CONDITIONS OF PEACE..... 32
Chap. I. Impossibility of Reconciliation, from the OBSTINATE AND ADVERSE DISPOSITION OF THE ROMANISTS..... 33
Chap. II. Impossibility of Reconciliation, from the NATURE OF THE MATTERS CONTROVERTED.
Sect. 1. FROM THE IMPURATION OR CORRUPTION OF THE ROMAN CHURCH..... 38
Sect. 2. FROM THE WILFUL FABLE OF THE POPE'S INFALLIBILITY..... 40
Sect. 3. FROM THOSE OPINIONS OF THE ROMANISTS, WHICH CHIEFLY RESPECT MEN:— 43
Concerning
(1.) *Justification*..... 44
(2.) *Free-Will*..... 47
(3.) *Merits*..... 50
(4.) *Satisfaction*..... 52
(5.) *Purgatory*..... 54
(6.) *Indulgences and Pardons*..... 56
(7.) *Mortal and Venial Sins*..... 57
Sect. 4. FROM THOSE OPINIONS OF THE ROMANISTS, WHICH CHIEFLY RESPECT GOD:— 59
(1.) Concerning *Scripture*:..... ib.
[1.] Its Canon..... 60
[2.] Its Insufficiency..... ib.
[3.] Its Authority..... 62
(2.) Concerning *the Person and Offices of Christ*: 63
[1.] Against his Person, are
(a.) Transubstantiation..... ib.
(b.) The Multi-presence of his Body 64
[2.] Against his Priestly Office, are
(a.) The Sacrifice of the Mass..... 66
(b.) The Number of Mediators, and the Invocation of Saints..... 67
(3.) Concerning *the Superstitious, Heathenish, and Ridiculous Worship of the Papists*.. 69

Page

Chap. III. Impossibility of the MEANS of Reconciliation..... 72

III. THE HONOUR OF THE MARRIED CLERGY, MAINTAINED AGAINST THE MALICIOUS CHALLENGES OF C. E., MASS-PRIEST: OR, THE APOLOGY WRITTEN SOME YEARS SINCE FOR THE MARRIAGE OF PERSONS ECCLESIASTICAL, MADE GOOD, AGAINST THE CAVILS OF C. E. PSEUDO-CATHOLIC PRIEST.

Dedication to the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY..... 79
The Answer to the Advertisement..... 83
Book I..... 87
Book II..... 142
Book III..... 170
The Conclusion..... 200
Rotomagensis Anonymus. An liceat Sacerdotibus inire Matrimonia..... 202
——— Englished..... 207
Judgment of Erasmus..... 212

IV. REVERENDISSIMO VIRO Dº MARCO ANTONIO DE DOMINIS, ARCHIEPISCOPO SPALATENSI, EPISTOLA DISCESSUS SUI AD ROMAN DISSUASORIA..... 214

V. THE OLD RELIGION: A TREATISE, WHEREIN IS LAID DOWN THE TRUE STATE OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWIXT THE REFORMED AND ROMAN CHURCH, AND THE BLAME OF THIS SCHISM IS CAST UPON THE TRUE AUTHORS. SERVING FOR THE VINDICATION OF OUR INNOCENCE, FOR THE SETTLING OF WAVERING MINDS, FOR A PRESERVATION AGAINST POPISH INSINUATIONS. WITH AN ADVERTISEMENT FOR SUCH READERS, AS FORMERLY STUMBLED AT SOME PASSAGES IN THE BOOK.

Dedication to the Diocese of Exeter..... 223

INTRODUCTION.

Sect. 1. The Extent of the Differences betwixt the Churches 228
Sect. 2. The Original of the Differences betwixt the Churches 230
Sect. 3. The Reformed unjustly charged with Novelty, Heresy, Schism..... 233
Sect. 4. The Church of Rome guilty of this Schism..... 236

Chap. I. On JUSTIFICATION BY INHERENT RIGHTEOUSNESS..... 238
Sect. 1. Its Newness..... 239
Sect. 2. Against Scripture..... 242
Sect. 3. Against Reason..... 244

Chap. II. On the Doctrine of MERIT..... 245
Sect. 1. Its Newness..... ib.
Sect. 2. Against Scripture..... 246
Sect. 3. Against Reason..... 247

Chap. III. On the Doctrine of TRANSUBSTANTIATION..... 248
Sect. 1. Its Newness..... 249
Sect. 2. Against Scripture..... 252
Sect. 3. Against Reason..... 253

Chap. IV. On the HALF-COMMUNION.
Sect. 1. Its Newness..... 255
Sect. 2. Against Scripture..... 256
Sect. 3. Against Reason..... 257

Page

Chap. V. On the SACRIFICE OF THE MASS.
Sect. 1. Its Newness ... 258
Sect. 2. Against Scripture ... 259
Sect. 3. Against Reason ... 260

Chap. VI. On the WORSHIP OF IMAGES.
Sect. 1. Its Newness ... 261
Sect. 2. Against Scripture ... 263
Sect. 3. Against Reason ... 264

Chap. VII. On INDULGENCES and PURGATORY.
Sect. 1. Their Newness ... 265
Sect. 2. Against Scripture ... 268
Sect. 3. Against Reason ... 269

Chap. VIII. On DIVINE SERVICE IN AN UNKNOWN TONGUE.
Sect. 1. Its newness ... 270
Sect. 2. Against Scripture ... 271
Sect. 3. Against Reason ... 272

Chap. IX. On FULL AND FORCED SACRAMENTAL CONFESSION.
Sect. 1. Its Newness ... 274
Sect. 2. Against Scripture ... 275
Sect. 3. Against Reason ... 276
Sect. 4. The Novelty of Absolution before Satisfaction ... 277

Chap. X. On THE INVOCATION OF SAINTS.
Sect. 1. Its Newness ... 278
Sect. 2. Against Scripture ... 280
Sect. 3. Against Reason ... 281

Chap. XI. On SEVEN SACRAMENTS.
Sect. 1. Their Newness ... 282
Sect. 2. Against Scripture ... 284
Sect. 3. Against Reason ... ib.

Chap. XII. On the Romish Doctrine of TRADITIONS.
Sect. 1. Its Newness ... 285
Sect. 2. Against Scripture ... 287
Sect. 3. Against Reason ... 289

Chap. XIII. On the ENCROACHMENTS OF THE BISHOP OF ROME.
Sect. 1. The Newness of the Universal Headship of the Bishop of Rome ... 290
Sect. 2. The Newness of Challenged Infallibility ... 293
Sect. 3. The Newness of the Pope's Superiority to General Councils ... ib.
Sect. 4. The New Presumption of Papal Dispensations ... 294
Sect. 5. The New Challenge of Popes' domineering over Kings and Emperors ... 295

Chap. XIV. The EPILOGUE, both of EXHORTATION and APOLOGY ... 297

An Apologetical Advertisement to the Reader ... 301

VI. THE RECONCILER. AN EPISTLE PACIFICATORY OF THE SEEMING DIFFERENCES OF OPINION, CONCERNING THE NEWNESS AND VISIBILITY OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.

Address from Bp Hall to Edward Earl of Norwich ... 309
Letter from Bp. Hall to the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield ... 317
Answer from the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield to Bp. Hall ... 318
Letter from Bp. Hall to the Bishop of Salisbury ... 319
Answer from the Bishop of Salisbury to Bp. Hall ... 320

Page
Letter from Bp. Hall to the Rev. Dr. Prideaux 321
Answer from Dr. Prideaux to Bp. Hall. 322
Letter from Bp Hall to the Rev. Dr. Primrose 324
Answer from Dr. Primrose to Bp. Hall ..... ib.
Letter from Bp. Hall to Mr. H. Chomley 332

VII. CERTAIN CATHOLIC PROPOSITIONS, WHICH A DEVOUT SON OF THE CHURCH HUMBLY OFFERS TO THE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF ALL INGENUOUS CHRISTIANS, WHERESOEVER DISPERSED ALL THE WORLD OVER 335

VIII. INURBANITATI PONTIFICIÆ RESPONSIO.—AN ANSWER TO POPE URBAN'S INURBANITY: EXPRESSED IN A BRIEF SENT TO LEWIS THE FRENCH KING, EXASPERATING HIM AGAINST THE PROTESTANTS IN FRANCE. WRITTEN IN LATIN BY THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, JOSEPH, LORD BISHOP OF EXETER. TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY HIS SON, ROBERT HALL, MASTER OF ARTS, IN EXETER COLLEGE, IN OXFORD..... 343

IX. A LETTER PARÆNETICAL TO A WORTHY KNIGHT, READY TO REVOLT FROM THE RELIGION ESTABLISHED 364

X. A PLAIN AND FAMILIAR EXPLICATION OF CHRIST'S PRESENCE IN THE SACRAMENT OF HIS BODY AND BLOOD, OUT OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. FOR THE SATISFYING OF A SCRUPULOUS FRIEND. ANNO 1631..... 368

PART SECOND: ON THE QUESTIONS BETWEEN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE DISSENTERS.

I. A COMMON APOLOGY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, AGAINST THE UNJUST CHALLENGES OF THE OVER-JUST SECT, COMMONLY CALLED BROWNISTS. WHEREIN THE GROUNDS AND DEFENCES OF THE SEPARATION ARE LARGELY DISCUSSED. OCCASIONED BY A LATE PAMPHLET, PUBLISHED UNDER THE NAME OF "AN ANSWER TO A CENSORIOUS EPISTLE."

Dedication to the Church of England 379

INTRODUCTION.

Section
1. The Answerer's Preamble—retorted—confuted. 382
2. The Parties written to and their Crime..... 384
The crime of Separation, how great 385
3. The Kinds of Separation, and which is just..... 386
4. The Antiquity and Examples of Separation 388
5. What Separation is to be made by Churches, in their Planting or Restoration 391
6. What Separation the Church of England hath made 393
7. Constitution of a Church—Faith, the First Part of Constitution 394
8. Order, the Second Part of Constitution, how far requisite, and whether hindered by Constraint 395
9. Constraint requisite 396
10. Constitution of the Church of England 398
11. The Answerer's Title 401
12. The Apostacy of the Church of England 402
13. The Separatists' Acknowledgments of the Graces of the Church of England 406
14. The Unnaturalness of some principal Separatists 408
15. What the Separatists think themselves beholden to the Church of England for 409

Section Page

16. The Motherhood of the Church of England, how far it obligeth us 411
17. The want of pretended Ordinances of God, whether sinful to us; and whether they are to be set up without Princes 412
18. The Bonds of God's Word unjustly pleaded by the Separatists ... 414
19. The Necessity of their pretended Ordinances 415
20. The Enormities of the Church, in common 416
21. The Church of England is the Spouse of Christ 417
22. How the Church of England hath separated from Babylon 418
23. The Separation made by our holy Martyrs 421
24. What Separation England hath made 422
25. The Main Grounds of Separation 423
The Prelacy of the Church of England 424
26. The Truth and Warrant of the Ministry of England 425
27. Confused Communion of the Profane 427
28. Our Errors, intermingled with Truth 428
29. Whether our Prelacy be Anti-christian 430
30. The Judgment and Practice of other Reformed Churches 432
31. Our Synod's determination of things indifferent 433
32. Sins sold in our Courts 435
33. Our Loyalty to Princes cleared: their's questioned 437
34. Errors of Free-will, &c. feigned upon the Church of England ... 438
35. Kneeling at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper 439
36. Whether our Ordinary, and Service-Book be made Idols by us... 440
37. Marriage not made a Sacrament by the Church of England 444
38. Commutation of Penance in our Church 446
39. Oath Ex Officio—Necessity of Confession 447
40. Holy-days how observed in the Church of England 448
41. Our Approbation of an Unlearned Ministry disproved 449
42. Penances enjoined in the Church of England 450
43. The Practices of the Church of England concerning the Funerals of the Dead 451
44. The Churches still retained in England 454
45. The Founders and Furnitures of our Churches 455
46. On what ground Separation or Ceremonies were objected 457
47. Estimation of Ceremonies, and Subjection to the Prelates 458
48. The State of the Temple, and of our Church in resemblance ... 461
49. Whether Ministers should endure themselves silenced 462
50. Power of Reforming Abuses given to the Church: and the Issue of the Neglect of it 464
51. The View of the Sins and Disorders of others, whereupon objected, and how far it should affect us 466
Separation from the world how required 467
52. The Nearness of the State and Church, and the Great Errors found by the Separatists in the French and Dutch Churches 468
53. Conversation with the World 471
54. The Impure Mixtures of the Church of England.—1. Canons. 2. Sin uncensured. 3. Hierarchy. 4. Service-Book 472
55. The Judgment of our own and our Neighbours of our Church ... 474
56. The Issue of Separation 476
57. The Brownists' scornful Opinion of our People 478
Conclusion. From the fearful Answer of Separation 479

II. A LETTER TO MR. WILLIAM STRUTHERS, ONE OF THE PREACHERS OF EDINBURGH 481

III. A LETTER FOR THE OBSERVATION OF THE FEAST OF CHRIST'S NATIVITY 490

Page

IV. CERTAIN IRREFRAGABLE PROPOSITIONS, WORTHY OF SERIOUS CONSIDERATION.

Dedication to the King 501
Seven Irrefragable Propositions, concerning Oaths and Covenants 502
Two, as undoubted, Propositions, concerning Church-Government. 504

V. EPISCOPACY BY DIVINE RIGHT, ASSERTED.

Dedication to King Charles 507
INTRODUCTION.
Section
1. An Expostulatory Entrance into the Question 510
2. The Difference of the Condition of Foreign Churches and Divines, from those of our Northern Neighbours. 512
3. The Judgment of the German Reformers, concerning the retaining of Episcopacy 514
4. The Attestation of Famous Divines abroad to our Episcopacy ... 515
5. The Particularity of the Difference in our Freedom, and the Benefit of a Monarchical Reformation 517
6. The Project and Substance of the Treatise following 521

Part First. POSTULATA.
Section
1. The First Ground, or Postulate:
That Government, whose Foundation is laid by Christ, and whose Fabric is raised by the Apostles, is of Divine Institution 522
2. The Second Ground:
The Practice and Recommendation of the Apostles, is sufficient Warrant for an Apostolical Institution 523
3. The Third Ground:
The Forms, ordained for the Church's Administration by the Apostles, were for Universal and Perpetual Use 524
4. The Fourth Ground:
The Universal Practice of the Church immediately succeeding the Apostolic Times, is a sure Commentary upon the Practice of the Apostles, and our best Direction.—The Two Famous Rules of Tertullian and St. Augustine, to this purpose, asserted 525
5. The Fifth Ground:
The Primitive Saints and Fathers neither would nor durst set up another Form of Government, different from that they received of the Apostles 531
6. The Sixth Ground:
If the next Successors would have innovated the Form of Government; yet they would not, in so short a space, have diffused it through the whole Christian World 533
7. The Seventh Ground:
The Ancientest Histories of the Church and Writings of the First Fathers, are rather to be believed in the report of the Primitive State of the Church, than the latest Authors 534
8. The Eighth Ground;
Those, whom the Ancient Church of God and all the Holy Fathers of the Church since, have condemned for Heretics, are no fit guides for us to follow, in that their judgment of the Government for which they were so condemned 536
9. The Ninth Ground:
The Accession of Honourable Titles and Compatible Privileges, makes no Difference in the substance of a Lawful and Holy Calling 537

Section Page

10. The Tenth Ground:
Those Scriptures, whereon a New and Different Form of Government is raised, had need to be more evident and unquestionable, than those which are alleged for the former that is rejected 538
11. The Eleventh Ground:
If Christ had left this pretended Order of Government, it would have, ere this time, been agreed upon, what that Form is, and how to be managed 539
12. The Twelfth Ground:
If this, which is challenged, be the Kingdom of Christ; then, those Churches, which want any essential part of it, are mainly defective; and that there is scarce any at all entire 540
13. The Thirteenth Ground:
True Christian Policy requires not any thing absurd or impossible to be done ..... ib.
14. The Fourteenth Ground:
New Pretences of Truths never before heard of, especially in Main Points, carry just Cause of Suspicion 541
15. The Fifteenth Ground:
To depart from the Judgment and Practice of the Universal Church of Christ ever since the Apostles' Times, and to betake ourselves to a New Invention, cannot but be, besides the danger, vehemently scandalous 542

Part Second. Proofs.

1. The Terms and State of the Question, settled and agreed upon 544
2. Church Government begun by our Saviour in a manifest Imparity 548
3. The Execution of this Apostolical Power, after our Saviour's Ascent into Heaven 550
4. The Derivation of this Power and Majority, from the Apostles to the succeeding Bishops 551
5. The clear Testimonies of Scripture for this Majority, especially those out of the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, urged 554
6. Some Elusions of these Scriptures met with, and answered 557
7. The Testimony of St. John, in his Revelation, pressed 560
8. The Estate and Order of Episcopacy deduced from the Apostles to the Primitive Bishops 563
9. The Testimony and Assent of Bucer, and some famous French Divines 565
10. The Superiority and Jurisdiction of Bishops, proved by the Testimony of the First Fathers and Apostolical Men: and, first, of Clemens, the Partner of the Apostles 567
11. The Pregnant and Full Testimonies of the Holy Saint and Martyr Ignatius, urged 569
12. The Testimony of the Ancient Canons, called the Apostles' 578
13. The State and History of the Next Age 580
14. Proofs of the confessed Superiority of Bishops, from several Arguments out of Antiquity 582
15. Power of Ordination only in Bishops 583
16. Power of Jurisdiction appropriated to the Bishops, from the first 585
17. Exceptions against our Episcopacy answered, and, particularly of the Dissimilitude of our Bishops to the Primitive; especially in their Pomp and Perpetuity 587
18. The Practice of the Whole Christian Church, in all Times and Places, is for this Government by Bishops 591
19. Of the Suppression of Contrary Records: and the Sole Opposition of the Heretic Ærius 594

Section Page
20. The Vindication of those Fathers, which are pretended to second Ærius's Opinion ... 595
21. The Practice of the Waldenses and Albigenses, in allowance of Episcopal Government ... 597
22. The Government by Bishops both Universal and Unalterable ... 599

Part Third. On Lay Elders.

Section
1. The Appellation of Lay-Elders, and the State of the Question concerning them ... 602
2. No Lay-Elder ever mentioned or heard of, in the Times of the Gospel, in all the World, till this present age. The Texts of Scripture particularized, to the contrary ... 604
3. Lay-Eldership a mere Stranger to all Antiquity; which acknowledgeth no Presbyters, but Divines ... 607
4. St. Ambrose's Testimony, urged commonly for Lay-Elders, fully answered ... 609
5. The utter Disagreement and Irresolution of the Pretenders to the New Discipline, concerning the particular State of their Desired Government ... 611
6. The Imperfections and Defects which must needs be yielded to follow upon the Discipline Pretended; and the Necessary Inconveniences, that must attend it, in a Kingdom otherwise settled ... 613
7. The known Newness of this Invention, and the Quality of the late Authors of it ... 616

Conclusion.

1. A Recapitulation of the several Heads: and a vehement Exhortation to all Readers: and, first, to our Northern Brethren ... 619
2. An Exhortatory Conclusion to our Brethren at Home ... 623

VI. AN HUMBLE REMONSTRANCE to the high court of parliament ... 625

VII. A DEFENCE OF THE HUMBLE REMONSTRANCE, against the frivolous and false exceptions of Smectymnuus. Wherein the right of liturgy and episcopacy is clearly vindicated from the vain cavils and challenges of the answerers. Seconded, in way of appendance, with the judgment of the famous divine of the palatinate, D. Abrahamus Scultetus, late professor of divinity in the university of Heidelberg: concerning the divine right of episcopacy, and the no-right of lay-eldership: faithfully translated out of his latin ... 639

VIII. A SHORT ANSWER TO THE TEDIOUS VINDICATION OF SMECTYMNUUS ... 721

IX. A MODEST OFFER OF SOME MEET CONSIDERATIONS tendered to the learned prolocutor, and to the rest of the assembly of divines met at Westminster. 773

X. ΧΕΙΡΟΘΕΣΙΑ: or, the apostolic institution of imposition of hands, for confirmation, revived ... 785

XI. FOR EPISCOPACY AND LITURGY ... 811

PART THIRD: ON THE FIVE POINTS.

Page

I. VIA MEDIA: THE WAY OF PEACE: IN THE FIVE BUSY ARTICLES, COMMONLY KNOWN BY THE NAME OF ARMINIUS: TOUCHING, 1. PREDESTINATION. 2. THE EXTENT OF CHRIST'S DEATH. 3. MAN'S FREE-WILL AND CORRUPTION. 4. THE MANNER OF OUR CONVERSION TO GOD. 5. PERSEVERANCE. WHEREIN IS LAID FORTH SO FAIR AN ACCOMMODATION OF THE DIFFERENT OPINIONS, AS MAY CONTENT BOTH PARTS AND PROCURE HAPPY ACCORD 817

II. A LETTER CONCERNING FALLING AWAY FROM GRACE 845

III. D. BALTHASARI WILLIO, S. THEOLOGIÆ D. ET IN BREMENSI ECCLESIA PROFESSORI EPISTOLA 849

IV. D. LUDOVICO CROCIO, S. THEOLOGIÆ D. ET IN ILLUSTRI SCHOLA BREMENSI PROFESSORI EPISTOLA 853

V. D. HERMANNO HILDEBRANDO, S.T.D., STI. STEPH. ECCLESIÆ BREMENSIS PASTORI VIGILANTISSIMO EPISTOLA 860

POLEMICAL WORKS.

PART FIRST.

ON THE

QUESTIONS

BETWEEN

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

AND

THE CHURCH OF ROME.

A

SERIOUS

DISSUASION FROM POPERY.

BY JOSEPH HALL.

To W. D. REVOLTED, &c.

You challenged me, for my bold assertion of your manifold divisions: I do here make it good, with usury.

Those mouths, that say they teach you the truth, say also, and you have believed them, that they all teach the same. As you find them true in this, so trust them in the other.

For me, I cannot, without indignation, see, that, in this light of the Gospel, God and his truth should thus be losers by you; and that a miserable soul should suffer itself, to be thus grossly cozened of itself and glory. Many can write to you with more profoundness; none, with more sincere fervency, and desire to save you.

I call heaven and earth to record against you this day, that, if you relent or answer not, your perishing is wilful. We may pity your weakness, but God shall plague your Apostasy. If you had been bred in blindness, your ignorance had been but lamentable; now, your choice and love of darkness is fearful and desperate.

Alas! you cannot be condemned, without our sorrow and shame. What should we do? We can but entreat, persuade, protest, mourn, and gage our souls for yours: if these avail not, who can remedy that, which will perish? Hear this yet, you weak Revolter, if there be any care left in you of that soul, which you have thus prostituted to error; if you have any regard to that God, whose simple truth you have contemned and forsaken. What is this, that hath driven you from us, allured you to them? For God's sake, let me but expostulate a little, ere my silence. Either be convicted, or inexcusable.

1. OUR BAD LIVES have set you off:—

Woe is me, that they are no holier! I bewail our wickedness: I defend it not.

Only ask how they live in Italy: if they be not, for the more part, filths to the worst of ours, go with them and prosper. Let all indifferent tongues say, whether that very See, whereon your faith depends, even within the smoke of his Holiness, be not, for viciousness, the sink of the world. We may condemn ourselves: their lives shall justify us.

But you list not to look so far: you see their lives at home; you see ours:—The comparison is not equal: they take this, for the time of their persecution; we, of our prosperity. The stubbornest Israelite and the most godless mariner could call upon God, in his trouble. We are all worse with liberty. Look back, and see how they lived, in former times, while they prospered: "No Turks," saith Erasmus, "more abominably;" though now, at the worst, how many holy professors might you find, which would scorn that the most strict Hermit or austere Cappucin, should go before them in a gracious life, and in true mortification! Even amongst twelve, there will be one devil. I wish they were so good, that we might emulate them: but, for my part, I never yet could know that Papist, which made conscience of all God's ten moral laws.

Shortly, whatsoever is upbraided to us; the truth is pure, though men be unholy; and God is where he was, whatsoever becomes of men.

For you, if you had not fallen to cool affections and a loose life, you had been still ours. It is just with God, to punish your secure negligence with error and delusion; and to suffer you thus to lose the truth, who had lost your care of obedience and first love. And now you do well to shift off this blame to others' sins, which have most cause to accuse your own.

2. From Manners to look towards our Doctrine: THE NOVELTY OF OUR RELIGION, you say, hath discouraged you: theirs hath drawn you with the reverence of her age:—

It is a free challenge betwixt us: let the elder have us both. If there be any point of our religion younger than the Patriarchs and Prophets, Christ and his Apostles, the Fathers and Doctors of the Primitive Church, let it be accursed, and condemned for an upstart. Shew us evidence of more credit and age, and carry it.

The Church of Rome hath been ancient; not the errors: neither do we in ought differ from it, wherein it is not departed from itself.

If I did not more fear your weariness, than my own; forgetting the measure of a Preface, I would pass through every point of difference betwixt us; and let you see in all particulars, which is the old way: and make you know, that your Popish Religion doth put on a borrowed visor of gravity upon this stage, to out-face true antiquity: yet, lest you should complain of words, let me, without your tediousness, have leave but to instance in the first of all controversies betwixt us; offering the same proof in all, which you shall see performed in one. I compare the judgment of the ancient

Church with yours: see, therefore, and be ashamed of your novelty.

(1.) First, our question is, Whether all those books, which in our bibles are styled Apocryphal, and are put after the rest by themselves *, are to be received as the true Scriptures of God:—

Hear, first, the voice of the Old Church.

To let pass that clear and pregnant testimony of Melito Sardensis, in his Epistle to Onesimus, cited by Eusebius †; let Cyprian, or Ruffinus rather ‡, speak in the name of all. "Of the Old Testament," saith he, "first were written the five books of Moses; Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy: after these, the book of Joshua, the son of Nun; and that of the Judges, together with Ruth: after which, were the four books of the Kings, which the Hebrews reckon but two; of the Chronicles, which is called the Book of Days; and of Ezra are two books, which of them are accounted but single; and the book of Esther: of the Prophets, there is Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel; and, besides, one book, which contains the Twelve Smaller Prophets: also Job, and the Psalms of David, are single books: of Solomon, there are three books delivered to the Church; the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs. In these, they have shut up the number of the books of the Old Testament. Of the New, there are Four Gospels, of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the Acts of the Apostles, written by Luke: of Paul, the Apostle, fourteen Epistles; of the Apostle Peter, two Epistles; of James, the Lord's Brother and Apostle, one; of Jude, one; of John, three: lastly, the Revelation of John. These are they, which the Fathers have accounted within the Canon, by which they would have the assertions of our faith made good. But we must know there are other books, which are called of the Ancients, not Canonical, but Ecclesiastical; as the Wisdom of Solomon: and another book of Wisdom, which is called "of Jesus, the son of Sirach;" which book, of the Latins is termed by a general name Ecclesiasticus: of the same rank is the book of Toby and Judith, and the books of the Maccabees." Thus far that Father. So Jerome, after that he hath reckoned up the same number of books with us in their order, hath these words: "This Prologue of mine," saith he ‡, "may serve as a well defenced entrance to all the books, which I have turned out of Hebrew into Latin; that we may know, that whatsoever is besides these, is Apocryphal: therefore, that book, which is entitled Solomon's Wisdom, and the book of Jesus the Son of

* Especially, Toby, Judith, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Maccabees.

† Euseb. l. iv. c. 25. ‡ Exposit. Symboli Veteris Instrumenti. *Primi omnium Mosis quinque libri, &c....Hæc sunt, quæ Patres intra Canonem concluserunt, ex quibus fidei nostræ assertiones, &c. Alii libri sunt, qui non Canonici, &c.*

‡ In Prologo Galeato. Tom. 3. p. 6. *Hic Prologus Scripturam quasi galeatum principium omnibus libris, quos de Hebræo, &c. Ut scire valeamus, quicquid extra hos est, inter Apocrypha esse ponendum: igitur Sapientia, quæ vulgò Salomonis inscribitur, et Jesu, &c. non sunt in Canone, &c.*

Sirach, and Judith, and Tobias, and Pastor, are not Canonical. The first book of the Maccabees I have found in Hebrew; the second is Greek: which book," saith he, "indeed the Church readeth, but receiveth not as Canonical." The same reckoning is made by Origen, in Eusebius *, word for word: the same, by Epiphanius, by Cyril, by Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, Damascen; yea, by Lyranus, both Hugoes †, Cajetan, Carthusian, and Montanus himself, &c.

All of them, with full consent, rejecting these same Apocryphal Books, with us.

Now hear the Present Church of Rome, in her own words, thus:

"The holy Synod of Trent hath thought good to set down, with this decree, a just catalogue of the books of Holy Scripture; lest any man should make doubt, which they be, which are received by the Synod: and they are these, under-written: of the Old Testament, five books of Moses; then Joshua, the Judges, Ruth, four books of the Kings, two of the Chronicles; two of Esdras, the first, and the second which is called Nehemias; Tobias, Judith, Esther, Job; the Psalter of David, containing one hundred and fifty psalms; the Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, the book of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Isaiah, Jeremiah, &c. two books of the Maccabees, the first and the second. And if any man shall not receive these whole books, with all the parts of them, as they are wont to be read in the Catholic Church, and as they are had in the Old Vulgate Latin Edition, for Holy and Canonical, let him be accursed ‡." Thus she.

Judge you now of our age; and say, whether the opinion of the ancient Church (that is ours) be not a direct enemy to Popery, and flatly accursed by the Romish.

(2.) Pass on yet a little further.

Our question is, Whether the Hebrew and Greek Originals be corrupted; and whether those first copies of Scriptures be not to be followed above all translations:—

Hear, first, the Ancient Church, with us.

"But," saith St. Augustin §, "howsoever it be taken; whether it be believed to be so done, or not believed; or, lastly, whether it were so, or not so; I hold it a right course, that, when any thing is

* Euseb. l. vi. c. 24. *Haud ignorandum autem fuerit, Veteris Instrum. libros sicut Hebræi tradunt* 22. Ἀρχαια· μὲν ἐβηκα, &c. δύω καὶ εἰκοσι βίβλες.

† *Hæc sunt Apocrypha; Jesus, Sapientia, Pastor, et Maccabæorum libri, Judith, atque Tobia.* Hugo Card.

‡ Concil. Trident. Decr. de Canon. Scrip. April. 8. promul. in quart. Sessione. *Sacrorum verò librorum indicem huic decreto adscribendum censuit, &c: Sunt autem infrà-scripti: Testamenti Veteris quinque libri Mosis, &c. Tobias, Judith, Sapientia Salomonis, Ecclesiasticus, Maccab. 2. Si quis autem libros ipsos integros, cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in Ecclesiâ Catholicâ legi consueverunt, et in Veteri Vulgatâ Latinâ Editione habentur, pro Sacris et Canonicis non susceperit, anathema sit.*

§ Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. xv. c. 13. *Sed quomodo libet istud accipiatur &c. Et linguæ potius credatur, unde est in aliam facta translatio.*

found different in either books," the Hebrew and Septuagint, "since, for the certainty of things done, there can be but one truth; that tongue should rather be believed, from whence the translation is made into another language." Upon which words Ludovicus Vives, yet a Papist, saith thus: "The same," saith he *, "doth Jerome proclaim, every where; and reason itself teacheth it; and there is none, of sound judgment, that will gainsay it: but, in vain doth the consent of all good wits teach this; for the stubborn blockishness of men opposeth against it." Let Jerome himself, then, a greater linguist, be heard speak. "And if there be any man" saith he †, "that will say the Hebrew Books were afterwards corrupted of the Jews; let him hear Origen, what he answers in the eighth volume of his Explanations of Isaiah to this question: That the Lord and his Apostles, which reprove other faults in the Scribes and Pharisees, would never have been silent in this, which were the greatest crime that could be. But, if they say that the Hebrews falsified them after the coming of Christ and preaching of the Apostles, I cannot hold from laughter, that our Saviour and the Evangelists and Apostles should so cite testimonies of Scripture, as the Jews would afterwards deprave them." Thus Jerome. And the Canon Law itself hath this determination, "That the truth and credit of the books of the Old Testament should be examined by the Hebrew Volumes; of the New, by the Greek ‡." And Pope Innocentius, as he is cited by Gratian §, could say, "Have recourse to the Divine Scriptures, in their original Greek." The same, lastly, by Bellarmin's own confession ‖, "the Fathers teach every where: as Jerome, in his Book against Helvidius, and in his Epistle to Marcella, that the Latin Edition of the Gospel is to be called back to the Greek Fountains; and the Latin Edition of the Old Testament is to be amended by the Hebrew; in his Comment upon Zechariah, ch. viii." The very same hath Austin, in his second Book of Christian Doctrine, chap. xi. xii. xv. and Epist. xix. and elsewhere.

This was the Old Religion, and ours.

Now hear the New.

The present Church of Rome hath thus: "The holy Synod decreeth, that the Old Vulgate Latin Edition in all lectures, disputations, sermons, expositions, be held for authentical;" saith the

* Ludovic. Vives, ibid. *Hoc ipsum Hieronymus clamat, ubique; hoc ipsum docet ratio, &c. sed, frustrà bonorum ingeniorum consensus hoc docet.*

† Hieron. l. iii. Com. in Esaiam. *Quòd si aliquis dixerit Hebræos Libros postea à Judæis falsatos, &c....Sin autem dixerint post adventum Domini Salvatoris, &c. Hebræos libros fuisse falsatos, cachinnum tenere non potero, ut Salvator et Apostoli, &c.* Cap. 6.

‡ Decr. p. 1. dist. 9. c. *Ut Veterum. Ut Veterum librorum fides de Hebræis Voluminibus examinanda est, ita Novorum Græci sermonis normam desiderat.*

§ Ad Decr. p. 1. d. 19. c. 3. *Ad Divina recurre Scripta Græca.*

‖ Bellar. l. de Verb. Dei, ii. cap. 11. Sect. 3. *Accedit quod Patres passim docent, ad fontes Hebræos et Græcos esse recurrendum: et Hieron. in lib. contr. Helvid. et in Epist. ad Marcellam, &c.*

Council of Trent *. And her champion, Bellarmin, hath these words: "That the fountains of the originals in many places run muddy and impure, we have formerly shewed: and, indeed, it can scarce be doubted, but that, as the Latin Church hath been more constant in keeping the faith than the Greek, so it hath been more vigilant in defending her books from corruption †." Yea, some of the Popish Doctors maintain, that the Jews, in hatred of the Christian faith, did, on purpose, corrupt many places of Scripture: so holds Gregory de Valentia, Jacobus Christopolitanus in his Preface to the Psalms, Canus in the second Book of his Common-Places ‡. But, instead of all, Bellarmin shall shut up all with these words: "The heretics of this time, in hatred of the Vulgate Edition, give too much to the Hebrew Edition; as Calvin, Chemnitius, Georgius Major: all which would have every thing examined and amended by the Hebrew Text, which they commonly call a most pure fountain §."

See now, whether that, which Bellarmin confesses to have been the judgment of Jerome, Austin, and all the ancient Fathers, be not here condemned by him, as the opinion of the heretics. Ours was theirs; and theirs is condemned, under our names. Judge whether, in this also, Popery be not an upstart.

(3.) Yet one step more.

Our question is, Whether the Scripture be easy or most obscure; and whether, in all essential points, it do not interpret itself; so as, what is hard in one place, is openly laid forth in another:—

Hear the judgment of the Old Church, and ours.

"All things are clear and plain, and nothing contrary in the Scriptures;" saith Epiphanius ‖. "Those things, which seem doubtfully and obscurely spoken in some places of Scripture, are expounded by them, which in other places are open and plain;" saith Basil ¶. What could Calvin and Luther say more? "There is no so great hardness in the Scriptures, to come to those things which are necessary to salvation;" saith Austin **. "In those things, which are openly laid down in Scripture, are found all those things, which contain our faith and rules of our life;" saith the

* Concil. Trid. sess. 4. *Sacrosancta Synodus statuit, ut hæc ipsa vetus, &c. pro authentică habeatur.*

† Bell. de Verb. l. ii. c. 11. *Nunc autem fontes multis in locis turbidos fluere, &c.*

‡ *Omnino contendunt Judæos in odium Christianæ relig. studiosè depravasse: ita docet Jacobus Christopolitanus et Canus, &c.* Bell. ii. de Verb. Dei, p. 100. So Raynolds, in his Refutation, p. 303. against Isaac Valla, Andradius, Monta, &c.

§ *Hæretici hujus temporis, odio Vulgatæ Editionis, nimium tribuunt Editioni Hebraicæ, &c. omnia examinari volunt ad Hebræum Textum, quem, non semel, purissimum fontem appellant.* Bell. l. ii. de Verb. c. 2.

‖ Epiphan. contra Anomæos. Hæres. 76. *Omnia sunt clara et lucida, &c.*

¶ Basil. in Ascet. or Regul. Breviores. *Quæ ambiguè et obscurè videntur dici in quibusdam locis Sacræ Script.* et reg. 267.

** Aug. Ep. 3. *Non tanta in Scripturis difficultate, pervenitur ad ea, quæ necessaria sunt saluti, &c.*

same Father * : who, yet again also, saith thus † : " The Spirit of God hath royally and wholesomely tempered the Holy Scriptures, so ; as, both by the plain places he might prevent our hunger, and by the obscure he might avoid our nice slothfulness : for there is scarce any thing, that can be fetched out of those obscurities, which is not found most plainly spoken elsewhere." And, because Bellarmin takes exception at this *ferè*, " scarce," compare this place with the former ; and with that, which he hath in his Third Epistle, thus ‡ : " The manner of speech, in which the Scripture is contrived, is easy to be come to of all ; although it be thoroughly attained by few. Those things, which it containeth plain and easy, it speaks, like a familiar friend, without guile, to the heart of the learned and unlearned, &c. But it invites all men, with an humble manner of speech, whom it doth not only feed with manifest truth, but exercise with secret ; having the same in readiness, which it hath in secrecy." Thus Austin. To omit Irenæus and Origen : Chrysostom, whom Bellarmin saith we allege alone for us, besides many other plain places, writeth thus § : " Who is there, to whom all is not manifest, which is written in the Gospel ? Who, that shall hear, *Blessed are the meek, Blessed are the merciful, Blessed are the pure in heart*, and the rest ; would desire a teacher, to learn any of these things, which are here spoken ? As also the signs, miracles, histories, are not they known and manifest to every man ? This pretence and excuse is but the cloak of our slothfulness. Thou understandest not those things, which are written : how shouldst thou understand them, which wilt not so much as slightly look into them ? Take the book into thy hand : read all the history ; and, what thou knowest, remember ; and, what is obscure, run often over it." So Chrysostom. Yea, he makes this difference, betwixt the Philosophers and Apostles : " The Philosophers speak obscurely ; but the Apostles and Prophets," saith he ‖, " contrarily, make all things, delivered by them, clear and manifest ; and, as the common teachers of the world, have so expounded all things, that every man may, of himself, by bare reading, learn those things, which are spoken." Yea, lastly, so far he goes in this point, as that he asketh ¶, " Wherefore needeth a preacher ? all things are

* Aug. de Doctr. Christ. l. ii. c. 9. *In iis, quæ apertè in Scripturâ posita sunt, inveniuntur illa omnia, quæ continent fidem moresque vivendi.*

† *Magnificè et salubriter Spirit. Sanct. ita script. &c.* De Doctr. Christ. lib. ii. cap. 4.

‡ Aug. Epist. 3. *Modus ipse dicendi quo Sancta Scriptura, &c. Sed invitat omnes humili sermone, &c.*

§ Chrysost. Hom. 3. de Lazaro. *Cui non sunt manifesta, quæcunque in Evangel. &c.? Quomodo possis intelligere, quæ ne leviter quidem inspicere velis, &c.? Sume librum in manus : lege, &c.*

‖ Citat. ab ipso Bellarm. *Apostoli verò et Prophetæ omnia, contrà, fecerunt manifesta claráque : quæ prodiderunt, exposuerunt nobis, veluti communes orbis doctores, ut, per se, quisque discere possit ea, quæ dicuntur, ex solâ lectione.* Chrys. Hom. 3. in Laz.

¶ *Quamobrem opus est concionatore ? omnia sunt plana ex Scripturis Divinis : sed quia delicatuli estis, &c.* Hom. 3. in 2 Thess.

clear and plain in the divine Scriptures: but, because ye are delicate hearers, and seek delight in hearing, therefore ye seek for preachers."

You have heard the old religion, now hear the New.

Bellarmin hath these words *: "It must needs be confessed, that the Scriptures are most obscure." "Here, therefore," saith he †, "Luther hath devised two evasions: one, that the Scripture, though it be obscure in one place, yet that it doth clearly propound the same thing in another: the second is, that, though the Scripture be clear of itself, yet to the proud and unbelievers it is hard, by reason of their blindness and evil affections." So, "The Lutherans," saith Eckius ‡, "contend that the Scriptures are clear and plain." So, Duræus against Whitakers §. So, the Rhemists, in their Annotations‖; and, generally, all Papists.

Judge now if all these fore-named Fathers, and so the Ancient Church, were not Lutherans in this point; or, rather, we theirs: and yield, that this their old opinion, by the new Church of Rome is condemned for heretical: and, in all these, say, upon your soul, Whether is the elder?

(4.) Let me draw you on yet a little further.

Our question is, Whether it be necessary or fit, that all men, even of the laity, should have liberty to hear and read the Scriptures, in a language, which they understand.

Hear, first, the voice of the Old Religion.

To omit the direct charges of Gregory Nissen ¶ and Ambrose **, thus hath Jerome upon the Psalms ††: "The Lord will declare: and how will he declare? not by word; but by writing: in whose writing? in the writing of his people, &c. Our Lord and Saviour therefore tells us, and speaketh in the Scriptures of his princes. Our Lord will declare it to us in the Scripture of his people, in the Holy Scriptures: which Scripture is read to all the people; that is, so read as that all may understand: not that a few may understand, but all." "What faithful man," saith Augustin ‡‡, "though he be but a novice before he be baptized and have received the Holy Ghost, doth not, with an equal mind, read and hear all things,

* Bellarm. lib. iii. de Verbo, cap. 1. *Necessariò fatendum est Scripturas esse obscurissimas.*

† *Lutherus duo effugia excogitavit; unum, quòd Scriptura etiamsi alicubi obscura, tamen illud idem olibi clarè proponat, &c.* ibid. sect. 2.

‡ Eckius in Enchirid. c. 4. *Lutherani contendunt Scripturas Sacras esse claras.*

§ Duræus. contr. Whitak. li. vi.

‖ Rhemists in 2 Pet. iii. 16. and in their Preface at large, &c.

¶ Homil. in 4. Dominic. ab Epiphan. ** Amb. ser. 35.

†† Hieron. in Psal. *Dominus narrabit: et quomodo narrabit? non verbo; sed scripturâ: in cujus scripturâ? in populorum, &c. Dominus narrabit in Scripturis populorum, in Scripturis Sanctis: quæ Scriptura populis omnibus legitur; hoc est, ut omnes intelligant; non ut pauci intelligerent, sed ut omnes.* Psalm lxxxvi.

‡‡ *Omnia, quæ post ascens. &c. quis fidelis, vel etiam catechumenus antequam Spiritum Sanctum baptizatus accipiat, non æquo animo, &c.* Aug. Tract. in Joh. 96. and, to the same purpose, l. ii. de Doct. Christ. c. 8.

which, after the ascension of our Lord, are written in canonical truth and authority, although as yet he understands them not as he ought?" But, of all other, St. Chrysostom is, every where, most vehement and direct, in this point: amongst infinite places, hear what he saith, in one of his Homilies of Lazarus: "I do always exhort, and will never cease to exhort you," saith he *, "that you will not here only attend to those things, which are spoken; but, when you are at home, you continually busy yourselves in reading of the Holy Scriptures: which practice also I have not ceased to drive into them, which come privately to me. For, let no man say, 'Tush, they are but idle words, and many of them such as should be contemned: alas, I am taken up with law-causes: I am employed in public affairs: I follow my trade: I maintain a wife and children, and have a great charge to look to: it is not for me to read the Scriptures; but, for them, which have cast off the world, which have taken up the solitary tops of mountains for their dwellings, which live this contemplative kind of life continually.' What sayest thou, O man? Is it not for thee, to turn over the Scriptures, because thou art distracted with infinite cares? Nay, then it is for thee more than for them: for they do not so much need the help of the Scriptures; as you, that are tost in the midst of the ways of worldly business." And, soon after †: "Neither can it be possible, that any man should, without great fruit, be perpetually conversant in this spiritual exercise of reading." And, straight ‡: "Let us not neglect to buy ourselves books, lest we receive a wound in our vital parts." And, after he hath compared the books of Scripture to gold, he addeth §: "But what, say they, if we understand not those things, which are contained in those books? What gain we then? Yes, surely, though thou dost not understand those things, which are there laid up; yet, by the very reading, much holiness is got: although it cannot be, that thou shouldst be alike ignorant of all thou readest: for, therefore, hath the Spirit of God so dispensed this word, that publicans, fishers, tentmakers, shepherds, and goatherds, plain unlettered men, may be saved by these books; lest any of the simpler sort should pretend this excuse, That all things, which are said, should be easy to discern; and that the workman, the servant, the poor widow, and the most unlearned of all other, by hearing of the word read, might get some gain and profit." And the same Father, elsewhere:

* Chrys. Hom. 3. de Lazar. *Semper hortor, et hortari non desinam, ut non hìc tantùm attendatis, &c. 'Ego forensibus causis affixus sum, &c...uxorem alo et liberos: familiæ curam gero, &c...qui montium vertices occuparunt, &c.' Quid ais, homo? Non est tui negotii, Scripturas evolvere? &c...Imò tuum magis est, quàm illorum, &c.*

† *Neque nunc fieri potest, ut quisquam, &c.*

‡ *Ne negligamus nobis parare libros, &c.*

§ *Quid igitur, inquiunt, &c...publicani, piscatores, tabernaculorum opifices, pastores, et apostoli, idiotæ illiterati, &c.* Note, that, which is read in Chrysostom, ἀποστόλους, in some better copies is αἰπόλους, which signifies goatherds, more agreeable to the place. *Ut et famulus, et vidua mulier, et omnium hominum indoctissimus, exauditâ lectione, aliquid lucri utilitatisque reportet.*

"I beseech you," saith he *, "that you come speedily hither; and hearken diligently to the reading of the Holy Scriptures: and, not only when you come hither; but also at home take the Bible into your hands, and by your diligent care reap the profit contained in it." Lastly, in his Homilies upon the Epistle to the Colossians, he cries out †, "Hear, I beseech you, O all ye secular men; provide you Bibles, which are the medicines for the soul: at least, get the New Testament."

Now, on the contrary, let the New Religion of Rome speak: first, by her Rhemish Jesuits, thus: "We may not think, that the translated Bibles into the vulgar tongues were in the hands of every husbandman, artificer, prentice, boy, girl, mistress, maid, man; that they were sung, played, alleged of every tinker, taverner, rhymer, minstrel ‡." The like words of scorn and disgrace are used by Hosius; and by Eckius; and by Bellar. de Verb. l. ii. c. 15. "The wise will not here regard," say our Rhemists, "what some wilful people do mutter, that the Scriptures are made for all men, &c." And, soon after, they compare the Scriptures to fire, water, candles, knives, swords; which are indeed needful, &c. but would mar all, if they were at the guiding of other than wise men. "All the heretics of this time," saith Bellarmin §, "agree, that the Scriptures should be permitted to all, and delivered in their own mother-tongue. But the Catholic Church forbids the reading of the Scriptures by all, without choice; or the public reading or singing of them in vulgar tongues: as it is decreed in the Council of Trent; Sess. 22. c. 8. and Can. 9." "If you think," saith Duræus ‖, "that Christ bade all Christians to search the Scriptures, you are in a gross error. For, how shall rude and ignorant men search the Scriptures? &c." And so he concludes, that the Scriptures were not given to the common multitude of believers.

Judge now what either we say, or these Papists condemn, besides the ancient judgment of the Fathers: and if ever either Calvin or Luther have been more peremptory in this matter than St. Chrysostom ¶, I vow to be a Papist. If ours be not in this the old religion, be not you ours.

(5.) Yet this one passage further, and then no more, lest I weary you.

Our question is, Whether the Scriptures depend upon the authority of the Church, or rather the Church upon the authority of the Scriptures:—

Hear, first, the Ancient Church, with and for us.

* Hom. in Gen. 29. *Obsecro, ut subinde huc eveniatis, &c.*

† In Coloss. Hom. 9. *Audite, obsecro, seculares omnes, &c.*

‡ Rhemists, in their Preface to their Testament.

§ Bellarm. de Verb. lib. ii. cap. 15. *Hæretici hujus temporis omnes in eo conveniunt, ut oporteat Scripturas omnibus permittere, imò et tradere in suâ linguâ, &c. At Catholica Ecclesia, &c. prohibet ne passim omnibus sine discrimine concedatur ejusmodi lectio, &c.*

‖ Duræus contra Whit. lib. vi. *Si Christianis omnibus ut Scripturas scrutentur a Christo dictum esse intelligis, in magno certè errore, &c...Promiscuæ fidelium turbæ, &c.* ¶ Basil. Ep. 82.

"The question is," saith St. Austin *, "betwixt us and the Donatists, where the Church is. What shall we do then? shall we seek her in her own words, or in the words of her Head, the Lord Jesus Christ? I suppose we ought to seek her rather in his words, which is the Truth, and knows best his own body; for the Lord knows who are his. We will not have the Church sought in our words." And, in the same book; "Whether the Donatists hold the Church," saith the same Father †, "let them not shew, but by the canonical books of Divine Scriptures. For neither do we therefore say they should believe us, that we are in the Church of Christ, because Optatus or Ambrose hath commended this Church unto us, which we now hold; or, because it is acknowledged by the Councils of our fellow-teachers; or, because so great miracles are done in it: it is not therefore manifested to be true and catholic: but the Lord Jesus himself judged, that his disciples should rather be confirmed by the testimonies of the Law and the Prophets: these are the rules of our cause: these are the foundations: these are the confirmations." And, upon the Psalms, "Lest thou shouldst err," saith the same Augustin ‡, "in thy judgment of the Church; lest any man should say to thee, 'This is Christ,' which is not Christ; or, 'This is the Church,' which is not the Church: for many, &c. Hear the voice of the Shepherd himself, which is clothed in flesh, &c. He shews himself to thee: handle him, and see. He shews his Church, lest any man should deceive thee under the name of the Church, &c." Yet Chrysostom, more directly, thus §: "He, that would know which is the true Church of Christ, whence may he know it in the similitude of so great confusion, but only by the Scriptures? Now the working of miracles is altogether ceased: yea, they are rather found to be feignedly wrought of them, which are but false Christians. Whence then shall he know it, but only by the Scriptures? The Lord Jesus therefore, knowing what great confusion of things would be in the last days, therefore commands, that those, which are Christians, and would receive confirmation of their true faith, should fly to nothing but to the Scriptures. Otherwise, if they fly to any other help, they shall be offended and perish; not understanding which is the true Church."

This is the old faith.

Now hear the New, contradicting it and us.

* Aug. de Unitate Ecclesiæ, sive Epist. contra Petilianum Donatistam, cap. 2. *Inter nos autem et Donatistas quæstio est, ubi sit Ecclesia: quid ergo facturi sumus? in verbis nostris eam quæsituri, &c.*

† Aug. ibid. cap. 16. *Utrum ipsi Ecclesiam tencant, non nisi Divinarum Scripturarum canonicis libris ostendant, &c. Quia nec nos propterea dicimus, &c.*

‡ Aug. in Ps. lxix. in illa verba, *Omnes qui quærunt te, &c. Ne in Ecclesiâ errares, ne quis, &c. Multi enim dixerunt carnem non habuisse: ostendit &c.* So Ep. 166. and in Ps. lvii. &c.

§ Chrysost. Hom. in Matth. 49. *Qui vult cognoscere quæ sit vera Ecclesia Christi, unde cognoscet nisi, &c.*

"The Scripture," saith Eckius * a Popish Doctor, "is not authentical, without the authority of the Church: for the canonical writers are members of the Church. Whereupon, let it be objected to a heretic, that will strive against the decrees of the Church, by what weapons he will fight against the Church: he will say, 'By the Canonical Scriptures of the Four Gospels, and Paul's Epistles.' Let it be straight objected to him, how he knows these to be canonical, but by the Church." And, a while after, "The Scripture," saith he †, "defined in a Council, *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, that you abstain from things offered to idols, and blood, and strangled.* The Church, by her authority, altered a thing so clearly defined and expressed: for it useth both strangled and blood. Behold, the power of the Church is above the Scripture." Thus Eckius. And, besides Cusanus, Bellarmin saith ‡ thus: "If we take away the authority of the present Church, and of the present Council," of Trent, "all the decrees of all other Councils, and the whole Christian Faith may be called in doubt." And, in the same place, a little after §: "The strength of all ancient Councils, and the certainty of all opinions, depends on the authority of the present Church."

You have heard both speak: say now, with whom is true antiquity; and, in God's name, detest the newer of both.

It were as easy to bring the same, if not greater evidence, for the perfection and all-sufficiency of Scripture: and so to deliver all the body of our religion by the tongues and pens of the Fathers, that either you must be forced to hold them novelists with us, or yourselves such against them. How honest and ingenuous is that confession of your Erasmus! who, in his Epistle to the Bishop and Cardinal of Mentz, could say ‖, "It is plainly found, that many things in Luther's books are condemned, for heretical, which, in the books of Bernard and Austin, are read for holy and orthodox."

This is too much for a taste. If your appetite stand to it, I dare promise you full dishes. Let me, therefore, appeal to you, if light and darkness be more contrary, than these points of your religion to true antiquity. No, no: let your authors gloze as they list, Popery is but a young faction, corruptly raised out of ancient grounds.

* Eckius in Enchirid. c. *De Ecclesiâ. Scriptura non est authentica, sine authoritate Ecclesiæ: scriptores enim canonici sunt membra Ecclesiæ. Unde, hæretico, contendenti volenti, &c.*

† Eckius ibidem. *Scriptura definit in Concilio, Visum est Spiritui Sancto, &c. rem tam clarè expressam et definitam, Ecclesia, suâ authoritate, mutavit, &c. Ecce potestas Ecclesiæ super Scripturas.*

‡ *Si tollamus authoritatem præsentis Ecclesiæ et præsentis Concilii, in dubium revocari poterunt omnium aliorum Conciliorum decreta, et tota Fides Christiana &c.* Bell. de Effectu Sacr. l. iv. c. 25. p. 300.

§ *Omnium dogmatum firmitas, &c.* So Pigh. l. i. de Hier. Ec. Stapl. l. ix. Princ. Doct. c. 1

‖ *Compertum est ab his damnata, ut hæretica, in Lutheri libris, quæ in Bernardi Augustinique libris, ut orthodoxa, imò ut pia leguntur.* Eras. Epist. ad Card. Mogunt. p. 401.

And if it have, as we grant, some ancient errors, falsehood cannot be bettered with age. There is no prescription against God and Truth. What we can prove to be erroneous, we need not prove new. Some hundreds of years is an idle plea, against the Ancient of Days.

3. What can you plead yet more for your change?

THEIR NUMBERS, perhaps, and OUR HANDFULLS. You heard all the world was theirs; scarce any corner ours. How could you but suspect a few?

These are but idle brags. We dare and can share equally with them in Christendom. And, if we could not, this rule will teach you to advance Turkism, above Christianity; and Paganism, above that: the world, above the Church; hell, above heaven. If any proof can be drawn from numbers, he, that knows all, says the best are fewest.

4. What then could stir you? OUR DIVISIONS, and THEIR UNITY:—

If this my following labour * do not make it good to all the world, that their peace is less than ours, their dissention more, by the confession of their own mouths, be you theirs still, and let me follow you. I stand not upon the scoldings of Priests and Jesuits; nor the late Venetian jars; nor the pragmatical differences now on foot, in the view of all Christendom, betwixt their own Cardinals in their Sacred Conclave, and all their Clergy, concerning the Pope's temporal power: neither do I call any friend to be our advocate: none, but Bellarmin and Navarrus shall be my orators; and, if these plead not this cause enough, let it fall. See here dangerous rifts and flaws; not in the outward bark only, but in the very heart and pith of your religion: and, if so many be confessed by one or two, what might be gathered out of all? and, if so many be acknowledged, think how many there are that lurk in secret, and will not be confessed? How loth would we be, after all exclamations, that your busy Jesuits could rake out so many confessed quarrels out of all our authors, as I have here found in two of yours! We want only their cunning secresy, in the carriage of our quarrels. Our few and slight differences are blazoned abroad, with infamy and offence: their hundreds are craftily smothered in silence.

Let your own eyes satisfy you in this, not my pen: see now, what you would never believe †.

5. What is it then, that could thus bewitch you to forsake the comely and heavenly truth of God, and to doat upon this beastly strumpet? to change your religion, for a ridiculous, sensual, cruel, irreligious faction?

A religion, if we must call it so, that made sport to our plain forefathers, with the remembrance of her gravest devotions! How oft have you seen them laugh at themselves, while they have told

* "The Peace of Rome," left out, because it was but a Translation, in this edition, &c.

† See "Advertisement to the Reader," and Note, at the end of this Discourse. EDITOR.

of their creeping-crouch, kissing the pax, offering their candles, signing with ashes, partial shrifts, merry pilgrimages, ridiculous miracles, and a thousand such may-games, which now you begin, after this long hissing at, to look upon soberly, and with admiration!

A religion, whose fooleries very boys may shout and laugh at: if for no more but this; That it teaches men to put confidence in beads, medals, roses, hallowed swords, spells of the Gospel, *Agnus Dei*, and such like idle baubles; ascribing unto them divine virtue; yea, so much as is due to the Son of God himself, and his precious blood! I speak not of some rude ignorants: your very Book of Holy Ceremonies shall teach you, what your holy fathers do, and have done. That tells you, first, with great allowance and applause, that Pope Urban the Fifth sent three *Agnos Dei*, to the Greek Emperor, with these verses:

> "Balsam, pure wax, and chrismes-liquor clear
> Make up this precious Lamb, I send thee here.
> All lightning it dispels, and each ill sprite;
> Remedies sin, and makes the heart contrite;
> Even as the blood, that Christ for us did shed.
> It helps the child-bed's pains, and gives good speed
> Unto the birth. Great gifts it still doth win
> To all that wear it, and that worthy bin.
> It quells the rage of fire; and, cleanly bore,
> It brings from shipwreck safely to the shore *."

And, lest you should plead this to be the conceit of some one fantastical Pope, hear, and be ashamed, out of the same Book †, what, by prescription, every Pope useth to pray, in the blessing of the water, which serves for that *Agnus Dei*. If you know not, thus he prays: "That it would please thee, O God, to bless those things, which we purpose to pour into this vessel of water, prepared to the glory of thy Name: so as, by the worship and honour of them, we, thy servants, may have our heinous offences done away, the blemishes of our sins wiped off, and thereby we may obtain pardon, and receive grace from thee; so that, at the last, with thy saints and elect children, we may merit to obtain everlasting life. Amen." How could you choose, but be in love with this superstition, magic, blasphemy, practised and maintained by the heads of your Church?

A religion, that allows juggling equivocations, and reserved senses; even in very oaths. Besides all that hath been shamelessly written by our Jesuits to this purpose, hear what Franciscus Vic-

* *Balsamus, et munda cera, cum chrismatis undâ conficiunt Agnum, quod munus do tibi magnum. &c. Fulgura de cœlo &c. Peccatum frangit ut Christi sanguis et angit, &c.*

† Sacr. Cerem. lib. i. *Ut ea, quæ in hoc aquarum vasculo, præparato ad Nominis tui gloriam, infundere decrevimus, benedicas: quatenus, ipsorum veneratione et honore, nobis, famulis tuis, crimina diluantur, abstergantur maculæ peccatorum, impetrentur veniæ, gratiæ conferantur; ut, tandem, unà cum sanctis et electis tuis, vitam percipere mereamur æternam.*

toria, an ingenuous Papist, and a learned Reader of Divinity in Salmantica, writes, in the name of all. "But what shall a confessor do," saith he *, "if he be asked of a sin, that he hath heard in confession? May he say, that he knows not of it? I answer, according to all our Doctors, that he may. But, what if he be compelled to swear? I say, that he may and ought to swear, that he knows it not: for that it is understood that he knows it not, besides confession; and so he swears true. But say, that the judge or prelate shall maliciously require of him, upon his oath, whether he know it in confession, or no: I answer, that a man, thus urged, may still swear that he knows it not in confession: for that it is understood, he knows it not to reveal it, or so as he may tell." Who teach and do thus, in another's case; judge what they would do, in their own. O wise, cunning, and holy perjuries, unknown to our forefathers!

A religion that allows the buying and selling of sins, of pardons of souls: so as, now, purgatory can have no rich men in it; but fools and friendless. Devils are tormentors there; as themselves hold from many revelations of Bede, Bernard, Carthusian: yet men can command devils; and money can command men.

A Religion, that relies wholly upon the infallibility of those, whom yet they grant have been and may be monstrous in their lives and dispositions. How many of those heirs of Peter, (by confession of their own records,) by bribes, by whores, by devils, have climbed up into that chair! Yet, to say that those men, which are confessed to have given their souls to the Devil that they might be Popes, can err while they are Popes, is heresy, worthy of a stake and of hell.

A religion, that hoodwinks the poor laity in forced ignorance, lest they should know God's will; or any way to heaven, but theirs; so as millions of souls live no less without Scripture, than as if there were none: that forbids spiritual food, as poison; and fetches God's Book into the Inquisition.

A religion, that teaches men to worship stocks and stones, with the same honour that is due to their Creator: which practice, lest it should appear to her simple clients, how palpably opposite it is to the Second Commandment, they have discreetly left out those words of God's Law, as a needless illustration, in their Catechisms and Prayer-Books of the vulgar.

A religion, that utterly overthrows the true Humanity of Christ: while they give unto it ten thousand places at once, and yet no place; flesh, and no flesh; several members, without distinction; a substance, without quantity, and other accidents; or substance

* Fran. à Victoria Ordin. Predicatorum, Sum. Sacram. art. 184. p. 104. *Sed quid faciet confessor, cùm interrogatur de peccato? &c.—Respondeo, secundum omnes, quòd sit....Sed fac quòd judex aut prælatus ex malitiâ exigat à me juramentum, an sciam in confessione: Respondeo, quòd coactus juret se nescire in confessione, quia intelligitur se nescire ad revelandum, aut taliter quòd possit dicere.*

and accidents, that cannot be seen, felt, perceived. So, they make either a monster of their Saviour, or nothing.

A religion, that utterly overthrows the perfection of Christ's satisfaction. If all be not paid, how hath he satisfied? If temporal punishments in purgatory be yet due, how is all paid? and if these must be paid by us, how are they satisfied by him?

A religion, that makes more Scriptures, than ever God and his ancient Church; and those, which it doth make, so imperiously obtrudes upon the world, as if God himself should speak from heaven: and, while it thunders out curses against all that will not add these books to God's, regards not God's curse, *If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book.*

A religion, whose patrons disgrace the true Scriptures of God, with reproachful terms, odious comparisons, imputations of corruption and imperfection; and, in fine, pin their whole authority upon the sleeves of men.

A religion, that erects a throne in the conscience to a mere man; and gives him absolute power to make a sin, to dispense with it, to create new Articles of Faith, and to impose them upon necessity of salvation.

A religion, that befools all temporal Princes: making them stand barefoot at their great Bishop's gate; lie at his foot; hold his stirrup, yea, their own crowns at his courtesy: exempting all their ecclesiastical subjects from their jurisdiction; and, when they list, all the rest from their allegiance.

A religion, that hath made wicked men, saints; and saints, gods. Even by the confession of Papists, lewd and undeserving men have leaped into their calendar. Whence it is, that the Pope, before his canonization of any saint, makes solemn protestation, that he intends not in that business to do ought prejudicial to the glory of God, or to the Catholic Faith and Church *. And, once sainted, they have the honour of altars, temples, invocations; and, some of them, in a style fit only for their Maker. I know not, whether that Blessed Virgin receive more indignity from her enemies, that deny her; or these her flatterers, that deify her.

A religion, that robs the Christian heart of all sound comfort, while it teacheth us, that we neither can nor ought to be assured of the remission of our sins, and of present grace and future salvation: that we can never know, whether we have received the true sacraments of God, because we cannot know the intention of the minister, without which they are no sacraments.

A religion, that racks the conscience with the needless torture of a necessary shrift; wherein the virtue of absolution depends on the

* *Papa facit protestationem, ante canonizationem, se nihil intendere facere, quod sit contra Fidem aut Ecclesiam Catholicam. Aliqui tamen clarissimi viri dicunt, &c. Quia Papa quodammodo cogebatur ad canonizandum quendam contra suam voluntatem.* Lib. Sacr. Ceremon.

fulness of confession; and that, upon examination: and the sufficiency of examination is so full of scruples, besides those infinite cases of unresolved doubts in this feigned penance, that the poor soul never knows when it is clear.

A religion, that professes to be a bawd of sin; while, both (in practice) it tolerates open stews, and prefers fornication in some cases to honourable matrimony, and gently blanches over the breaches of God's Law with the name of venials and favourable titles of diminution; daring to affirm that venial sins are no hindrance to a man's cleanness and perfection.

A cruel religion, that sends poor infants remedilessly unto the eternal pains of hell, for want of that, which they could not live to desire; and frights simple souls, with expectation of feigned torments in purgatory, not inferior, for the time, to the flames of the damned. How wretchedly and fearfully must their poor laics needs die! for, first, they are not sure they shall not go to hell; and, secondly, they are sure to be scorched, if they shall go to heaven.

A religion, that makes nature vainly proud, in being joined by her, as copartner with God, in our justification, in our salvation; and idly puffed up in a conceit of her perfection, and ability to keep more laws than God hath made.

A religion, that requires no other faith to justification in Christians, than may be found in the devils themselves; who, besides a confused apprehension, can assent unto the truth of God's revealed will. Popery requires no more.

A religion, that, instead of the pure milk of the Gospel, hath long fed her starved souls with such idle legends, as the reporter can hardly deliver without laughter, and their abettors not hear without shame and disclamation. The wiser sort of the world read those stories on winter evenings, for sport; which the poor credulous multitude hears in their churches, with a devout astonishment.

A religion, which, lest ought should be here wanting to *the doctrine of devils*, makes religious prohibitions of meat, and differences of diet; superstitiously preferring God's workmanship to itself, and willingly polluting what he hath sanctified.

A religion, that requires nothing but mere formality in our devotions. The work wrought suffices alone, in sacraments, in prayers. So the number be found in the chaplet, there is no care of the affection: as if God regarded not the heart, but the tongue and hands; and, while he understands us, cared little whether we understand ourselves.

A religion, that presumptuously dares to alter and mangle Christ's last institution; and sacrilegiously robs God's people of one half of that heavenly provision, which our Saviour left for his last and dearest legacy to his Church for ever: as if Christ's ordinance were superfluous; or any shaveling could be wiser than his Redeemer.

A religion, that depends wholly upon nice and poor uncertainties, and unproveable supposals: That Peter was Bishop of Rome:

that he left any heirs of his graces and spirit; or, if any, but one in a perpetual and unfailable succession at Rome: that he so bequeathed his infallibility to his chair, as that, whosoever sits in it, cannot but speak true: that all, which sit where he sat, must, by some secret instinct, say as he taught: that what Christ said to him absolutely, ere ever Rome was thought of, must be referred, yea, tied to that place alone, and fulfilled in it: that Linus, or Clemens, or Cletus, the scholars and supposed successors of Peter, must be preferred, in the headship of the Church, to John, the Beloved Apostle, then living: that he, whose life, whose pen, whose judgment, whose keys may err; yet, in his pontifical chair, cannot err: that the golden line of this Apostolical Succession, in the confusion of so many, long, desperate schisms, shamefully corrupt usurpations and intrusions, yielded heresies; neither was, nor can be broken. Deny any of these, and Popery is no religion. Oh, the lamentable hazard of so many millions of poor souls, that stand upon these slippery terms; whereof if any be probable, some are impossible! O miserable grounds of Popish Faith, whereof the best can but have this praise, that perhaps it may be true!

A religion, that hath been oft dyed in the blood of princes: that, in some cases, teaches and allows rebellion against God's Anointed; and both suborneth treasons, and excuses, pities, honours, rewards the actors.

A religion, that overloads men's consciences, with heavy burdens of infinite unnecessary traditions; far more than ever Moses, commented upon by all the Jewish Masters: imposing them with no less authority, and exacting them with more rigour, than any of the royal laws of their Maker.

A religion, that cozens the vulgar, with nothing but shadows of holiness, in pilgrimages, processions, offerings, holy water, latin services, images, tapers, rich vestures, garish altars, crosses, censings, and a thousand such like, fit for children and fools, robbing them, in the mean time, of the sound and plain helps of true piety and salvation.

A religion, that cares not by what wilful falsehoods it maintains a part: as Wickliffe's blasphemy; Luther's advice from the Devil; Tindal's community; Calvin's feigned miracle, and blasphemous death; Bucer's neck broken; Beza's revolt; the blasting of Huguenots; England's want of Churches and Christendom; Queen Elizabeth's unwomanliness, her episcopal jurisdiction, her secret fruitfulness; English Catholics cast in bears' skins to dogs; Plesse's shameful overthrow; Garnet's straw; the Lutherans' obscene night-revels; Scory's drunken ordination in a tavern; the edict of our gracious King James, anno 87, for the establishment of Popery; our casting the crusts of our sacrament to dogs: and ten thousand of this nature, maliciously raised and defended, against knowledge and conscience, for the disgrace of those, whom they would have hated, ere known.

A religion, that, in the conscience of her own untruth, goes about to falsify and deprave all authors, that might give evidence

against her; to outface all ancient truths; to foist in Gibeonitish witnesses, of their own forging: and leaves nothing unattempted against heaven or earth, that might advantage her faction, and disable her innocent adversary.

Lo, this is your choice. If the zeal of your loss have made me sharp; yet not malicious, not false. God is my record, I have not, to knowledge, charged you with the least untruth: and, if I have wronged, accuse me: and, if I clear not myself and my challenge, let me be branded for a slanderer. In the mean time, what spiritual frenzy hath overtaken you, that you can find no beauty, but in this monster of errors? It is to you and your fellows, that God speaks, by his Prophet: *O ye heavens, be astonished at this, be afraid and utterly confounded, saith the Lord: for my people hath committed two evils; they have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters, to dig them pits, even broken pits, that can hold no water.* What shall be the issue? *Et tu, Domine, deduces eos in puteum interitûs: Thou, O God, shalt bring them down into the pit of destruction.* If you will thus wilfully leave God, there I must leave you: but, if you would not rather die, return; and save one. Return to God: return to his truth: return to his Church: your blood be upon my head, if you perish.

AN

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

THE reader may please to take notice, that, in the former edition, there was added unto this Discourse, a just volume of above Three Hundred Contradictions and Dissensions of the Romish Doctors, under the name of "The Peace of Rome;" which, because it was but a collection out of Bellarmine and Navarre, and no otherwise mine, but as a gatherer and translator, I have here thought good to omit.

NOTE, BY THE EDITOR.

The edition, to which the Author refers in the preceding Advertisement as containing the Tract entitled "The Peace of Rome," is a small 4to. printed at London, in 1609 [misprinted in the title-page 1069.] with the following Title:—"The Peace of Rome: proclaimed to all the World, by her famous Cardinal Bellarmine, and the no less famous Casuist Navarre: Whereof, the one acknowledgeth and numbers up above Three Hundred Differences of Opinion, maintained in the Popish Church: the other confesses near Threescore Differences amongst their own Doctors, in one only point of their Religion. Gathered faithfully out of their writings, in their own words, and divided into Four Books, and those into several Decades. Whereto is prefixed a Serious Dissuasive from Popery. By J. H."

The following Dedication to Prince Henry, is prefixed to the volume:

"To the High and Mighty Prince, Henry, Prince of Great Britain; the Second Joy and Hope of our Times; all Happiness.

Most gracious Prince:

GOD calleth your Highness, by just inheritance, to defend his Faith. This divine royalty accompanies your Princedom, in a blessed society. Wherein your challenge is not more true, than your pattern admirable. He, that gives you right to the succession of this claim, gives you such an example, as what Father ever gave a Son? His sceptre hath not more defended it, than his pen. We bless God, and wonder. In this right, then, all propugnations of truth are yours. How much more from Him, whose glory it is to have sworn your service! Yet here I offer to your Highness not so much any fight of ours against them of Rome, as theirs against themselves; and, therein, for us. What can be more advantage to us, or shame to them? One blow of an enemy dealt to his brother, is more worth than many from an adverse hand. All our Apologies cannot hurt them so much, as their own divisions. Behold, here your Highness shall sit still, and see all the Romish Doctors, after all their brags of peace, scuffling and grappling together before you; and, which is most worth, in Bellarmine's own theatre. No adversary can give them more deep wounds. And, if civil discord can give us hope of their ruin, Rome

cannot stand *. Lo, these are the men, that gloried in their unity; and upbraided us, not once, with our dissensions; and have warned the world, because we differ in one point, not to trust us in any. The confidence of their secrecy made them peremptory; not either their innocence or our guilt. If God have not now opened their mouths to convince them of bold falsehood, let them have no accusers. I know the view of this Popish fray could not, in their conceits, fall more unhappily into any eyes than your Highness's: whom they grieve to see, in this early spring of your age, so firmly rooted in the truth; and, before Hannibal's years, threatening hostility to error. So let your Highness still move their envy and our joy. So much shall God more love you, as you hate their abominations. Neither shall it, I hope, ever be forgotten, that, in their bloody project, your limbs also should have flown up to heaven with your soul. That God, which hath reserved you for his Second Hope and Stay of his Christian World, go on to prosper your gracious proceedings, but according to the promise of their entrances; that we may be still happy in your Highness, and you in Him for ever! So be it! Yea, so will it be: how can it be, that so many and faithful prayers of all God's faithful ones through the world should have other success? Amongst the rest are vowed, and duly paid to this purpose, the daily poor devotions of your Highness's unworthy, yet loyal ervant,

JOS. HALL."

After this Dedication follows the "Serious Dissuasive from Popery;" and then "The Peace of Rome," which last occupies nearly two hundred pages, and is preceded by the following

"Advertisement to the Reader:"—

"UNDERSTAND, good reader, that, in all these passages following, I have brought in C. Bellarm. speaking in his own words; except in some few plain references, where I mention him in the third person. 2. That the edition of C. Bellarmine which I have followed, and quoted in every page, is that in octavo, (the commonest, I think) set forth at Ingolstadt, from the press of Adam Sartorius, in the year M.D.XCIX. 3. That all those authors, which thou seest named over the head of every section, are Papists of note: whose quarrels C. Bellarmine confesseth. 4. That such great Doctors could not be singular in their judgments; but must needs, in all probability, (which yet is not confessed) be attended with many followers, in every point of variance. Every master hath the favour of his own school. The sides taken by their scholars is not more secret than likely. 5. That one Doctor Pappus, a learned German, hath undertaken the like task; but somewhat unperfectly. For my 303 Contradictions, he hath noted but 237. The edition followed by him was not the same, and therefore his trust could not be so helpful to me. Besides, that two or three of Card. Bellarmine's works are since published. 6. That I have willingly omitted divers small differences, which, if I had regarded number, might have caused the sum to swell yet higher. 7. That thou mayest not look to find all these acknowledged differences main and essential. All religion consists not of so many stones in her foundation. It is enough, that deep and material dissensions are intermingled with the rest; and that scarce any point is free from some. 8. That Card. Bellarmine acknowledges those dissentions only, which fall into the compass of his own Controversies (if all those): omitting all others. For instance: of all those sixty and two differences in the matter of Penance, which I have here gathered out of Navarre and Fr. à Victoria, he hath not confessed above five or six; so that, by the same proportion, whereas three hundred and three Contradictions are acknowledged, there cannot but be many hundreds wittingly by him concealed. Gen. xi. 7. *Venite igitur descendamus, et confundamus ibi linguam eorum; ut non audiat unusquisque vocem proximi sui: atque ita divisit eos Dominus, ex illo loco, in universas terras; et cessaverunt aedificare civitatem; et idcirco vocatum est nomen ejus Babel, &c.*"

* *Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit.* Hor

NO PEACE WITH ROME.

WHEREIN IS PROVED,

THAT,

AS TERMS NOW STAND,

THERE CAN BE NO RECONCILIATION

OF THE

REFORMED RELIGION

WITH THE

ROMISH:

AND THAT THE ROMANISTS ARE IN ALL THE FAULT.

WRITTEN FIRST IN LATIN,

BY

JOSEPH HALL,

AND NOW ENGLISHED.

TO THE

TRUE, SOUND, AND HOLY CHURCH OF GOD,

WHERESOEVER WARFARING UPON EARTH.

I PRESENT unto thee, Dear and Holy Mother, this poor unworthy token of my love and loyalty; the not-so-pleasing, as true report of thy future broils. How much gladder should I have been, if thy Spouse had so thought good, to have been the messenger of thy peace and security! But, since the Great and Wise Moderator of All Things hath thought a palm fitter for thee than an olive, it is for thee to think of victory, not of rest. Thou shalt once triumph in heaven, and rest for all; but, in the mean time, here is nothing to be looked for but ambushes, skirmishes, tumults. And, how cheerfully must thou needs both bear and overcome all oppositions, that art not more sure of the necessity of thy warfare, than of the happiness of thy success; whilst thou seest thy Glorious Husband not only the leader of this field, but a most just and merciful crowner of thy conquest! Certainly, it is as impossible for thee to miscarry, as to sit still, and not fight. Behold, all the forces of heaven and earth conspire; and rejoice to come voluntaries unto this holy war of thine; and promise thee a most happy issue. Address thyself, therefore, as thou art wont, courageously to this work of God: but, remember, first, to enquire, as thou dost, of Abel. Spare no tears to thy desperate Sister; now thine enemy: and, calling heaven and earth to witness, upon thy knees beseech and entreat her, by her own soul, and by the dear bowels of Christ, by those precious drops of his bloody sweat, by that common price of our eternal redemption, that she would, at the last, return to herself, and that good disposition which she hath now too long abandoned; that she would forbear, any more, as I fear she hath hitherto wilfully done, to fight against God. But, if she shall still persist to stop her ears against thee, and to harden herself in rebellion against her God; forget, if thou canst, who she once was; and fly mercilessly upon this daughter of Belial, that vaunts herself proudly in the glory of her munition. Go, smite, destroy, conquer, and reign, as the worthy partner of thy Husband's throne. For me, I shall, in the mean time, be as one of thy rude trumpets, whose noise shall both awaken thy courage unto this spiritual battle, and whose joyful gratulations shall, after thy rich spoils, applaud thy happy return in the day of thy victory.

J. H.

THE

OPINION

OF

GEORGE CASSANDER,

A LEARNED PAPIST, AND GRAVE DIVINE:

THAT, BY TWO SEVERAL EMPERORS, FERDINAND AND MAXIMILIAN, WAS SET ON WORK TO COMPOSE THESE QUARRELS OF THE CHURCH.

In his Consultation; pp. 56 and 57.

YET I cannot deny, but that, in the beginning, many, out of a godly zeal and care, were driven to a sharp and severe reproof of certain manifest abuses; and that the principal cause of this calamity and distraction of the Church is to be laid upon those, which, being puffed up with a vain insolent conceit of their ecclesiastical power, proudly and scornfully contemned and rejected them, which did rightly and modestly admonish their reformation. Wherefore my opinion is, that the Church can never hope for any firm peace, unless they make the beginning, which have given the cause of the distraction: that is, unless those, which are in place of Ecclesiastical Government, will be content to remit something of their too much rigour, and yield somewhat to the peace of the Church; and, hearkening unt the earnest prayers and admonitions of many godly men, will set themselves to correct manifest abuses, according to the rule of Divine Scriptures, and of the Ancient Church from which they have swerved.

NO PEACE WITH ROME.

INTRODUCTION.

SECT. 1.

The State of the now Roman Church.

THERE is no one question doth so rack the minds of men at this day, as this of the Church *.

The infancy of the Church was sore and long vexed with heresies of a higher nature, concerning God, concerning Christ, which still struck at the head: but her vigorous and hoary age is exercised with a slighter quarrel, concerning ourselves; which yet raiseth up the greater broils every where, by how much every man naturally loves himself more than God.

Not to meddle with any foreign questions of this nature, too many seem unto me to misconceive the state of our Church, and the Romish, as if they had been always two: as if, from their first foundations, they had been sensibly severed in time and place; like to Babylon and Jerusalem, or those two famous cities opposed in St. Austin's learned discourse †.

Hence are those idle demands of some smattering questionists: Where our Church hath thus long hid itself: What year and day it came to light: In which age, that other Church lost itself: Why we have withdrawn ourselves no further from them: What is become of our forefathers: Which was the religion of the former world.

From hence have those sharp and rigorous censures passed on both sides; whether of novelty, or of the desperate condition of those souls which have departed out of our own way.

Alas! what monsters both of opinions and questions have risen hence; and have vexed, not their own authors only, for the Delphic

* G. Cassand. l. de Consult. Art. 7. *Ex articulo hoc de Ecclesiâ, omnis hæc distractio, quæ hodie est in Republicâ Christianâ, originem ducit.*

† Aug. de Civit.

Oracle said well, "It is fit a man should have as he doth *:" but, together with them, the whole Church of God! How many silly souls have splitted upon this rock; which had never needed any votive monument of their wreck, if they had but learned to hold no other difference betwixt us and Rome, than must needs be granted, betwixt a Church miserably corrupted, and happily purged; betwixt a sickly, languished, and dying Church, and one that is healthful, strong, and flourishing.

Neither therefore did that Valdus of France †, nor Wickliffe of England, nor Jerome of Prague, nor Luther of Germany, ever go about to frame a new Church to themselves, which was not; but only endeavoured, not without happy success, to cleanse, scour, restore, reform that Church which was, from that filthy soil, both of disorder and errors, wherewith it was shamefully blemished. All these rather desired to be accounted physicians to heal, than parents to beget a Church.

And the same have we carefully done, ever since; and do seriously and ingenuously profess of ourselves at this day.

Rome is alike to us, as it was of old to Jerome ‡, with Eugubium, Rhegium, Alexandria: save that this city is both more famous and more near us. Places do not vary either faith or title. What Church soever God shall call Daughter, we will call Sister: and so we safely may.

How many honest and chaste matrons have we known, that have been ashamed of a lewd sister; and have abhorred filthiness in one of their own blood! So it fareth now with us. Rome is overgone with heresy, with idolatry. Let her practise her whoredom at home, by herself: it was not for us, with the safeguard of our honesty, to dwell with such a partner.

Not only her wickedness hath thrust us out; but her violence. We yield, therefore, and sorrowfully complain, with the Prophet, *How is the faithful city become a harlot! It was full of judgment, and justice lodged therein; but now it is full of murderers. Thy silver is become dross, and thy wine is brewed with water;* Isa. i. 21, 22.

Away with the imperious name of a Mother. We are all the same Church, by the virtue of our outward vocation, whosoever, all the world over, worship Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, and Saviour of the World; and profess the same common Creed §. Some of us do this more purely; others, more corruptly: in the mean time, we are all Christians; but sound Christians we are not.

But how harshly doth this sound to a weak reader, and more than seems to need reconciliation with itself, that the Church should be one; and yet cannot be reconciled! Certainly, yet so it is. The dignity of the outward form, which comprehends this unity in itself, avails nothing to grace, nothing to salvation, nothing to the

* Julian. Cæs. εἰκὲ πάθοι τὰ κ' ἔρεξε τ' θεῖα γενοιτο. *Judicium si quis quæ fecit perferat, æquum est.* † An. Dom. 1160. ‡ Hieron. Epist. ad Evagr. § Iren. l. i. c. 2, 3.

soundness of doctrine. The net doth not straight make all to be fish, that it hath dragged together: ye shall find in it vile weeds; and whatsoever else, that devouring element hath disgorged.

The Church is, at once, one, in respect of the common principles of faith; and yet, in respect of consequences, and that rabble of opinions which they have raked together, so opposed, that it cannot, by any glue of concord, as Cyprian speaketh *, nor bond of unity, be conjoined. That, which Rome holds with us, makes it a Church: that, which it obtrudes upon us, makes it heretical. The truth of principles makes it one: the error and impiety of additions makes it irreconcileable.

Neither doth this late and spurious brood of traditions more oppose us, than it doth those very principles of religion, which the authors themselves desire to establish.

Look on the face, therefore, of the Roman Church, she is ours, and God's: look on her back, she is quite contrary, antichristian.

More plainly, for it is no disputing in metaphors, as Clemens said well, Rome doth both hold the foundation, and destroy it: she holds it directly, destroys it by consequent. In that she holds it, she is a True Church, howsoever imputed: in that she destroys it, whatever semblance she makes of piety and holiness she is a *Church of Malignants* †. If she did altogether hold it, she should be sound and orthodox: if altogether she destroyed it, she should be either no Church, or devilish: but, now that she professes to hold those things directly, which by inference of her consequences she closely overthrows, she is a truly visible Church, but an unsound. In what she holds the principles, we embrace her: in what she destroys them, we pity her error, and hate her obstinacy.

The common bond of Christianity never ties us to favour gross errors, so much as with silence. There is no such slavery in the dear name of a Sister, that it should bind us to give either aid or countenance to lewdness. *Have no* such *fellowship*, saith St. Paul, *but rather reprove;* Eph. v. 11. So we have done; both modestly and earnestly. The same is befallen us, which befel the blessed Apostle; we are become their enemies, for telling the truth; Gal. iv. 16.

Behold, now we are thrust out of door; spat upon; railed at; and, when opportunity serves, persecuted with most curious torments: and, lest any mischief should be wanting, obstinacy is now, at last, added unto error; and a cruel rage, arising from impatience: and now their wickedness began to please them more, because it displeased us.

And what should we now do, in such a case; we, the despised and rejected patrons of this spiritual chastity? To let fall so just a cause, we might not; unless we would cast off that God, who challenges this plea for only his. To yield and give in, were no other,

* Cypr. l. iii. Ep. 13. *Nullo concordiæ glutine aut unitatis vinculo copulari possunt.* † Ps. xxvi. 5. ἐκκλησίᾳ πονηρευομένων.

than to betray the truth of God, and damn our own souls. No course remains, but this one; and here is our only safety; with all our courage and skill, to oppose the wicked paradoxes and idolatrous practices of the Romish Church, till either she be ashamed of herself, or repent that ever she was.

SECT. 2.

The Commodities and Conditions of Peace.

BEAUTIFUL is the name of Peace, as Hilary speaketh *, and truly sacred; and such, as scarce savoureth of the earth. Neither did the Hebrews by any other term choose rather to express all happiness, and perfection of living †. Neither is there any thing, which the angels did more gladly congratulate unto men ‡, or which Christ did more carefully bequeath §, or the apostles more earnestly enjoin ‖. How oft, and how vehemently, doth the Spirit entreat and command us to have peace!

"But this," thou sayest, "is every man's wish, to have peace: but what if peace will not be had?" Lo, then, St. James charges us *to make peace* ¶, by our endeavours, by our patience. "Once made, and had; what if it will not stay with us?" Then St. Paul bids, *to follow those things which concern peace;* Rom. xiv. 19. "What if it will needs away, and hide itself?" Yet then St. Peter commands *to follow*, and *enquire after it;* 1 Pet. iii. 11. "What if, once found, it refuse to come; as Abraham's servant presupposed of Rebekah?" Even then *study to be quiet*, saith St. Paul; or, as the word implies, *be ambitious of peace;* 1 Thess. iv. 11.

So let the Author of Peace love us, as we love peace. Who is there, that would not rather wish, with Constantine, quiet days, and nights free from care and vexation **? It was a speech, worthy of an Emperor and a Christian, that fell from Jovianus, about that querulous libel of the Macedonians: "I hate contention; and those, that are inclined to concord, I love and reverence ††."

Our adversaries would make us believe they profess and desire no less, with an equal zeal of charity and agreement. God be judge betwixt us both; and, whethersoever persists to hate peace, let him perish from the face of God and his holy angels. Yea, that this imprecation may be needless, he is already perished: for, as Cyprian, according to his wont, gravely, "They cannot come to the reward of peace, which have broken the peace of God, with the fury of discord ‡‡.

* Hilar. cit. à Cal. de Verâ Pacific. † Jud. vi. 23. τὸ εἰν ζῆν. 2 Sam. xviii. 29. Jud. xix. 20. 1 Chron. xii. 18. ‡ Luke ii. 14. § John xiv. 27. ‖ εἰρηνευτὴν. 2 Cor. xiii. 11. ¶ ποιεῖν εἰρήνην. James iii. 18. ** Socr. l. i. c. 4. †† Socr. l. iii. c. 21. ‡‡ Cypr. de Simplic. Præl. *Ad pacis præmium venire non possunt, qui pacem Domini discordiæ furore ruperunt.*

And, surely, what but the flames of hell can determine the ambition of these fiery and boiling spirits? Basil observes well *, That God's fire gave light, and burned not: contrarily, the fire of hell burneth without light; and, therefore, is well worthy of those, who, despising the light of truth, delight themselves in the flames of contentions.

Those are the true haters of peace, which do wilfully patronize errors contrary to the Christian Faith. So long as we must dwell by these tents of Kedar, we shall too justly complain, with the Psalmist, *I love peace; but, in the mean while, they are bent to war;* Ps. cxx. 5.

And, as for us, which profess ourselves the ingennous clients of peace; since we must needs fight, it is not for us to do nothing: for that blessed Choir of Angels, before their *Peace upon earth*, well sung, *Glory to God in the highest heavens;* Luke ii. 14: and St. James describes the wisdom of God to be *first pure, then peaceable;* James iii. 17: and that Chosen Vessel implies no less, when, to his charge of peace, he adds, *if it be possible* †.

That is as impossible to every good man, which ought not to be done; as that, which cannot be done. Neither, indeed, as the rule of lawyers runs, can we be said to be able to do that, which we cannot honestly do. *God*, saith St. Paul, *is not the author of confusion, but of peace.* It is a wicked peace, it is no peace, that necessarily breeds confusion. That peace is worthy of a defiance, which proclaims war with God. And, I would to God, that peace, which Rome either can perform or dare promise, were of any better, of any other nature.

Well, then: let it be our present task, carefully to discuss St. Paul's condition of possibility; and teach how vain it is, to hope that a true, holy, and safe peace can be either had or maintained with our present Romanists: whether we regard THE ADVERSE AND STUBBORN DISPOSITION OF THE ONE SIDE; or, THE NATURE OF THE MATTERS CONTROVERTED; or, lastly, THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF THOSE MEANS, WHEREBY ANY RECONCILIATION MAY BE WROUGHT.

These three shall be the limits, wherein this our, not unprofitable, nor yet unseasonable work, shall suffer itself to be bounded.

CHAP. I.

IMPOSSIBILITY OF RECONCILIATION, FROM THE OBSTINATE AND ADVERSE DISPOSITION OF THE ROMANISTS.

And, as for the first, I suppose we need not labour much. Indeed, God can easily make the wolf to dwell with the lamb, and the leopard to lodge with the kid; Is. xi. 6. How easy is it for him, so

* In Ps. xxviii. † Εἰ δυνατόν. Rom. xii. 18.

to soften the adamantine hearts of men, by bathing them in the blood of that Immaculate Lamb, that they should melt into pure love! But, as the times now are, it would be no less miraculous to find a Popish heart truly charitable to us, than to see the lions fawning upon Daniel.

Even where there is strife about indifferent things, there is necessarily required a conspiring of the minds of them which would be reconciled; neither is it enough, that one side is content, together with arms, to lay down hatred: and how will our Romanists endure this? Surely, that hatred of Eteocles to his brother, or that of Vatinius, is but mere love to this of Papists.

Alas! when, and where, are we not spat upon, as the most desperately heretical enemies of the Church? Rome admits Jews into her bosom, from whose hands their Pope's Holiness disdains not to receive the book of the Law of God *; but Protestants she may not endure. That, which Socrates complains †, as injuriously done by Theodosius, a Grecian Bishop, against the very Macedonian Heretics, is daily done by them against us. No Arians, no Circumcellion Heretics, were ever more cruel: and these idle fablers, in the mean time, slander us to the world, as guilty of the same outrageous proceedings against them.

What heresy is there in all times, which that Romulean wolf and her bawling clients are not wont to cast upon us? One while, we are the scholars of Simon Magus; because we do but once mention grace and salvation; for what have we else to do with that wicked sorcerer? another while, we are fetched from the cursed school of Eunomius; for that we attribute too much to faith; and yet no more, than that holy heretic St. Paul. One while, we are Pepuzians, that ascribe too much to women: then we are Origenists; for holding the image of God to be defaced in man: then, contrarily, Proclians; for holding the sin of concupiscence not enough defaced. One while, we are the followers of Sabellius; because, I think, we lived in the same age with Servetus: another while, of Eutiches; because we lived in the time of Swinckfeldius; for what business have we ever had else with those branded heretics? We are Pelagians, one while; for holding the wages of sin to be death: then we are Donatists; for admitting none but the just into the Church of the elect. Sometimes we are Manichees; for denying free-will: straight, we are Arians; for refusing traditions: then, Novatians; for taking away penance. Another while, we are Ærians; for rejecting oblations for the dead, and fastings: then, Jovinianists; for not allowing a slippery and vanishing faith: the followers of Vigilantius; for disclaiming the adoration of relics: of Nestorius; for disliking the asseveration of the sacramental bread. Now, we are Xenaites; for demolishing of images: then, we are Lampetians; for disallowing the servitude of idle vows ‡.

* Sacr. Cer. l. i. † Socr. l. vii. c. 3.

‡ Bellar. de Notis Eccles. l. iv. c. 9.—Nota Sexta sic accus. Luth. Cal. Brent. Bellar. ib.—*Re ipsâ Calvinistis in Angliâ mulier quædam est summus Sacerdos:*

It matters not, whether the foul mouth of that hired strumpet accuse Timotheus the Presbyter, or Athanasius the Bishop, so that somebody be smitten. It matters not what be spoken, so it be malicious. That is fully resolved of, which Nazianzen hath *: "No man shall hold in the reins of a riotous and lawless tongue." For, as Jerome saith † well, "it is the pastime of the wicked, to slander the good." That, therefore, which was the solemn fashion of the Lindians, never to do service to their Hercules without railing; the same is too ordinary with these public heralds of our patience. "Our daily furnace," as Austin speaks ‡ wittily, "is our adversaries' tongue."

How easily might I here unload whole carts of reproaches, that have been heaped together by the scurrilous parasites of Rome! What rivers of blood, what bonfires of worthy saints, might I here shew my reader! All these the world knows and feels too much.

And, as for those honest and goodnatured men, which would needs undertake to be sticklers of these stripes, as Cassander, Fricius §, the Interimists, and that nameless Apologist of the French ‖; how ill have they sped on both parts! With whom it hath no otherwise fared, methinks, than with some fond shepherd, that thrusts himself betwixt two furious rams, running together in their full strength, and abides the shock of both. Neither may it ever succeed better to these kind Philistines, which will be bringing this ark of God into the house of Dagon.

And, for us, since we must needs be put to it, we shall not here, as it often falls out in other quarrels, strive to our loss. Abraham fared well, by the dissentions of Lot: all the milk and honey of whole Palestine hereupon befel to him; whereof he should else have shared but the half. Doubtless, these contentions, through the goodness of God, shall enrich us with a great increase both of truth and glory.

It is not Cassander's speech ¶ only, but every wise and honest man's, that the Creed is the common cognizance of our faith; and we all do, with one voice, willingly profess it.

Surely Theodoret, when he would, by a favourable report, allay the bitter contentions of those ancient Christians of Antioch, writes thus: "Both parts," saith he **, "made one and the same confession of their faith; for both maintained the Creed of the Nicene Council." And yet this position is spitefully handled by Cardinal Bellarmin; and can scarce draw breath, since his last stripes: "What

Bellar. Anno 1532.—Test. Surio apud Bell. l. i. de Chro.—Ibid. Hæres. 16. Zuingl. et Bucer.—Ibid. Hær. 9. Calv. l. iv. Instit. c. 1. sect. 7. Aug. Conf. art. 7. —Ibid. Hæres. 8. Luth. art. 36. Cal. Inst. l. ii. c. 2.—Ibid. Hæres. 10.—Ibid. Hæres. 6. cit. Cal. Inst. l. iv. c. 19.—Quær. reliq. ib. apud Bellar.

* Οὐδεὶς ὑφέξει τῆς γλωσσῆς αὐτονομίαν. † *Bonos carpere malorum solatium est.* Hier. ad Theop. advers. Joh. Hier. ‡ *Quotidiana fornax nostra, adversariorum lingua.* Aug. Confes. l. x. c. 37. § And. Fricius Modrevius lib. de Emendandâ Rep. ‖ Examen Pacifique de la Doctrine des Huguenots.

¶ Lib. de Offic. Boni Viri. ** Theod. Hist. l. iii. c. 4.

care we," saith he *, "for the same Creed? Faith is not in words, but in the sense."

And, indeed, I remember what Ruffinus reports done by Arius. That worthy Constantine had charged him to write what faith he held: he delivered him a Creed; in words, ours; in sense, his own. And how right his wicked brood took after their father, in the ensuing times of the Church, let histories witness: sure I am, whosoever shall read the Creeds of their several sects, shall hardly fetch out any thing, which an orthodox censurer would think worthy of reproof. How oft do they yield Christ to be God; yea, God of God; and yet perfidiously reserve to themselves, in the mean time, that absurd conceit, that he was created *ex non entibus* † !

As, therefore, Severianus, the Syrian, in Theodoret, spake Greek as a Grecian, but pronounced it like a Syrian: so there may be many, which may speak truths, but pronounce them heretically. "For all heresies," saith Irenæus §; "talk of one God, but mar him with their misconceits." "Yea, for the most part, all heresies," saith Chrysologus ‖, "set a face of the Trinity." To little purpose. It was not ill said of Gratian ¶, "That no man is to care for words, since that not the meaning should serve the words, but the words rather the meaning."

Let us grant all this, and more. Let it be said of the Creed, as Jerome said of the book of Job, that every word abounds with senses **. "There is no Divine Word," as Tertullian speaketh †† wisely, "so dissolute and diffused, that only the words may be defended, and not the true meaning of the words set down." To put the Cardinal out of this needless fear, the proper and native sense of the Creed may be fetched out; and, I add yet more (except but that one article of Christ's descension into hell, which Ruffinus confesses he could not find, either in the Roman or Eastern Creeds) is openly confessed on both parts.

And yet, for all this, we are never the nearer to peace: for, from these common principles of faith, the subtle device of heretical pravity hath fetched strange and erroneous consequences, which, by their sophistical and obstinate handling, are now improved into heresies; and dare now threaten, not only opposition, but death unto those very principles, from which they are raised.

Of this kind, are the most of those Romish opinions, which we undertake to censure in this discourse.

But, if, by the universal consent of all, it should appear that both word and sense are entire; that both the principles, and necessary conclusions thence deduced, are undeniably sound; "Yet," saith Bellarmin ‡‡, "there can be no peace with Lutherans." Let all the world know this, and wonder.

* Bell. de Laicis. lib. iii. c. 19. † Ἐξ ἀκόντων. Ὁμοίως.
§ Iren. l. i. c. 9. ‖ Petr. Chrys. Ser. 109. *Trinitatem vocabulis mentiuntur.*
¶ Decr. 22. q. 5. *Humana.* ** Hier. in Præf. †† Tert. de Præsc.
‡‡ *Nulla tamen pax cum Lutheranis.* De Laicis, lib. c. 19. Sect. 4.

Our King (be it spoken to the envy of those which cannot emulate him, an incomparable Divine for a Prince, yea, a Prince of Divines, a king of men, and a wonder of kings, mighty both with his sceptre and his pen) going about, in that learned and ponderous Discourse, to clear himself from the aspersion of heresy, which that foul hand had unworthily cast upon him, professes solemnly and holily, that whatsoever is contained either in the Sacred Scriptures, or the Three Famous Creeds, or the Four First General Councils, that, he embraces with both arms; that, he proclaims for his faith; that, he will defend with his tongue, with his pen, with his sword; in that, he will both live and die *.

Yea, but this is not enough, saith that great antagonist of princes †: for there are other points of faith, wherewith religion is, now of late times, enlarged; as transubstantiation, purgatory, the Pope's primacy: a whole dozen of these goodly articles hath the Tridentine Council created, in this decayed age of the world, lest the Fathers of Italy should seem to come short of the Apostles, and the Pope of Christ; any parcel whereof, whosoever shall presume to call in question, is a heretic presently, and smells of the faggot.

And, how ordinarily is that laid in every dish, "That he cannot be a member of the Church, which withdraws his obedience from their Pope, the head of the Church ‡"

Neither is that any whit milder, which Gratian cites from Pope Nicholas the Second; "Whosoever goes about to infringe the privilege of the Roman Church, or derogates from her authority, is a heretic §."

But that is yet well worse, which the allowed Table of the Decree hath peremptorily broached ‖: "Whosoever obeys not the Pope's commandment, incurs the sin of idolatry;" or, (as Gregory the Seventh, from whom Gratian would seem to borrow this, which yet is not to be found in his Epistles) "of Paganism."

Whatsoever, therefore, Christ Jesus, whatsoever the Apostles, whatsoever the Councils and Fathers of the Primitive Church have commended to us to be believed, shall avail us little, neither can ever make us friends, unless we will be content to beslave our faith unto their Popeling.

And can they think we will look at Peace, upon such a condition? That hope were bold and foolish, that could expect this. Neither do they more scornfully cast us out of the bosom of their Church, for spitting at these Articles of Straw, which their vanity hath devised, than we can confidently condemn and execrate their presumption, which have so imperiously obtruded such trash as this upon the Church of God.

* In Præfat. ad Imper. et Princip. † Bell. Resp. ad Regem. *Non satis est ad hæreticum nomen fugiendum illa recipere, quæ Rex Anglorum recipere atque admittere se dicit.* p. 80. *Etiamsi novitia et nupera illa sint, si quis tamen ea neget, immunem ab hæresi non fore.* Bell. Resp. ad Regem. p. 98.

‡ Bell. l. de Laicis, ii. c. 19. § Dist. 22. *Omnes.* ‖ Margaritæ Decret. vel Tabula Martinia, In verb. *Inobedientia.*

CHAP. II.

IMPOSSIBILITY OF RECONCILIATION, FROM THE NATURE OF THE MATTERS CONTROVERTED.

SECT. I.

From the Impuration or Corruption of the Roman Church.

But, to leave this first head of our adversaries' indisposition to peace, say that the Papists could be content to hearken to an agreement, which I can never hope to see while Rome is itself; say they should seek it: yet, as things now stand, while they will not and we may not stir one inch from our station of judgment, God forbids, the truth debars our reconciliation. We dare not, whatsoever some kind-hearted mediators may persuade us, either divide Christ, or betray him with a kiss. The truth is on high: "They may well ascend to us," as Leo said of old *; "but for us to descend to them, is neither safe nor honest."

First of all, how too plain is it, that THE ROMAN CHURCH IS PALPABLY DECLINED FROM THAT ANCIENT PURITY OF RELIGION, WHICH SHE ONCE PROFESSED! It is not more certain and sensible, that the City of Rome is descended from her seven hills to the Martian plains, that lie below them; or, that the spiteful heathens of old, as Eusebius reports †, turned the sacred monument of the tomb of Christ into the temple of their Venus.

What a cloud of witnesses have we, of this noted decay of that Church! yea, witnesses of their own!

To begin with that other sex. Hildegardis, a nun and a famous prophetess of her time, accuses the Apostolical Order of the utter extinguishing of religion amongst them: Matilda or Maud, who lived in the same age, censures them with common apostacy from the Christian Faith: and both of them, by some extraordinary revelation, clearly and directly prophesied of this religious and holy restoration of the Church, which our days see accomplished ‡. St. Brigit §, the foundress of the Order of St. Saviour, which was canonized ‖ by Pope Urban, sticks not to teach openly in her writings, that the Pope doth "torment, yea, crucify the souls of the elect ¶;" and boldly foretells, that all his followers and abettors and whole clergy shall be cut off, and that his See shall sink down into the bottom of hell **: and this she doth so tartly and vehe-

* Epist. ad Euph. Pell. cit. l. iii. de Laicis. † Euseb. Hist. l. iii. c. 25.
‡ Anno 1170. Ex Loc. Com. Henr. Token. Illyric. Proph. Rythmic. § Vita S. Brig. Præfixa Revel. ‖ Anno 1370. ¶ Rev. l. i. c. 41. *Cruciare, imo crucifigere electorum animas, &c.* ** Revel. Extr. c. 8.

nently, that the Romanists of those times threatened and endeavoured to burn her alive. Robert, our Bishop of Lincoln, to whom the greatness of his head gave a homely but famous name *, whom Illyricus mis-nameth Rupertus, a worthy and peerless man in his age, durst, before the Pope's own face, openly accuse the pastors of his time to be the spoilers of the earth, the dispersers and devourers of God's flock, the utter wasters of the holy vineyard of God. That Carthusian of Coleyne †, which is said to have gathered that Book of the Bundle of Times ‡, complains that truth was then perished from the sons of men. Petrus de Aliaco, a Cardinal, confesses that the ancient Divines built up the Church, but the then present seducers destroyed it §. And unto these agree John de Rupescissa ‖ a monk; Picus, earl of Mirandula ¶; Trithemius, the abbot; Laurence Valla; and those worthy lights of the Council of Basil, the Cardinal of Arles and Thomas de Corsellis **. But Nicholas Clemangis, the archdeacon of Bayeux, speaks nothing but stones and bullets; who, in a whole volume, hath freely painted out the corrupt estate of the Church ††: neither did Dominicus, Bishop of Brixia, speak any whit more sparingly; who, even in those times, durst set before his book this title, "The Reformation of Rome ‡‡:" to say nothing of Joachim; of Peter, of Ferrara, the lawyer; of the three Theodoricks; of Lyra, Petrarch, Gerson, Everard the Bishop of Salisburg, Erasmus, Cassander, Espencæus, the Jury of Cardinals selected by Paul the Third, (amongst which, Gasper Coteranus, James Sadolet, and our Cardinal Poole were, as they might, of eminent note) Alvarus Pelagius §§, Savanarola ‖‖ of Florence; and whomsoever those times yielded at once both learned and good. Even Pope Adrian himself, the Sixth of that name, while he instructs his legate in his message, censures the Church; and ingenuously complains, that all was gone to wreck and ruin.

What shall we then say to this? Can any man be so partial, as to think that so many saints of both sexes, prophets, prophetesses, monks, doctors, cardinals, popes, should, as Jerome speaks of the Luciferian heretics, merely devise these slanders to the disgrace of their holy mother? If any man be so mad, he is well worthy to be ever deceived.

Indeed, Rome was once a holy city ¶¶: but now, as no less famous the other way, she is become a city of blood ***. This grape is grown a dry raisin †††. Neither did that good hermit, Antony, so justly say of his Alexandria, as we may now of Rome; "Woe to

* Grossoteste in Manusc. An. 1250. † Jo. Trevisa, translated into English. ‡ Habetur initio Polychron. Ranulph. in Manuscript. Anno 900. § Artic. in Concil. Constant. editis 1535. ‖ Anno 1350. lib. Vade mecum. ¶ Lib. Advers. Ement. donat. Constant. ** Ænæas Syl. de Gest. Concil. Anno 1416. †† Ad Pium ii. ‡‡ Lib. Reform. Cur. Rom. Anno 1400. §§ Aventin. Annal. lib. vii.—Osiand. Confut. Thes. Coster. ‖‖ Jo. Mirandula, Marsil. Fecin. et Comineus report him to have been a prophet.—Espenc. in Tit.—Ostand Papa non Papa. ¶¶ Matt. iv. 5. πολὶς ἁγία.
*** עיר הדמים. Ezek. xxiv. 6, 9. ††† Ἀγαθυλὶς σαφὴς ἐστι. Theocrit. Idyl. xv.

thee, thou strumpetly city, into which the devils out of all the rest of the world have assembled themselves *."

Certainly, therefore, so shameful and general a deformity could not but be discerned by our latter Papists; and, to avoid all shifts, we have gently and lovingly laid our finger upon these spots: but, in the mean time, how heinously have they taken it! and, as Ruffinus speaks † of Apollinaris the heretic, while they are transported with the vicious humour of contention, and will be crossing every thing that is spoken, out of the vain ostentation of a strong wit, they have improved their idle brabbles to heresies. Jerome said wittily ‡; "They use to wink and deny, which believe not that to be done, which they would not have done."

SECT. 2.

Impossibility of Reconciliation arising from the wilful Fable of the Pope's Infallibility.

It is therefore a most lamentable and fearful case, that a Church, which, of her own favourites, is justly accused of many and dangerous errors, should block up against herself the way whereby she should return into the truth; and, as Francis à Victoria honestly complains §, should neither endure her own evils, nor their remedies. For, while she stands upon it, that she cannot err; and stubbornly challenges unto her chair a certain "IMPECCANCY OF JUDGMENT," that we may borrow a word from Tertullian ‖; what hope can now remain of recovering the truth? How are we now too saucy, that dare mutter ought against her! The first hope of health must needs be fetched from the sense and acknowledgment of the disease. That of the Epicure is common and true: "The beginning of recovery is the knowledge of the fault." "Thou must find thyself amiss," saith Seneca ¶, "ere thou canst amend thyself." Rome brags that she cannot be sick: what do we now talk of medicines for her? These Doctrinal Principles, as our Stapleton calls them, are they, from which a certain fatal necessity of erring must needs follow.

For, to what purpose is all this we do? If, upon the sentence of this Romish Oracle; for in the closet, or prison rather, of his breast, as Jerome objected to John of Jerusalem **, the Church is included; all things do so depend, that, whatsoever he shall determine must be received without all contradiction, and his decree can by no inferior means be repealed: in vain, do we wrangle for truth; in

* Hier. de Vitâ Pauli. † Ruff. l. i. c. 20. *Dum contentionis vitio nimis aguntur, &c.* ‡ Hier. Advers. Luciferianos. § Fr. à Victoria Relect. quarta de Potestate Papæ et Concilii: Propos. duodecima: Sect. ultima. *Proventum est ad hunc talem statum, ubi nec mala nostra, nec remedia pati possumus.* ‖ *Judicii impeccantiam.* ¶ Senec. Ep. 28. ** Epist. ad Pammach. de Error. Joh. Hierosol. *An tu solus Ecclesia?*

vain, have all those former Synods both met and defined; in vain, do we either teach or learn ought of any other master. Is it possible she should ever be drawn to remorse for her error, which eagerly defends that she cannot err? Either, therefore, let our Papists suffer this vain opinion of Infallibility to be pulled up by the very roots out of their breasts, or else there can be no hope so much as of a consultation of peace.

And, do we think that our masters beyond the Alps will ever abide themselves stripped of this darling, which they have made so dainty of all this while? Why do we not as well demand St. Peter's throne, and his revenues; and, together with his patrimony, all the body of religion? For, what one tittle is there of the now-Roman Faith, that hangs not on this string? Let them give us this, and Rome falls alone; and lies shamefully in the dust. Let them deny it us, and she shall be still that great harlot, still an enemy to peace, still hateful to heaven. But, so far are their modern Doctors from an ingenuous rejection of Infallibility, that no age ever knew so well how to flatter a Pope. For, not only have some yielded this unto him, without a Council; as Albert Pighius *, Gretser, Bellarmin †, and all Jesuits wheresoever: but some others; as Gregory of Valentia ‡, have fastened this upon him, without any care or study required on his part. O happy chair of Peter, firm, eternal, full of prodigious virtue! which if we might imagine a wooden one, I should sure think were made of Irish oak: there is no spider of error can touch it, but presently dies. Behold, the tables, written with God's own hand, were soon broken and gone; but the bars of thy frame can feel no age, cannot incur the danger of any miscarriage. Sure I think Vilius Rufus is alive again; which, because he sat in the same seat wherein Julius Cæsar had sat, and married Cicero's wife, had wont to vaunt of both: as if he should sure be Cæsar, for his seat; or, for his wife, Cicero §. Belike, all the virtue of it is from Peter. It is well, that his other successors conferred nothing towards it: lest, perhaps, Alexander the VIth., should have turned the succeeding popes into letchers; Clement, into sacrilegious church-robbers; Julius, into swaggerers; Benedict, Gregory, Sylvester, into simonists; Pascalis, into perjurers; Pope Joan of Mentz, into women; Martin and that other Sylvester, into magicians; the two Johns, into devils incarnate ||.

Now, on the other part, can any man be so foolish, to hope that our Church will ever be so mad, as thus basely to bolster up the great bridge-maker of Tiber: as though we could be ignorant, how Christ never either performed or promised them any such privi-

* Lib. iv. Hier. Eccl. *si maturè procedat.* † Bel. l. iv. de Pont. Rom. c. 2.

‡ G. Valentia. Analys. Fidei. l. viii. de Vi et Usu Auctorit. Romani Pontific. in Fide. Quæst. sexta. *Respondeo, sive Pontifex in definiendo studium adhibeat, sive non adhibeat: modò tamen controversiam definiat, infallibiliter certè definiet, atque adeo re ipsâ utitur authoritate sibi à Christo concessâ, &c.*

§ Xiphilin Epit. Dionis. Tiberio. δίφρῳ τῳ Καίσαρος ἐφ ᾧ, &c. || Quær. Plat. de Vitis Pontif. Clem. vi. Jul. ii. Ben. ix. Greg. vi. Sylvest. iii. Mart. ii. Sylvest. ii. Joh. xxiii. and xxiv.

lege? For, where is it written, as Luther jested well *, unless perhaps at Rome, in St. Peter's, upon some chimney, with a coal? Christ said, indeed, *Thou art Peter:* but, "Thou art Paul the Fifth," he never said. He said, *I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not:* so he said too, *Go behind me, Satan, thou savourest not the things of God.* Now, let this Oracle of the Chair teach us, how he can, at once, make himself full heir of the promise, and yet shift off the censure at pleasure.

Yet, to tread in the steps of the times, as though we could not know that the following ages knew not of this; not Policrates and Irenæus, which resisted Victor the Pope; not Cyprian, which opposed Stephen; not the Fathers of Calcedon, which would not yield to Leo; nor the Eastern Bishops, which would not yield to Julius; nor the Fathers of Constantinople, which refused to yield to Vigilius and Honorius: yea, of the latter days, those, which have had either sense or shame, as John Gerson, Chancellor of Paris, Turrecremata, Almaine, Alphonsus de Castro, Pope Adrian the VIth, Archbishop Catharinus, Cardinal Cajetan, Franciscus à Victoria; and who not, of the best rank of their doctors, have not feared openly to deny and disclaim this fancy †. And Alphonsus shall give a reason thereof, for all: "There are many unlearned Popes," saith he ‡, "that know not so much as the rules of grammar: how then should they be able to interpret the Holy Scriptures?"

As though we knew not which of their Popes favoured Arius, which Montanus, which Nestorius, which Atacius, which the Monothelites, which the Sadducees, and which were in league with Devils; which of them have defined contrary to their fellows, and which contrary to God; and, that I may use Jerome's words, how silly a pilot hath ofttimes steered the leaking vessel of the Church!

As though every tapster and tinker, now-a-days, could not point their finger to the long bead-roll of Popes; and say, "Such and such were the monsters of men §: such," as Platina ‖, Lyra ¶, Genebrard ** confess, "were apotactical and apostatical miscreants." I wis, their life hath been long the table-talk of the world, as Bernard speaks.

There can, therefore, be no peace possible, unless they will be content to be headless, or we can be content to be the slaves of Rome. Imagine, they could be so ingenuous, as to confess that the same serpent, which insinuated himself of old into paradise, might perhaps creep closely into Peter's chair; yet there would be no less controversy, *de facto*, than of the possibility of error.

* Luth. advers. falso nomine Episc. † Bel. reckons up most of these. l. de Pont.—Alii, a Cano Loc. Com. lib. vi. cap. 8. ‡ Alphons. de Castro. l. i. contra Hæres. cap. 4. § *Portenta hominum.* ‖ Plat. in Vit. Bened. iv. et Christ. i. ¶ Lyra in Matt. xvi. ** Genebrard iv. sect. 10.

SECT. 3.

Impossibility of Reconciliation, arising from those opinions of the Romanists, which chiefly respect Men:—Concerning (1.) *Justification:* (2.) *Free-will:* (3.) *Merits:* (4.) *Satisfaction:* (5.) *Purgatory:* (6.) *Indulgences and Pardons:* (7.) *Mortal and Venial Sins.*

BESIDES, there are other Popish opinions of the same stamp, but more pragmatical; which are not more pernicious to the Church, than to Commonweals: as those of the power of both swords, of the deposition of princes, disposing of kingdoms, absolving of subjects, frustration of oaths (sufficiently canvassed of late, both by the Venetian Divines, and French, and ours) which are so palpably opposite to the liberty of Christian government, that those princes and people, which can stoop to such a yoke, are well worthy of their servitude.

And can they hope, that the great commanders of the world will come to this bent? we all, as the Comic Poet said truly, would rather be free than serve; but much more princes: or, on the contrary, can we hope, that the tyrants of the Church will be content to leave this hold? What a foppery were this! For, both those princes are grown more wise, and these tyrants more arrogant; and, as Ruffinus speaks * of George the Arian gallant, they insolently govern an usurped bishopric; as if they thought they had the managing of a proud empire, and not of a religious priesthood.

But, let us be so liberal, as to grant this to ourselves, which certainly they will never grant us: for, this old grandam of cities thinks herself born to command; and will either fall, or rule. Neither doth that mitred moderator of the world affect any other emblem, than that, which Julian † jestingly ascribes to Julius Cæsar; τὸ πρωτεύειν: "to rule all:" or to Alexander the Great; πάντα νικᾶν: "to conquer all." It was a degenerating spirit of Adrian the Sixth; which caused to be written upon his tomb, in the Church of St. Peter; That nothing, in all his life, fell out so unhappily to him, as that he governed ‡. Let this, I say, be granted us.

There want not, I know, some milder spirits (Theodosians, that can play with both hands §) which think, if these busy points were, by the moderation of both parts, quietly composed, it might be safe for any man, so it be without noise, to think what he list concerning the other differences of religion.

These are the ghosts of that heretic Apelles, whose speech it was, That it is sufficient to believe in Christ crucified, and that there should be no discussing of the particular warrants and reason of our faith ‖: or the brood of Leonas, one of the courtiers of Constan-

* Ruff. l. i. c. 23. *Procaciter vi raptum Episcopatum gerunt, &c.*
† Julian. Cæsares. ‡ Binius in Vitâ Adrian. § Socrat. l. v. c. 20 et c. 14.
‖ Euseb. l. v. c. 13. ex Rodono.

tius, and his deputy in the Selecian Council; which, when the Fathers hotly contended, as there was good cause, for the consubstantiality of the Son; "Get you home;" said he, "and trouble not the Church still with these trifles *."

St. Basil was of another mind, from these men; who, as Theodorit reports, when the lieutenant of Valens, the emperor, persuaded him to remit but one letter for peace sake, answered, "Those, that are nursed with the sincere milk of God's word, may not abide one syllable of his sacred truth to be corrupted; but rather than they will endure it, are ready to receive any kind of torment or death."

Eleusius and Silvanus, which were orthodox Bishops; and those other worthy guardians, and, as Athanasius's title was, Champions of the Truth; were of another mind from these cool and indifferent mediators †.

So far as the sacred truth will allow us, we will accompany them gladly: but, if they urge us further, we stand still, or start back. And those two courses, which Epiphanius advised ‡ as the remedies of heresy, Heed and Avoidance, both those do we carefully use and perform. Great is the offence of discord, and unexpiable; and such, in the grave judgment of Cyprian §, as is not purged with the blood of our passion: and justly do we think that friend of Homer worthy of no place but hell ‖. But yet, we cannot think concord a meet price of truth: which it is lawful for us to buy, at any rate; but, to sell upon any terms, is no less than piacular.

Let us, therefore, a little discuss the several differences; and, as it uses to be done when the house is too little for the stuff, let us pile up all close together. It shall be enough in this large harvest of matter, to gather some few ears out of every shock; and to make a compendious dispatch of so long a task ¶.

The grossest of the Popish Heresies; and, as Jerome objects to Origen, the most venomous opinions of Rome, which have bred so much trouble and danger, at this day, to the Church of God; are either such, AS DO CONCERN OURSELVES, NOT WITHOUT SOME RESPECT TO GOD; or such, as concern God, not without some respect to us.

Of the former sort, are those, which, in a certain order (such as it is) of discourse, are conversant about Justification, Free-will, the Merit of our Works, Human Satisfaction, Indulgences, Purgatory, and the Differences of Mortal and Venial Sins.

These, therefore, first offer themselves to our examination.

(1.) That point of *Justification*, of all other, is exceeding important; insomuch as Calvin was fain to persuade **, that if this one

* Socrat. l. ii. c. 32. † Theodor. l. ii. c. 27.
‡ Epiph. l. i. initio: τὸ προσέχειν, καὶ μὴ συνὰμιλλᾶσθαι.
§ Cypr. de Simplic. Prælat. ‖ Ἄτη ἥ πάντας ἀᾶται. ¶ Ἀκροθινιάζειν.
** Calvin. de Vera Pacific. contra Interim.

head might be yielded safe and entire, it would not quit the cost to make any great quarrel for the rest.

Would to God that word of Cassander might be made good, which doubted not to say *, "That, which is affirmed, that men cannot be justified before God by their own strength, merits, or works, but that they are freely justified by faith, was always allowed and received in the Church of God, and is at this day approved by all ecclesiastical writers." Yea, I would they would be ruled by their Thomas Aquinas in this, who attributes † Justification to works; not as Justification is taken for an infusion of grace, but as it is taken for an exercise, or manifestation, or consummation of justice. If this were all, in this point all would be peace.

But, whilst the Tridentine Fathers take upon them to forge the formal cause of our Justification, to be our own inherent justice, and thrust faith out of office ‡; what good man can choose but presently address himself to an opposition? Who would not rather die, than suffer the ancient faith of the Church to be depraved with these idle dreams?

Go, now, ye great Trent Divines, and brag of yourselves, as Ætius did of old by Theodoret's report, that God hath now, at last, revealed to you those things, which he would have hitherto concealed from all the world.

In the mean time, we cannot but scorn to see the souls of men so shamefully deluded; while we hear the Spirit of God so often redoubling, *without works: not by works, but by faith: by their works no flesh shall be justified: being justified freely by his grace:* Rom. iv. 6. Gal. ii. 16. Eph. ii. 8. Rom. iii. 20, 24. By the power whereof, Arius Montanus, an ingenuous author (and, as Jerome said of Apollinarius §, a man of approved labour, though in many things, as the times then were, faulty in opinion) being utterly convinced, "It follows," saith he ‖, "that faith is reputed for righteousness, to him, that works not in the Law; and that, according to the purpose of the grace of God."

If we cast our eyes back to the Ancient Fathers, they are all ours. "Not according to the worth of our works;" saith Basil ¶. "Only to believe," τὸ πιστεύσαι μόνον; saith Nazianzen **. "Faith alone is sufficient;" saith Jerome ††. "By believing are men justified;" saith Augustin ‡‡. And, with these, consort the rest; Epiphanius §§, Chrysostom ‖‖, Athanasius ¶¶, Primasius ***, and that whole sacred Choir of Antiquity. But, to what purpose do I instance in these, when as the Expurgatory Index of Spain hath purposely wiped

* Consultat. de Justific. † In Galat. et in Jac. ii.
‡ Concil. Trid. sess. 6. c. 7. *Si quis dixerit sola fide &c.* Can. 9.
§ Epist. ad Pam. et Oceanum. ‖ In Rom. iv. 5. ¶ In Psal. xiv. 1.
** Vid. Whitak. contra Dur. περὶ ἐυταξ.
†† Lib. i. advers. Pelag. et in iii. ad Galat.
‡‡ De Patient. c. 20, et in Psal. xxxi. §§ In Ancor.
‖‖ In Rom. 17. Hom. et in 1 Cor. Hom. 11. ¶¶ Orat. I. contra Arian.
*** De offic. l. ii. c. 2.—De Jacob. et Vita Beat. 2.

both out of the table and text of Chrysostom *, Jerome †, Cyril ‡, most clear testimonies for the Sole Justification by Faith? the book is every where abroad: it is needless to recite the severals. See now the Inquisitors guilty to themselves, both of error and fraud. To whom I must sing the same note, that Ambrose did, of old, to the Arians: "Ye may blot out the letters; but the faith, you can never abolish: those blurs bewray you more; those blots condemn you more, than the writing §."

But some, perhaps, may think this a mere strife of words, and not hard to be reconciled: for, that, which to the Papists is inherent justice, is no other to the Protestants than sanctification: both sides hold this equally necessary: both call for it equally:—True; but do both require it in the same manner? do both to the same end? I think not. Yea, what can be more contrary, than these opinions to each other? The Papists make this inherent righteousness the cause of our justification; the Protestants, the effect thereof. The Protestants require it as the companion or page; the Papists, as the usher, yea, rather as the parent of justification.

"But what matters it," say they ‖, "so both ascribe this whole work to God? As though it comes not all to one, to pay a sum for me, and to give it me to pay for myself:"—I know not how these things seem so little dissonant to these men's ears, which the Spirit of God hath made utterly incompatible. *To him that worketh, the wages is not imputed of grace, but of debt. If by grace, now not of works; or else grace should be no more grace:* "For neither is it grace any way, if it be not free every way;" saith Augustin ¶. But these men say, "Therefore of grace, because of works."

Not of works, lest any man should boast; saith the Spirit; Eph. ii. 9. "But of works; and yet a man shall boast in the Lord;" saith Bellarmin. And wherefore shall he boast? because he is just? because void of sin? Perhaps, some Isiodore ** may say thus of himself, which voluntarily protested, that, for forty years' space, he found not in himself any sin; not so much as in his thought; not so much as any consent to anger or inordinate desire: or, perhaps, some Baronius or Bellarmin may report this of their late St. Gonzaga ††: or the offal of the Schools may say so of Bonaventure ‡‡; in whom, if we believe them, Adam sinned not: or Manicheus §§ may say it of his elect masters: or, perhaps, Priscillian, Evagrius, Jovinian, the Messalians, may brag thus of themselves.

But, far otherwise is that speech of Ambrose ‖‖: "I will not boast, because I am just; but, because I am redeemed: I will boast, not because I am void of sin; but because my sins are forgiven me."

* In Rom. 8. Chrys. Hom. de verbis Pauli. *Non solùm sed gloriamur in affl.* Tom. iii. p. 945. In Ep. ad. Tit. c. 2.

† Hier. in Epist. ad Rom. c. 10. ‡ *Fides sola justificat*, deleatur ad Gal. ii.

§ *Literas quidem abolere potestis, &c.* Amb. de Sp. S. l. iii. c. 11.

‖ Exam. Pacif. Rom. iv. 4. ¶ Aug. d Cor. et Grat. ** Socr. l. iv. c. 18.

†† In Vitâ ejus. ‡‡ *In Bonaventurâ non peccavit Adam.*

§§ Qu. Vitam ejus. ‖‖ Hier. advers. Pelag. ad Ctesiphont.

Otherwise, we shall come to that point, which Innocentius condemned in the Pelagians *: "What need have we now of God?"

But thou sayest, "God hath given me this, whereby I am just." Indeed, this seems, at the first, a great and glorious praise of the grace of God; and, at the first hearing, sounds well to an ignorant ear: and yet, when it is better considered, under a pretence of piety, spoils Christ of his glory. Why dost thou not as well say, "He hath given me, wherewith I may redeem myself?" for, by the same, wherewith we are justified, we are redeemed: *Being justified by his blood;* Rom. v. 9. Behold, the blood of him, that is God and man, justifies us; and the same redeems us.

But, go on a little: God hath given thee this:—But hath he given it thee, without thyself? Is this done, without the intervention, without the operation of our free-will? Let the monks of Bourdeaux speak, in their Abjurations †: let Andradius, let Bellarmin (the flower of the Popish School), let any Papist deny this, if he dare.

It is only Christ's therefore, which is imputed: that, which is inherent, is ours. "For all," saith Austin, "which are justified by Christ, are just, not in themselves, but in him. That, which is Christ's, because it is his, is most perfect: that, which is ours, because ours, is weak and imperfect. God hath made us men; not Gods. Our perfection is seasonable in heaven."

Justly doth Jerome deride Ctesiphon ‡; we, the Papists: "O blessed, O happy men, if that justice, which is not thought to be any where but in heaven, may be found with you only upon earth: in the mean time, it is sufficient for us, to mourn for our wants, to hate injustice." It is the very speech of Donatists, "I have nothing for thee to pardon §."

Let Bernard ‖ now, to conclude, shut up this stage. "Not to sin," saith he, "is God's justice; but the justice of man, is the pardon of God."

To be imputed therefore, and to be inherent, differ no less than God and man, Trent and Heaven. Wherefore, let our Romanists confess, that, which both Scriptures and Fathers and all their modester Doctors have both thought and reported to be the common voice of the former Church in all times; and we are agreed: otherwise, what fellowship hath God with Belial, light with darkness?

(2.) Bordering upon this, is the point of *Free-will.*

To let pass all lighter quarrels of the nature of our will, let us enquire of the power of it. And that, not in natural, human, or moral things: (here is all peace and silence, save that the words jangle with themselves; and, when the matter is agreed upon, who would not contemn words, as Augustin ¶ saith well?) but, in spiritual and divine matters.

* Theod. l. iv. c. 10. † Abjurat. Artic. 45. ‡ Hier. advers. Pelag. Lib. ii.
§ Optat. l. ii. cont. Don. *Non habeo quòd ignoscas.*
‖ Ser. in Cant. et Ser. 4. de Verbis Esa. *Rectam sortitam justitiam, &c.*
¶ Aug. de Ordin. 2.

We do will, indeed. We will freely: neither can we otherwise will any thing. Who denies it? Here is no physical determination, no violence: but, to will that which is good, or to will well, we cannot *. We do freely believe; for faith is an act of the will: yea, and we do co-operate with grace: neither are we herein like to senseless stones, as Austin truly speaks.

But, whence is all this? Is it of ourselves, or of God? Is it of grace, or, which the Council of Arausica condemned, by the power of nature? This must be our question.

Both sides like well that speech of St. Augustin: "To will freely, is the work of nature; to will well, of grace; to will ill, of corruption:" but, when we come to the point, the Doctors of Trent are not more subtle, than the Jesuits inconstant.

It is yet good and safe, which Bellarmin † cites from his Ruardus: "A good work, as it is a work, is from free-will; as it is good, from grace; as both a work and good, both from free-will and grace."

But that is exceeding ingenuous, and truly evangelical, which the same Bellarmin ‡ affirms, against some Semipelagian Catholics, in those things, which pertain to piety and salvation, that man's will can do nothing without the help of God's grace. It is the voice of Jacob. If the Cardinal would hold him there, cursed be he, that should oppose him.

I go on to hope and read: and see what stuff I meet with, soon after, in the same book §; That our conversion is in the power of free-will; because it may be always converted, when it will: and, yet further ‖; That, before all grace, we have free-will, even in the works of piety and supernatural things. Before all grace? what, before the grace of prevention? It were well the Cardinal would set forth some better recognitions.

Now, then, God doth not prevent us, as Austin ¶ said of old, that we might will; but we prevent God, because we will.

But, lest this should seem too gross, this liberty is tied up; and is altogether in the same state as the faculty of seeing, when a sensible *species* is absent: we can freely see, while the object is absent: we can freely will, in the absence of grace.

Let Bellarmin now tell me: are we any whit more free to evil, than he feigns us to good? Did ever Pelagius dote thus much? We can will evil; but yet, unless it be determined, under some false semblance, by the verdict of our practical judgment, we will it not.

But, if we should yield him thus much, what help is this, that God gives us? To prevent, inspire, excite, and help, is of God: to incline the will, is of ourselves. How are we not now more beholding to ourselves, than to God? What is this, but that Pelagian

* *Aliud est velle, aliud velle Bonum.* Bern. † Bell. l. vi. de Grat. c. 5. p. 10.
‡ Lib. vi. de Grat. c. 4. in titulo. § Lib. vi. c. 15. Resp. ad Secund.
‖ Lib. vi. de Grat. c. ult. Sent. primâ.
¶ Aug. de Cor. et Grat. *Nolentem prævenit, ut velit; volentem subsequitur, ne frustrà velit.*

conceit, so oft condemned by Augustin *, so to separate free-will from grace, as if, without it, we could do or think any thing answerable to the will of God?

That we are able, by the power of our will, to avoid sins; that we can overcome "the slighter motions of temptation," as Bellarmin † speaks; that we can keep God's commandments, as Scotus ‡ and Durandus §; that we can reject or receive the inspiration of the Spirit, as the Tridentine Fathers ‖; that we can dispose ourselves to the receiving of grace, as Thomas and Suarez; that we do naturally co-operate with grace, and make our conversion effectual, as Tapperus ¶: what is it else, but to steal glory from God, that we may prank up this carrion-nature of ours?

Yet it was modestly done of Tiberius **, who, of those many buildings which he repaired and perfected, challenged not one to himself; but gave them still the names of those men, by whom they were begun to be built: but these men challenge the whole house, when as they have not laid so much as one tile upon the roof.

Far be this shameful sacrilege from us, when that truly jealous God challenges to himself, to work in us both the will and the deed: yea, that we can will to believe, is his work; as Austin †† rightly speaks. See, then, he doth not excite, but work in us; ἐνεργεῖ. He *works in us, both*, that which is first, *to will; and*, that which is last, *to work*.

Jerome ‡‡ says worthily, "To will, and to run, is mine: but, without God's continual help, it will not be mine." *Without me, you can do nothing*, saith Christ; no, not think any thing, saith Paul. Alas, what can we do, who are not lame, but *dead in sins?* Eph. ii. 1. By the influence of God's Spirit, therefore, a new life must be created in us, that was not; Col. iii. 1. and not the former life excited: which was according to that of the Psalmist, *Create in me a clean heart;* Ps. li. 10. and not stir up that clean one I have. Neither, indeed, is there, as yet, any place for this: the first heart must be taken out; another must be put in. *I will take away their stony heart, and give them a heart of flesh*, saith God, by the mouth of Ezekiel; ch. xxxvi. 26.

"He will give it, but," thou sayest perhaps, "into their breasts, which have predisposed and prepared themselves for the gift:" yea, contrarily, to those, that do not a little resist him. The wisdom of the flesh is enmity: but there are some enmities more secret, and which do not outwardly bewray themselves; but, behold, here is public resistance: οὐκ ὑποτάσσεται; *It is not subject.*

* Aug. Epist. 46. et 47. Petr. Chrysol. Ser. 114. *Christus quicquid suarum virtutum est, refert ad gloriam Patris; et homo, cujus suum nihil est, sibi vendicare quod per Christum resurrexit elaborat.*

† *Leviores quasque titillationes superare.* Bell. ‡ Scot. 2. d. 28.

§ Dur. ibid. qu. 4. ‖ Sess. 6. c. 5. et Can. 4. ¶ Citat. Bell. ibid.

** Xiphilin. Tiber. †† De Grat. et Lib. Ar. c. 16.

‡‡ Hier. ad Ctesiphont.

"But, perhaps, it will once yield of itself:" οὐ δύναται; *It cannot*, saith the Spirit of God.

See in how rebellious an estate we are to God. What proneness is here, to will good; what ability, to perform it?

Let the Papists, if they will, sacrifice to themselves, as Sejanus * had wont of old; or to their nets, as the Prophet speaketh: as for us, come what can come upon our opposition, we neither can nor dare arrogate unto ourselves those things, which, by a holy reservation and incommunicableness, are proper only to the Highest.

It is safe, indeed, for the Papists, when they will to come up to us; but we cannot go down to them, without a fearful precipitation of our souls. Let Cassander † witness this for us. Let Bonaventure himself witness it for him: "This is the property of holy minds, to attribute nothing to themselves, but all to the grace of God: so that, how much soever a man ascribe to the grace of God, he swerveth not from true piety; though, by giving much to grace, he withdraw something from the power of nature or free-will: but, when any thing is withdrawn from the grace of God, and ought attributed to nature which is due to grace, there may be great danger to the soul." Thus far those two ingenuous Papists.

But, to infer, we give all to grace, the Papists something to nature; and what they give to nature, we give to God. Therefore, we do and say that, which is fit for holy minds: they, if Bonaventure may be witness, that, which swerves from piety, and is joined with much danger of their soul.

(3.) The foundation of Popish Justification is the freedom of our will; and, upon the walls of justification, is *Merit* raised.

We will have no quarrel about the word. The holy Fathers of old, as we all grant, took the word in a good sense, which the latter Divines have miserably corrupted ‡.

About the thing itself, we must strive eternally. We promise a reward to good works; yea, an everlasting one: It is a true word of the Jews §, "He, that labours on the Even, shall eat on the Sabbath:" for God hath promised it, and will perform: who yet crowneth us in mercy and compassion, as the Psalmist speaks; not, as the Papists ‖, "in the rigour of justice;" not, as Andradius ¶, "according to the due desert of our work:" "by the free gift of God, and not our merits;" as Cajetan **, wisely and worthily: or, if any man like that word better, "God doth it in justice, but in respect of his own promise; not the very dignity of our works."

"That a just man's work in the truth of the thing itself, is of a value worthy of the reward of heaven," which industrious and learned Morton cites out of the English Professor of Doway ††; "and hath a meet proportion both of equality and dignity, to the recom-

* Xiphil. Epit. Dionis.

† Consult. Cass. cit. Bonavent. in hæc verba, *Hoc piarum mentium est, ut nil sibi tribuunt, &c.*

‡ Bucer. cit. à Cass. Cypr. l. iii. ep. 20.

§ Prov. Jud. *Qui laboravit in Vesperâ, comedet in Sabbatho.*

‖ Conc. Trident. ¶ Orthod. Expl. l. vi ** Cajet. in Galat.

†† Weston. de Trip. Hom. Off. l. ii.

pence of eternal life," as Pererius; and that, "in itself, without any respect of the merits and death of Christ," which Suarez and Bayus shamed not to write *; seems justly to us little less than blasphemy.

"But," say our modern Papists, "Christ hath merited this merit of ours:" "neither can any other works challenge this to themselves, but those, which are done in God," as Andradius speaks; "but those, which are dipped and dyed in the blood of Christ," as our latter Papists elegantly and emphatically speak. But, what is this, but to cozen the world, and to cast a mist before the eyes of the unskilful? Our sins are dyed in the blood of Christ; not our merits: or, if they also, hath Christ then deserved that our works should be perfect? how comes it about, that the works of the best men are so lame and defective? Hath he deserved, that, though they be imperfect, yet they might merit! what injury is this to God! what contradiction of terms!

Behold now, so many Saviours, as good men! What I do, is mine; what I merit, is mine; whosoever gives me, either to do or to merit.

Whosoever rides on a lame horse, cannot but move unevenly, uneasily, uncertainly. What insolent over-weeners of their own works are these Papists, which proclaim the actions, which proceed from themselves, worthy of no less than heaven! To whom we may justly say, as Constantine said to Acesius the Novatian †, "Set up ladders, O ye Papists, and climb up to heaven alone."

Who can abide that noted speech of Bellarmin ‡, "A just man hath, by a double title, right to the same glory: one, by the merits of Christ imparted to him by grace; another, by his own merits?" contrary to that of the Spirit of God, *The wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life;* upon which words, another Cardinal, Cajetan, speaks in a holier fashion, thus; "He doth not say, that the wages of our righteousness is eternal life; but, *the gift of God is eternal life;* that we may understand and learn, that we attain eternal life, not by our own merits, but by the free gift of God: for which cause also he adds, *by Jesus Christ, our Lord;* Rom. vi. 23. Behold the merit, behold the righteousness, whose wages is eternal life: but to us, in respect of Jesus Christ, it is a free gift." Thus Cajetan §. What could either Luther or Calvin, or any Protestant say more plainly?

How imperfect doth the Scripture every where proclaim, both God's graces in us, and our works to him! and, though the graces of God were absolutely perfect, yet they are not ours: if our works were so, yet they are formerly due: and, if they be due to God, what recompence of transcendent glory is due to us? Behold, we are both servants, and unprofitable. *Not worthy*, saith God: "Wor-

* Vid. Protest. Appeal. l. ii. c. 11. Tom. 1. in Th. 3. d. 11.
† Socr. l. i. c. 7. *Erigite vobis scalas, &c.* ‡ *Homo justus duplici titulo, &c.*
§ Cajet. Com. in Rom. vi.

thy, and more," say the Papists. *By grace ye are saved through faith, and not of yourselves,* saith God; Eph. ii. 8: "By grace, indeed; but yet of ourselves," say the Papists. What insolency is this! Let our monks now go, and profess wilful poverty; while Hezekiah did never so boast of his heaps of treasure, as these of their spiritual wealth.

Jerome said truly *; "It was more hard to be stripped of our pride, than of our gold and jewels; for even when those outward ornaments are gone, many times these inward rags swell up the soul."

Gregory Ariminensis, their old Schoolman, was ashamed of this wicked arrogance; and so was Durandus, and Pighius, and other their Divines of a more modest temper. I would the Jesuits could have had the grace to have been no less ashamed; and the Tridentine Doctors, together with their executioners, the Inquisitors.

But, what other men have holily and truly spoken, that they have perfidiously wiped out. Witness their Index of Madrid †, in these words: "Out of the book which is entitled, The Order of Baptizing, together with the Manner of Visiting the Sick, printed at Venice, in the year 1575, let these words be blotted out; 'Dost thou believe, that, not by thine own merits, but by the virtue and merit of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou shalt come to glory,?" And, soon after ‡, "Dost thou believe, that our Lord Jesus Christ died for our salvation; and that no man can be saved by his own merits, or any other means, but only by the merit of his passion?"

I wis, these are the scorpions and snakes of the ancient Divines; as Jerome § termed the errors of Origen; amongst which the reader must needs have walked, had not the grave senate of the Inquisition wisely provided for our safety.

What hope is there now of peace? unless they could be content, which Bellarmin grants to be the safest way, renouncing the merits of their works, not so much for their uncertainty, as the imperfection of their justice and danger of vain-glory, both to resolve and teach men, to repose their confidence in the mercy and bounty of God: which we can, at once, both wish, and not hope for.

(4.) *Satisfaction* hath near affinity with merit; and, indeed, is but as another twig, arising from the same root: than which, no opinion could be devised more injurious and reproachful to the merits of Christ.

The word was not displeasing to the ancient Fathers; nor, in their sense, to us. Only this let me touch, in passing by: That the heedless abuses of words, to the great wrong of the Church, hath bred confusion of things: as, contrarily, that of Tertullian ‖ is approved; "The assured sense of words is the safety of proprieties."

* Hier. Epitaph. Fabiolæ. † Ind. Expurg. Madriticus. p. 149.
‡ Ex. cod. libro, fol. 34. ad Med. § Hier. l. de Libris Orig. Περὶ ἀρχῶν.
‖ Tert. de Præscrip. *Fides nominum salus proprietatum.*

We have nothing to do here with Civil Satisfaction; nothing, with Ecclesiastical: whereof Luther not unfitly said *, even in Cassander's own judgment, "Our mother, the Church, out of her good affection, desiring to prevent the hand of God, chastises her children with certain Satisfactions, lest they should fall under the scourges of God." This Canonical Satisfaction, as many call it, hath been too long out of use, on both sides.

Yea, more than this, in all our sermons to our people, we beat importunately upon the necessity of penitence, and all the wholesome exercises thereof, as fruits worthy of repentance: not, as Cassander well interprets it, as if we desired they should offer unto God a ransom worthy and sufficient for the clearing of the score of their sins; but, that we teach them, those offices must be performed by them, which God requires of those sinners on whom he will bestow the satisfaction of his Son †.

Let them call these satisfactions, if they will: we give them leave. But, that, after the most absolute passion of Christ, there should be yet behind certain remainders of punishment to be discharged by us, either here or in purgatory, with a purpose thereby to satisfy the divine justice, whether they be imposed by God, or by the priest, or by ourselves, as the Tridentine distinction runs, we neither may, nor can endure.

For, how nicely soever these men distinguish, it cannot be, but this sacrilegious opinion must needs accuse the truly propitiatory sacrifice of Christ, of some imperfection. I know they say, that both satisfactions may well stand together: that, of the Mediator; and this, of man: whereof Bonaventure calls the one, perfect; the other, semi-perfect. But these are words. Let the sophisters tell me: doth not the full vessel contain in itself the half? or what need the one half apart, when we have the whole? and, lastly, can any thing be added to that, which is perfect?

But, some of their heedfuller Divines will neither have these two opposite nor subordinate to each other. For, it is a shame to speak, what Suarez, what Durand, and other grosser Papists ‡ have discoursed of this point. Let them rather, if they will, hold (which opinion yet hath been controlled, not by the Cardinal § only, but by three Popes ‖ before him) that men's satisfactions serve only to apply unto us that, which the satisfactions of Christ have promerited for us. Yet even this shift will not serve: for Christ's satisfaction, as they teach, respects eternal punishment, and not temporal: how, then, can it once be imagined, that we, by our satisfaction, should procure, that his suffering, which was destinated to the expiation of an eternal punishment, should serve to the discharge of a temporal? And, why should we do this, rather than Christ himself? Besides, how absurdly doth this sound, that He, whose bounty

* Consult. c. de Satisfact.

† *Satisfactio penitentialis, nihil aliud est, quàm conatus infectum reddendi quod factum est.* Alphons. Virvesius adv. Luth.

‡ Cit. Cass. Ibid. § Bellarm. de Indulg. l. i. c. 4.

‖ Pius V. Greg. XIII. Clem. VI.

hath paid our pounds for us, hath yet left us, out of our poor stock, to pay some few farthings for ourselves!

Let me demand, then; Whether could not Christ undertake these temporal punishments for us, or would he not? That he could not, is impious; that he would not, is bold to say, and illiberal to do: for, where is there any restraint? or what are the limits of his mercy?

"The fault is remitted," saith the Conventicle of Trent: "the punishment is not pardoned." The Eastern Church would never have said so, which always stoutly opposed herself to this error. And, indeed, what a shameful reproach is this to the Infinite Mercy of the Forgiver! what a wrong to his justice! Whereto is the punishment due, but to the fault? Did ever God inflict punishments, that were not due? Many a time, hath he forgiven to sinners those plagues, which both they had deserved, and he threatened: but never did he call back for those arrearages, which he had forgiven.

God punishes us, indeed; or chastens us, rather; and that, sometimes, well and sharply; after the remission of our offence: not, that he may give himself satisfaction of us; for how can it be so pleasing to him, that it should be ill with us? but, that he may confirm us to himself; that he may amend us. He lays no stroke upon us with a revenging hand, but with a fatherly.

We suffer, therefore, now; but we satisfy not. This is proper only to that Eternal Priest, and to his eternal priesthood; and is no more communicable to saints and angels, than his own person. And, certainly, that, which was his part, he hath performed: he hath redeemed us from the curse of the Law; and part of the Legal punishment is this temporal revenge.

For us, therefore, to give hands to them in this, it were no better, than perfidious and shamefully traitorous. And, if it be more than manifest, that this cannot be done, either by our own torments inflicted, or good works performed (how penal soever), how much less shall it be effected by others! There is none of the saints, which will not justly take up that answer of the wiser virgins, *There will not be enough for you and for us*; Matt. xxv. 9. But, as Jerome * said well; "There is no need of any great conviction, where the opinion carries blasphemy in the face."

(5.) Upon this conceit of satisfactions, depend those other fables of *Purgatory* and Indulgences; pleasant ones both, and not unworthy of a satire: whereof so oft as I think, I cannot but remember the scornful frump of Luther, alluding to that of the Prophet, *Domine, non possum vesci stercore humano.*

Yet, if they had only doubtfully and problematically commended their purgatory to the Church, we might easily have favoured them with a connivance: although you cannot say, whether it would have been more worthy to set the spleen on work for laughter, or the bowels for commiseration. But now, when Bellarmin teaches

* Hier. adver. Ctesiphon. *Non necesse habet convinci, quod suâ statim professione blasphemum est.*

us that it pertains to the Catholic Faith, and our Fisher of Rochester will have it altogether necessary to be known and believed; we cannot entertain this presumptuous folly, without indignation.

How miserably the Scriptures are wrested to this purpose, if any schoolboy could not easily see, he were worthy of whipping. As Jerome * said of the heretics of his time, "They frame some unfitting testimonies to their own sense:" as if it were a worthy, and not rather an abominable kind of teaching, to deprave sentences, and to drag the Scriptures perforce to their own bent.

Neither are the ancient Fathers better used in their citation: of which, Origen, Ambrose, Hilary, Lactantius, Nissen, Jerome, gave intimation of a quite other purgatory, from the Romish. Augustin speaks of it, at peradventure, waveringly, uncertainly. The rest never dreamed of any at all.

But, yet, I mistake it. Now I remember, St. Plato † is cited by Austin ‡ and Eusebius §, for the patron of this opinion: and, who knows not, that St. Homer and St. Virgil are flat for it.

Yet this fire never began to burn out, but in Gregory's time; and, since that, the authority of the Alcoran hath not a little mended it.

This is it, that their Rochester ingenuously confessed of old, That this purgatory flame came but lately to the knowledge of the Church: but, for us, that of St. Paul shall never be wrung from our hands, ἐὰν ἡ ἐπίγειος *If*, or *when, this earthly house shall be dissolved, we have a building, not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens;* 2 Cor. v. 1. And, when is this St. Paul's ἐὰν? St. John shall interpret it: ἀποθνήσκοντες ἀπάρτι: *Those, that die, à modo, from henceforth;* Apoc. xiv. 13. And when is this *à modo? To day, thou shalt be with me*, saith Christ; even instantly, upon the egress of the soul. Let them *commend their souls to God*, saith St. Peter.

But what of that? that, which doth utterly quench out this fabulous fire, the counterfeit Solomon (though true to the Papists) adds, "The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and no torment shall touch them;" Wisd. iii. 1. Behold, then, either the souls without a purgatory, or a purgatory without pain.

But what stick we at this? Let the Popish Doctors together agree among themselves, of the fire of their purgatory, of the torments of the subject, of the duration, of the executioners, of the condition of the souls there detained; and then, afterwards, let them look for our assent.

In the mean time, why is it not as free for us as for Suarez ‖, not to believe the walking ghosts of the dead, but metaphorically? or, why may not we as well deny the ordinary common purgatory,

* Hier. Paulin.

† Plato in Phædone. *Itaque, quicunque in vitâ quodammodo medium tenuisse ita comperiuntur, ad Acherontem profecti vehiculis, quæ unicuique adsunt, in paludem perveniunt Acherusiam; ibique habitant; purganturque, pœnas dantes injuriarum: et cùm purificati, &c.*

‡ Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. xxi. c. 13. qui et Virgil. ibid citat.

§ Euseb. de Præpar. Evang. l. i. c. ult. ‖ Tom. 4. in Th. d. 46.

as Bellarmin may devise a new one, more noble and easeful than the first?

(6.) Purgatory is guilty of *Indulgences*, as their Rochester confesses. Both of them were bred by superstition, and nursed by covetousness. I touch these with a light hand only.

It is long, since all ingenuous clients of Rome were ashamed of this holy fraud.

I cannot but commend Cassander, which writes * thus modestly and truly: "The abatement or relaxation of canonical punishments, was of old called Indulgence: which, at this day, is drawn to all private satisfactions; and the full right of bestowing them withdrawn from all other Bishops, to the Bishop of Rome alone. About the use and practice whereof, all good men have desired a correction and moderation; as of things, which, being hitherto ill handled, have given the chief occasion of this breach in the Church. Here, therefore, it were to be wished, that the Popes would yield something to the public peace." Thus far Cassander. With whom agrees Polydore Virgil: both of them more worthy of a black coal, than their honest Rochester, whom Gregory of Valence hath so foully branded. Neither hath there wanted some of their own, as Bellarmin witnesseth †, which have called both the treasure of the Church and pardons into question. Neither have there wanted those, which have boldly and flatly denied them, either to be of use, or to be at all.

And, indeed, who, that is not too much intoxicate with the potions of that harlot, can endure, that, whilst the imputation of Christ's merits to the justifying of a sinner applied by God to us, is every where a common scoffing-stock to these men; yet, that the merits and sufferings of holy men, out of a certain common treasure, should by a man be imputed to men, for the deliverance of their souls from torment?

Who can abide, that any mortal man should over-satisfy God for his sins?

Who can abide the prodigal grants, and shameful marts, of their pardons?

Who can endure to hear, that to the careless mumbling over of some short prayers (for if we believe their Casuists, there is no great need of any intention of mind, of any special devotion) there should be granted by John xxiind. a pardon for no less than a million of years ‡?

Who can endure, since by their own confession this fire must last but till the conflagration of the world, that yet, in one little book §, there should be tendered unto credulous poor souls, pardons of but eleven thousand thousand of years? What should we make many words of this? There is now lying by me a wormeaten manuscript ‖, with fair rubrics, in which, beside other absurd and blasphemous promises, there is power given to one little prayer to

* Cap. de Indulg. † De Indulg. l. iv. c. 4. ‡ Horæ B. Virg.
§ Stations of Rome. ‖ Rithmic. Horæ B. Mar. Virg. ad usum sacrum.

change the pains of hell, due perhaps to him that says it, into purgatory; and, after that again, the pains of purgatory into the joys of heaven. Bellarmin had wisely respected his own credit, if he had given his voice according to that, which he confesseth to have been the judgment of some others *; That these like bulls were not given by the Popes, but lewdly devised by some of his base questuaries, for an advantage. But that, which he should excuse, he defends. What ingenuity or shame is to be expected of Jesuits? and how clean hath an old parrot, as he said of old, forgotten the wand!

Who may abide this unjust and inhuman acceptation of persons? that the wealthier sort may, by their purses, redeem this holy treasure of the Church; and, by money, deliver the souls of themselves and their friends from this horrible prison: while the needy soul must be still frying in that flame, without all hope of pardon, or mature relaxation, until the very last Judgment Day?

Lastly, who can endure, that, while it is in the power of Christ's Vicar to call miserable souls out of this tormenting fire, which hell itself is said to exceed only in the continuance; yet, that he should suffer them to lie howling there, and most cruelly broiling still, and not mercifully bestow on them all the heaps of his treasure, as the spiritual ransom of so many distressed spirits? A wretched man is he, as Ambrose said † of the rich man, which hath the power to deliver so many souls from death, and wants the will. Why hath God given him this faculty of Indulgences, if he would not have it beneficial to mankind? and, where the owner of the house will be bountiful, it is not for the steward to be niggardly ‡. Let that Circe of Rome keep these husks for her hogs.

(7.) Pardons do both imply and presuppose that known distinction of *Mortal and Venial Sin*, which neither hath God ever allowed; neither, while he gainsays it, will ever the Protestants.

That there are certain degrees of evil, we both acknowledge and teach: so as we may here justly tax the dishonesty and shamelessness of Campion, Dureus, Coccius, and the Monks of Bourdeaux, who have upbraided us with the opinion of a certain Stoical and Jovinianish parity of sins: yea, Bellarmin himself hath already done this kind office for us.

Some offences are more heinous than other; yet all, in the malignity of their nature, deadly: as, of poisons, some kill more gently and lingeringly, others more violently and speedily; yet both kill.

Moreover, if we have respect unto the infinite mercy of God; and, to the object of this mercy, the penitent and faithful heart; there is no sin, which, to borrow the word of Prudentius, is not venial: but, in respect of the anomy or disorder, there is no sin, which is not worthy of eternal death.

Every sin is a viper. There is no viper, if we regard the nature of the beast, but kills whom she bites: but, if one of them shall

* Lib. de Indulg. † Amb. de Naboth. ‡ *Auth. operis imperfect.*

haply light upon the hand of Paul, she is shaked into the fire, without harm done. Let no man fear that harmful creature ever the less, because he sees the Apostle safe from that poison. So is sin to a faithful man.

St. John's word is, *All sin is ἀνομία, transgression of the Law;* 1 John iii. 4: St. Paul's word is, *The wages of sin is death;* Rom. vi. 23. Put these two together, and this conceit, of the natural pardonableness of sin, vanishes alone.

Our Rhemists, subtle men, can no more abide this proposition converted, than themselves. "All sin indeed," say they, "is *anomia, a transgression of the Law;* but every transgression of the Law is not sin." The Apostle, therefore, himself turns it for us: *All unrighteousness*, saith he, *is sin.* "But every ἀνομία is unrighteousness," saith Austin upon the place; "for the Law is the rule of righteousness: therefore, the prevarication of the Law is unrighteousness." Yea, their very own word shall stop their own mouth: for, how is sin univocally distinguished into venial and mortal, if the venial be no sin? and *the wages of* every *sin is death.*

That, therefore, which the Papists presume to say, That this kind of sin deserves pardon, in itself; unless they will take the word merit, catachrestically, with Stapleton: and that, which Bellarmin and Navarrus add, That venial sins are not against, but beside the Law: and, lastly, that, which Franciscus à Victoria * writes, that a Bishop's blessing, or a Lord's Prayer, or a knock on the breast, or a little Holy-water, or any such like slight receipt, without any other good motion of the heart, is sufficient to remit venial sin; is so shamefully abhorring from all piety and justice, that these open bands, both of nature and sin, must be eternally defied of us. It is an old, and as true a rule, "Easiness of pardon gives encouragement to sin."

And, beside, what manner of sins do they put in the rank of venials? Drunkenness, adultery, angry curses or blasphemies, covetousness, yea, stealing, lying, cursing of parents, (horrible offences!) shroud themselves, with them, under this plausible title of venial †. He must needs be shamelessly wicked, that abhors not this licentiousness.

Surely Socrates, the historian, prophesied, I think, of these men, "There are some," saith he ‡, "that let go whoredom, as an indifferent matter; which yet strive for a holy day, as for their life."

The ordinary, and not slight controversy, as Cassander thinketh, of the name, nature, condition, punishment of "the first sin," as Chrysostom ‖ calls it, I willingly omit. Neither do I meddle with their evangelical perfection of vows; nor the dangerous servitude of their rash and impotent votaries; nor the inconveniences of their monkery: which yet are so great and many, that the elect Cardi-

* Τὸ ἐπιτυχὲν, &c. Fr. à Vict. Summa Sacr. Pœnitentiæ. nu. 100. p. 63.

† Decr. 23. q. 4. *est injusta*, &c. Peter Alagona Comp. Manual. Navarri, p. 91. p. 267. p. 140. p. 191. p. 352. p. 100.

‡ Socr. l. v. c. 21. ‖ Πρώτη ἁμαρτία. Original.

nals of Paul the Third doubted not, with joint consent, to affirm, "All the Orders of Convents we think fit to be abolished."

But, for the condition of that single and solitary life, let that be done, which Cassander and Clingius the Franciscan advise in this case: that is, let all false conceit and preposterous confidence be removed from it; that the trust, which should only be put in the merit of Christ, be not placed upon these courses: and, let no man think, that hereby he deserves righteousness, remission, grace: and, lastly, which I add, remove but idleness, superstition, necessity, from this kind of life, and we do not, we will not disallow it.

Neither do we take our colleges for any other, than certain sacred ἀσκητήρια, Monastical Academies; wherein, according to the precept of Pelagius the Pope, we may be maturely fitted for these holy services of God and his Church. Such were the Monasteries of the Ancient: insomuch as Possidonius can witness *, that St. Austin, out of one little house, sent forth ten labourers into the Church.

SECT. 4.

Impossibility of Reconciliation, arising from those opinions of the Romanists, which chiefly respect God:—

(1.) *Concerning Scripture:*—[1.] *Its Canon:* [2.] *Its Insufficiency:* [3.] *Its Authority.*

(2.) *Concerning the Person and Offices of Christ:*—[1.] *Against his Person, are* (a) *Transubstantiation:* (b) *The Multi-presence of his Body.* [2.] *Against his Priestly Office, are* (a) *The Sacrifice of the Mass:* (b) *The Number of Mediators, and the Invocation of Saints.*

(3.) *Concerning the Superstitious, Heathenish, and Ridiculous Worship of the Papists.*

Now, lest I be too tedious, it is time for me, from these points, which do directly concern ourselves; to hasten unto those, WHICH DO MORE CLOSELY TOUCH THE MAJESTY OF GOD, and do, as it were, send plain challenges into heaven.

And those do, either respect the Scripture, which is his expressed word; or Christ, which is his natural and substantial Word; or, lastly, the worship due unto his Name.

(1.) And, first, *the Scripture* complains justly of three main wrongs offered to it. The first, of Addition to the Canon: the second, of Detraction from the Sufficiency of it: the third, of Hanging all the Authority thereof upon the Sleeve of the Church.

For, of that corrupt translation of Scripture, which the Trent Divines have made only and fully authentical, I forbear purposely to speak: although it were easy to shew, (that which Reuchlin, following the steps of Jerome †, hath averred) That the Hebrews

* Possid. in Vitâ Aug. † Hier. advers. Helvidium.

drink of the well-head, the Grecks of the stream, and the Latins of the puddle. Neither will I so much as touch the injurious inhibition of those holy books to the laity.

[1.] Who can endure a piece of new cloth to be patched unto an old garment? or, what can follow hence, but that the rent should be worse? Who can abide, that, against the faithful information of the Hebrews; against the clear testimonies of Melito, Cyril, Athanasius, Origen, Hilary, Jerome, Ruffinus, Nazianzen; against their own Doctors, both of the middle and latest age *; six whole books should, by their Fatherhoods of Trent, be, under pain of a curse, imperiously obtruded upon God and his Church? whereof yet, some propose to their readers no better than magical jugglings; others, bloody self-murders; others, lying fables; and others, heathenish rites; not without a public applause in the relation.

These indeed, Cajetan, ingenuously, as his fashion is, according to that he had learned of Jerome, would persuade us to have been admitted only by the Ancients, into the Canon of Manners, not of Faith.

And, surely, there be many precepts in Syracides, the counterfeit Solomon, and Esdras, which savour of excellent wisdom: but I wonder what kind of good manners can be learned from such like histories, even by those novices †, to whom Athanasius bequeaths these books! Well may I say of these, as that Chian servant of his master which sold his wine and drank his lees, While they have good they seek for naught.

But, let these books, how questionable soever to Epiphanius ‡, be all sacred, let them be (according to the meaning of the Council of Carthage, and of Austin, so oft cited to this purpose) after Canonical: yet what man or angel dare presume to undertake to make them divine? We know full well, how great impiety it is, to father upon the God of Heaven the weak conceptions of a human wit: neither can we be any whit moved with the idle crack of the Tridentine curse §, while we hear God thundering in our ears, *If any man add unto these words, God shall add unto him the plagues written in this book*; Apoc. xxii. 18.

[2.] Neither know I, whether it be more wickedly audacious, to fasten on God those things, which he never wrote; or, to weaken the authority, and deny the sufficiency, of what he hath written.

The Papists do both.

"We affirm," saith Bellarmin ‖, "that there is not expressly contained in Scriptures all necessary doctrine, either concerning faith or manners." And the Tridentine Fathers gave charge, that Traditions be received "with no less piety and veneration ¶," than the books of Scripture. "Unwritten truths," saith our witty Chancellor, More, "are equivalent to the word of God."

* I refer the reader, for the citation of these, to my "Dissuasive from Popery."

† Catechumeni. ‡ Epiph. l. i. sect. 5. Ἐν ἀμφιλεκτῳ δευτερο-κανονικοι.

§ *Si quis l. Hester, Dan., Barnc., Eccl., Judith, Tob., Macca. pro Canonicis non receperit, Anathema sit.* sect. 4.

‖ Lib. iv. de Verbo non Scripto, c. 30. sect. 1.

¶ *Pari veneratione, pari pietatis affectu.*

What place is there for peace?

There are, we confess, certain things of a middle nature, indifferent rites, wherein much must be yielded to the Church, much to Traditions: but, that those things, which are simply necessary to salvation, whether to be known or to be done, should not be found in the Holy Scriptures, "either in their words or in their sense," as Aquinas distinguishes *, we justly hold absurd; and, with Erasmus, contrary to all true divinity.

Some Constitutions † for public order are from the Church: but all necessary determinations of faith are to be fetched from the voice of God.

This is, as Nissen truly commends it, "the right and even rule of life ‡." *The Law of God is perfect*, saith David; yea, and *makes perfect*, saith Paul. And what can be added to that, which is already perfect? or what perfection can there be, where some necessary points are wanting; yea, if we may believe Hosius, the greatest part?

How much is the Spirit of God mistaken! He wrote these things, that we might believe; and, in believing, be saved. But, now, if Trent may be judge, although we believe what he hath written, yet we cannot be saved, unless we do also receive and believe what he hath not written.

How ill was Constantine taught of old! how ill advised, in that public speech! for which yet we do not find, that any of those worthies of Nice did so much as jog him on the elbow, in a mild reproof, while he said §, "The books of the Evangelists and Apostles, as also the Oracles of the Ancient Prophets do plainly instruct us, in the message and meaning of God."

How miserably were every one of the learned Fathers of the Church ‖ blinded, that they could never either see or acknowledge any other rule of faith!

And, what shall we say? Did God envy unto mankind the full revelation of his will, in the perpetual monuments of his written word? Or, did he not think it expedient to lay up all necessary doctrines in the common store-house of truths, as Rochester calls it? Or, is that perhaps more uncertain, which is faithfully committed to writing; than that, which is carried about by the flying rumours of men, and by this airy conveyance derived unto posterity?

What a thing is it, as Irenæus wisely said, that we should leave the voice of the Lord and his Apostles, and attend to these idle tatlers, that talk never a true word!

* *Per verba, per sensum.*

† Διατυπωσεις. In Can. Nic. Græc. cod. Pisan. Binius Conc. Tom. 1.

‡ Κανων ἐξοδος καὶ ἀδιάστροφος. § Theod. l. i. c. 7.

‖ Tert. de Præscr. et l. contr. Her.—Orig. in c. xvi. ad Rom.—Atha. in Synops.—Ambr. l. iii.—Hex. c. 3.—Aug. *Ego solis Scripturis, &c.* De Nat. et Gr. c. 61.—Opt. Milev. l. v.—Tho. in Mag. l. iii. d. 3. q. 1. ar. 1. Citat ex Iher. *Non mihi credas, si quid tib: dixero, quod ex Novo Testamento vel Veteri haberi non possit.*

Or, if this be fitting, how vainly have you spent your labours, O all ye Registers of God, Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists! And, as he said of the ointment, *to what purpose was all this waste?*

These paradoxes are pernicious to the Church; and shamefully derogatory from the glory, both of the wisdom and goodness of God. Hold these, who dare. Surely, we can never abide, that those two marks of heretics, which Irenæus long since set down *, (namely, not to rest in the bare authority of Scripture, and to vaunt of other Traditions) should both of them be justly branded on our sides.

[3.] But, this is yet most shamefully injurious, to deny unto the word of God credit of itself †; and so to hang the Scriptures upon the Church, that they must needs beg all their authority from the voices of men.

Honest Eckius, in his revised and corrected Enchiridion: "The Scripture," saith he, "is not authentical, without the authority of the Church:" to which, as some golden and oracular sentence, there is added in the margin, a glorious and insulting applause, "An Achilles for the Catholics ‡."

I let pass the blasphemies of Hermannus and Hosius; perhaps, as Junius § construes it, in the name of Swinkfeldius. I pass over the horrible impiety of that shameless gloss ‖, which teaches, that Solomon's text borrows his credit from the Pope's canonization.

Bellarmin alone shall speak for all; who, going about to support the number of Seven Sacraments by the authority of the Tridentine Council (for this ever is their last hold) "The strength," saith he ¶, "of all the ancient Councils, and of all opinions, depends upon the authority of the present Church." And, a little before, "If we take away the authority of the present Church, and of the present Council," of Trent, "the decrees of all other Councils and the whole Christian Faith may be called into doubt and question."

O miserable, and miserably staggering souls of the Papists! How many, not persons only, but whole kingdoms, and those, as the Romanists themselves confess and bewail, mighty and flourishing, amongst themselves, do yet still resolutely reject all the authority of that Tridentine Council! "The whole Christian Faith?" "All doctrines and opinions?" What, even those, which are written by the finger of God? those, that are indicted by the Holy Ghost? What is this else, but to make God a slave to men; and to arraign the Maker of Heaven and Earth at the bar of human judgment? God will be God; the Scripture of God will be itself; in spite of Rome, Trent, Hell. And, unless we hold this, we can have no peace with God: unless we deny it, no peace with the Romanists.

* Iren. l. iii. c. 1. † Αὐτοπιστίαν. ‡ Enchir. Eccii, 7. recogn. an. 1586. fol. 8. *Achilles pro Catholicis.* § Animadvers. in Bellar. ‖ Glosse in Decret. l. ii, Tit. 23. Ἰερὰ ἀγκύρα. ¶ Bell. de Num. Sacr. et Effect. l. ii. c. 15. p. 209.

(2.) These errors concern the Scriptures. Those, which follow, concern *either Christ's Person, or his Offices.*

[1.] I let pass that idle brabble, as Bellarmin himself judges it, which the Popish Censors have unjustly raised about the Son's Godhead of himself * ; and insist upon weightier quarrels.

(a.) I would that exploded opinion of Transubstantiation, and, which is the root of it, the multi-presence of Christ's Body, did not utterly overthrow the truth of his Humanity.

Good God! Is it possible, as Averroes jested of old, that Christians should make themselves a God of Bread? that any reasonable man can believe, that Christ carried his own body in one of his hands? that he reached it forth to be eaten by those holy guests of his, which saw him present with them, and heard him speaking to them; both while they were eating him, and when they had eaten the sacred morsel? that the self-same Son of Man should, at once, both devour his whole self, and yet should sit whole and entire at the table with them? that the glorious body of Christ should be carried through the unclean passages of our maws: and either be there turned into the substance of our body; or, contrary to that the Spirit said of old, *Thou shalt not suffer thine Holy One to see corruption;* Ps. xvi. 10. should be subject to putrefaction, or vanish to nothing, or return into that heaven wherein it was, ere it returned, while it returned: or, lastly, should be eaten with mice, (devout and holy vermin!) or, perhaps, mixed with poison, to the receiver?

What monsters of follies are these! How mad, yea, how impious is this obstinacy of foolish men, that they will overturn the very principles of nature, the order of things, the Humanity of their Saviour, the truth of the Sacrament, the constant judgment of Scripture, and, lastly, the very foundations of all Divinity; and confusedly jumble heaven and earth together, rather than they will, where necessity requires, admit but of a tropical kind of speech in our Saviour's consecration; while, in the mean time, the whole reverend senate of the Fathers cries out, and redoubles the names of symbols, types, signs, representation, similitude, figures, and whatever word may import a borrowed sense; notwithstanding all the indignation of heaven, all the scorn of pagans, all the reluctation of the Church!

This letter killeth; as Origen truly speaks. Now, what likelihood is there, here, of agreement?

That the true body of Christ is truly offered and truly received in the Sacrament, which of us hath not ever constantly taught and defended? But, how is this? not by any bodily touch, as Cyril and Ambrose say well; but, by our faith. That it should be corporally, carnally, orally present; and torn in pieces with our teeth, as

* Genebr. l. i. de Trin. Lindan. 2. dial. Canisius in præf. lib. de Jo. Bapt. αὐτοσιότης. Bell. l. ii. de Chro. c. 19. *Calvinus, sine dubio, in modo loquendi erravit; sed, dum rem ipsam discutio, non facilè audeo prorsus eum illum in errore fuisse.*

good Pope Nicholas caused Berengarius * to say, and our Allen hath followed him unbidden; hath ever seemed impious to us, and, as Austin † judges it, no less than flagitious.

We like well yet the ingenuity of Arius Montanus, in this point; who, upon Luke xxii. *This is my body*, saith he, "That is, my body is sacramentally contained in this sacrament of bread:" and, straight he adds, like another Nicodemus, Christ's nightly disciple, "The secret and most mystical manner whereof, God will once vouchsafe more clearly to unfold to his Christian Church." Thus he.

In the mean time, for us, this prodigious conceit of transubstantiation, which alone contains in it as many absurd errors, as there have been minutes of time, from the first forming of it, that is from the Council of Lateran until this hour, can look to be entertained no otherwise at our hand, than as such a devilish fancy deserveth, with hatred and execration.

(b.) But this sleeveless tale ‡ of transubstantiation, was surely brought both into the world and upon the stage, by that other fable of the Multi-presence of Christ's Body. Neither know I, whether I should prefer, for madness and sophistical cozenage.

That the same body of Christ should be in a thousand places, at once, of this sublunary world; while yet it is, in the mean time, entire in heaven: that the whole body of Christ should lie hid in a little thin wafer; yet so, that the parts and members thereof should not one run into another, but continue distinct, and severally disposed among themselves, and have a shape and order agreeable to a man's body; which are Bellarmin's own words: it doth not only exceed reason, but faith.

Neither do they say now, as of old, *Behold, here is Christ, or there;* but, which is much worse, "Behold, Christ is both here and there."

That received Axiom of the Schools is of an eternal truth: "The numerical unity of a finite thing cannot stand without continuity §."

Who can choose, but be ashamed of the Jesuits here? The very places, in which Christ's body is, saith Bellarmin, are discontinued: yea, and the body of Christ itself is divided from itself, in respect of place; but not in respect of his proper substance, or quantity. As if there could be any division of a material substance, but by bounds of place: as if quantity were not both bounded and measured by place alone ‖: as if there were not an undoubted relation of the place to the thing placed.

But now, this doth not belong to Christ only. St. Xavier, in our

* Tert. contra Mar. l. iv. Beatus Rhenanus confesses this error of Tertullian was confuted in Berengarius. Aug. Psal. iii. et Epist. 162. De Doct. Christ. iii. 16.—Chrys. Hom. 46. in Joh. &c.—Bell. l. i. de Euch. cap. 1.

† De Doct. Christ. l. iii.

‡ Ἀκέφαλον μῦθος. § Jul. Scal. Exercit. in Card. ‖ Aug. Epist. 57. *Spatia locorum tolle corporibus, et nusquam erunt.* Cited also by D. Sutcliffe, cont. Bell. de Euchar.

age, one of Loyola's brood, was seen, at once, both in the ship and in the boat. Tursellian reports it. Unto this fabulous saint, and his fellow-fabuler the reporter, I cannot devise to set a better match, than that Plautine Amphitrio: "Darest thou say, thou fond slave, that which never man yet saw, nor indeed can be done, that one man should, at the same time, be in two places at once* ?"

How far wide is Aquinas, the honour of the Schools, which saith†, "By the same ground or reason, that an angel might be in two places, he might be in as many as you will!" See now either Xavier is every where, or else the carcase of a friar is more subtle than the nature of an angel. To conclude, either Aquinas is false, or the Papists ubiquitaries.

How over bold are the Jesuits, the patrons of this multi-presence! Bellarmin, scorning the modesty of Thomas, Egidius, Carthusian, Capreolus; "Because," saith he‡ "we think that the body of Christ may be in many places at once, locally and visibly, therefore we say and hold, that the same body may be circumscriptively and definitively in more places at once: for, that a body may be circumscriptively in any place, nothing is required, but that it be fitly measured unto that place; so as the bounds of the place and the thing placed, be both together: but, it is not required, that it should not be elsewhere, as in another place." Thus he. What an absurd opposition is this! To be circumscribed in one place, and yet to be other-where! that the bounds of the place and the thing placed should be but one, and yet be in almost infinite! that another remote place should less hinder circumscription, than a part of the next place! What is to be mad, if this be to be wise? Who cannot but laugh at "the wise folly" of these men; as Iræneus said§ of the Valentinians?

But, I willingly hear that of Chrysostom: "To conceive of divine things by philosophy, is no other, than to take out a red-hot iron with our fingers, and not with tongs:" and that of Augustin: "Yield God able to do something, which thou art not able to understand." It is reported‖, that Aristotle misled Ætius the heretic, into that filthy error of Arius: and Tertullian¶ hath taught us, that all heresies are suborned by philosophy. What hath Athens to do with Jerusalem; the Academy, with the Church? Away with arguments, where faith is in question; as Thomas ingenuously says out of Ambrose.

But, what is all this to us? It is well yet, and I do heartily congratulate it to our men, that the idle tale of Surius, concerning Melancthon, and Carolostadius, and other Protestants, abandoning of all philosophy, wherewith yet Binius** pleased himself of late, is

* *Tun' id dicere audes, quod nemo unquam homo antehac*
Videt, nec potest fieri, tempore uno
Homo idem duobus locis ut simul sit? Plaut. Amphit. Act. 2.

† Tho. in Mag. l. i. d. 32. q. 1. art. 1. ‡ Bell. de Euchar. l. vi. c. 4. p. 297. in 8. § *Sapientem stultitiam.* Iræn. l. i. cap. 9. ‖ Socrat. l. ii. c. 35. ¶ Tert. l. de Præs. ** Binius in Vitâ Adrian. VI.

thus hissed out of countenance, and vanished. Belike now, the Reformed Doctors are Philosophers, but too much.

For us, we do easily grant, that many things are done, which we cannot understand: but these things, we grant not; because we understand they cannot be done.

God hath absolute power, as Thomas speaks truly, over the whole nature of the creature; but not so, as that he should cause it to be, and not to be, at once *. This, as Sadeel says wittily, *Deus potenter non potest.* The object of God's power, as the Jesuits' School willingly confesses, is, whatsoever implies not a contradiction in itself: now, that the self-same body should sit down, and yet not sit down; should be visible, and invisible; divisible and continued, and yet discontinued and indivisible; to be all here, to be all elsewhere; to be here greater, there less; to be one, and many; the same, and divers; to depart, and not to depart; to be contained in heaven, and not to be contained; to be a quantity, without space; to be measured by and fitted to a place, and not to take up any place; to be accidents, and yet not to be inherent; to be formerly, yet to be made; to be otherwise in places, than in a place; to be a true body, and yet to be spiritually: that boy were well worthy of whipping, that cannot discern and confess manifest contradictions.

But, what do I spend time in this thorny discourse? This one word shall shut and sum up all: That this wicked pair of opinions offers plain violence to the true Humanity of Christ; neither can ever, *salvâ fide*, be reconciled with the Evangelical Truth.

[2.] The Priestly Office of Christ is not a little impeached by the daily Oblation of the Missal Sacrifice, and Number of Mediators.

(a.) For the first; That in this Sacred Supper there is a sacrifice, in that sense wherein the Fathers spake, none of us ever doubted: but that is then, either latreutical, as Bellarmin distinguishes it not ill; or eucharistical: that is here, as Chrysostom speaks, "a remembrance of a sacrifice †;" that is, as Augustin interprets it, a memorial of Christ's passion, celebrated in the Church. And, from this sweet commemoration of our redemption, there arises another sacrifice, the sacrifice of praise; and, from thence, a true peace-offering of the Christian soul.

These three sacrifices offer themselves to us here; but, for any propitiatory sacrifice, unless it be, as the gloss interprets it, representatively, I find none: none, essential; none, as the Tridentines ‡ labour to persuade, true and proper.

Neither, indeed, can there be. For, what? Doth the priest offer the same, that Christ hath offered, or another?

If another, then not propitiatory; for only Christ is our propitiation.

If the same, then not an unbloody sacrifice; for Christ's sacrifice

* Petr. Mart. Dial. de Omni-præs. † ἀνάμνησις τῆς θυσίας. ‡ Trid. Conc. Sess. 21.

was a bloody one: then, the natural being of Christ should again be destroyed: then, the blood of the Mediator, which I abhor to imagine, must be of a finite value and power. Yea, Christ himself did not sacrifice on the table, but on the cross: for, if the sacrifice which he offered in his supper were perfect and fully propitiatory, what needed he to die afterward? wherefore was his blood shed upon the cross, which, by his transubstantiated blood, not yet shed, had formerly redeemed the world?

But if it it be unbloody, then it is not propitiatory: for, *without shedding of blood*, saith the Apostle, *is no remission;* Heb. ix. 22.

Or, what opposition is there betwixt the order of Melchisedec and Aaron, betwixt Christ and the priests of the old Law, if this office do equally pass and descend in a long pedigree of mortal successors? Or, why were the Legal sacrifices of the Jewish Synagogue so oft repeated, but because they were not perfect? and how can or why should that, which is most absolutely perfect, be reiterated?

To conclude; what can either be spoken or conceived more plain, than those words of God, *once offered, one sacrifice, one oblation* *? And yet these Popish shavelings, devout men! take upon them to crucify and sacrifice Christ again; and, while they solemnly offer the Son of God up unto his Father, they humbly beseech him, in a religious blasphemy, that he would be pleased to bless and accept that oblation †. It is not for us, I confess, to be so devout. We will remember this holy sacrifice of Christ, as Cassander well advises; and celebrate it with a thankful heart: we will not repeat it. We will gladly receive our Saviour, offered by himself to his Father, and offered to us by his Father: we will not offer him to his Father. Which one point while we stick at, as we needs must, we are strait stricken with the thunderbolt of the Anathema of Trent. Here can be, therefore, no possibility of peace.

(b.) It doth not more belong to the priesthood of Christ, that he offered himself once for us, a spotless sacrifice, upon the altar of his cross; than that he daily offers to his Father the incense of our prayers, on the altar of heaven. As, therefore, many sacrifices, so many Mediators plainly seem to put Christ out of office.

Neither indeed hath the number of intercessors more increased in this old age of the world, than the impiety of imploring them. For the modester judgment of the former Schools so framed to itself a distinction of mediation, that it challenged one kind thereof as proper only to Christ, thinking the other might be imparted to saints: but our late Doctors, wilfully breaking the bars both of logic and divinity, have rashly encroached upon all the offices of a

* Heb. ix. 28. μία θυσία, μία προσφορα. Heb. x. 12, 14.

† *Quam oblationem tu, Deus, in omnibus quæsumus benedictam, ascriptam, ratam, ac rationabilem facere digneris: Munera quæsumus, Domine, oblata sanctifica, &c.* Canon. Miss.

Mediator; and, whatsoever might by any right belong to an agent for peace, all that, if not more, have they attributed to the saints.

Hereupon, one says to the Blessed Virgin, "O Saviouress, save me:" another, "Obtain thou pardon, apply grace, prepare glory for me:" others, if we may believe Cassander, famous Divines, have said, that "God hath translated one half of his kingdom, which consists of mercy, to the Blessed Virgin Mary; reserving the other half, of justice, to himself:" others, that "we may appeal from the bar of God's justice, to Mary's court of mercy:" others have so compared their Francis with Christ, that, I tremble to speak it, whether of these was the typical Jesus, might seem questionable to the reader.

Hear the holy muse of Turselline:

> Francis, that was, shall now be Christ to thee:

And, soon after,

> And Christ, that was, Saint Francis now shall be *.

O tongue, worthy to be cut out of that blasphemous mouth, as Jerome said of his Vigilantius, and made into gobbets!

Neither hath this impious parasite, or his Sedulius done more for their stigmatical Francis, than the holy Archbishop Antonius hath done for his Dominick †, in an emulation of blasphemy. There wants nothing, that I can see, but that "Everlasting Gospel of the Friars:" and it wanted not much, if histories say true, of prevailing:

> Oh, what mad gowns have sway'd the Roman state!

as their poet ‡ said of old.

Others have sacrilegiously turned Litanies, Creeds, Psalters, and whatever God meant to honour himself by, unto the name of the Holy Virgin. And, I would to God, this were only the private misdevotion of some superstitious old wife, or some idle and silly cloisterer. Fain would our charity conceive so, which is still credulous, and, as the Apostle commands, *thinks not evil*; if Cassander did not directly tell us, that they publicly sing in their very churches this devout Anthem,

> O happy Mother of that Son,
> Which hast all our sins foredone:
> Out of a Mother's right, we pray thee
> Bid our Redeemer to obey thee §:

if all these were not openly approved by the holy censors of the

* *Qui Franciscus erat, jam tibi Christus erit.*
Jam Franciscus erit, qui modò Christus erat.

† Hen. Steph. Apol. Herod. Fox in Martyr. ‡ Martial.

§ *O felix puerpera,*
Nostra pians scelera,
Jure matris impera Redemptori.

Roman Church, severe controllers of manners! yea, by the voices of their own Popes: if, at this day, witness the muses of Bencius and Bonarcius, the Jesuits did not both speak and write thus.

But, let us leave these bold impieties, if you will, to their Bernardines, Antonines, Bartlemews of Pisa, Tursellines. Bring us forth their more sober Divines, Polydores, Cassanders, Vives: even their opinions will not down with us, which teach that the saints are, in any wise, to be prayed unto.

Indeed, the Protestants say, as, Bellarmin grants *, that the saints pray for us; but, only in a generality. Bucer said truly, that the saints have great love to their militant brethren, great desire of their salvation; and so, doubtless, have the angels: but, must we therefore single out any one of those blessed spirits to aid us, to sue for us in the court of heaven? God forbid! for, upon what faith must these prayers of ours be grounded? unless perhaps, as Hosius saith, we must believe in the saints also.

Yea, how sure are we, that none of the saints can either search the heart, the fountain of our prayers; or, at once hear ten thousand of their suppliants, distant in place from each other! Yea, further, if, as there should be no limits set to religion, all the world over, devout clients should, at once, jointly commend and prostrate themselves humbly to some one saint; it is not a swiftness of nature, as Jerome contends, that would serve the turn: a true ubiquity, as Bellarmin confesses, must be required to the hearing of all those prayers.

What hinders now, but that they, which, of sinful men, have made saints; should, of their saints, make gods also?

Besides, which of the Prophets, which of the Apostles ever commanded this? which of the Saints of the former world hath ever done it? Or, what other, if credit may be given to Theodorit, did St. Paul forbid, under the worship of angels, to his Colossians? Or, what was the heresy of the Collyridians †, if this must go for piety?

That rule of Epiphanius shall be ever a safe course for us: "Let Mary be honoured; but the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost worshipped." Here is no fear of danger, but that we may go safely to that God which calls us to him; and prostrate ourselves to his Christ, our Gracious Saviour. None of the saints can envy God this honour: none of them ever did, either arrogate it to himself, or suffer it to be given him. Neither is there any of them, whom God ever allowed, either to take it to himself, or to impart it to others, or to accept it quietly being imparted to him by others.

The Papists, therefore, may come to us when they will, with safety and advantage: we may not yield to them, without manifest danger of idolatrous dotage.

(3.) But, if any good natured Reconciler shall be so indifferent,

* Lib. de Beatit. Sanct. c. 15.—Cass. in Cons. c. de Invocat. Sanct.—The same is confessed by Luth. Oecol. Melanct. Brent. See Mort. Appeal. 1. 2. 12. s. 1.

† Epiph. Hær. 79.

as to think these weighty points of difference not to be so heinous, but that every one might secretly maintain what opinion he list; yet so, that, as Constantine said to Alexander and Arius *, while the minds differ, the outward peace may be preserved; let him further understand, that *the continual practice of the religious worship and service of God*, will ever both raise and proclaim no less hostility, than matter of judgment.

In our devotions, and public exercises of piety, and places consecrated to this use, there is nothing, that can offend either the eye or the mind of a Papist, except the bareness of our walls, and the apostolical simplicity of ceremonies: an easy fault; and such, as it is no praise of their ingenuity to wink at: for, long since have those clauses of our Public Liturgy been purposely blotted out, which, in our grandfathers' days, did but lightly touch this galled sore of Popery.

But, contrariwise, in the Popish churches there is scarce any thing either said or done, whereof we can, with a clear and unwounded conscience, be either partakers or witnesses. Their very walls kill us dead: but their ridiculous or demoniacal service, who can endure?

We honour, as we ought, the dear and happy memory of the Saints; and, chiefly, the leader of that heavenly choir, the Blessed Virgin, the Mother of God: and whatsoever she can think not too dishonourable to herself and her Lord and Saviour, we will most gladly give it her to the full.

Neither will we only glorify God in his saints, as Augustin hath taught Durand to speak; but we will magnify the saints, as opportunity serves, for their excellent graces and worthy acts, both in God and in themselves: we will admire, extol, and, what we may, imitate their singular constancy, faith, sanctity; as Sidonius said of his Claudian,

> No tomb can either soul or glory shroud †.

But, to dig up their holy bones, that I may borrow Luther's word, out of their quiet graves; and to fall down before these worm-eaten monuments of the saints; to expect from them a divine power, whether of cure, or of sanctification; equally to respect Francis's cowl, Anna's comb, Joseph's breeches, Thomas's shoe, as Erasmus complains, with the Son of God himself; can seem no better to us, than a horrible impiety.

Neither can we abide, either to deify men, or to canonize beasts. It seems, that Cardinal could abide it well, in whose garden is yet to be seen this epitaph, which he wrote upon his too-dearly-beloved bitch:

> This tomb for thee, dear bitch, I builded have,
> That worthier wert of heaven, than a grave ‡.

We, profane Huguenots, cannot skill of worshipping Martin's

* Socrat. l. i. c. 7. † Sidon. in Epita. Claud. Mamert. ‡ Poem. Illustr. Poet. Italorum.

boots; or, George's scabbard; or, Crispin's paring-knife; or, which they say is kept in a certain town of Liguria, the tail of that ass which Christ rode upon *; or, Roche's dog; or, Antony's swine: and, surely, he had need of a very thick hide, that can do this.

But, in earnest, say we should yield these adorations to be lawful and godly, what Macarius, amongst so many woods of counterfeit trees, can shew us the true cross? or, what Helena, amongst such heaps, yea hills of iron, can shew us the true nails? Assuredly, both these jugglers smile one upon another, while they shew these relics to their people: and now, even the silly vulgar begins, not without indignation, to descry this cozenage.

To omit, therefore, these ridiculous tricks and knavish conveyances of their shavelings, let us, in this case, appeal even to Cassander's own moderation; who, having first honestly acknowledged the ancient complaints of Basil, Ambrose, Augustin, about the business of these abuses, goes on thus: "It appears," saith he †, "that, in the latter times, there hath been too much given to the relics and monuments of the saints: so as even good men, and those which were zealously devout, were grown to that pass, that they placed the sum of all religion in gathering together the relics of the saints, and in garnishing them richly with gold and pearls, and building sumptuous chapels and temples to them. And, again, those, that were lewd and godless, put all their confidence, though vain and false, in the foolish and superstitious worship of relics: wherefore, in the Council of Cabilon, those are reproved, who, in a pretence of devotion, go on pilgrimage to Rome, or Turon, or any other like places; as if they thought, that the frequenting of these holy shrines could both purge them from sin, and license them to sin with impunity. And, unto this, yet another mischief hath been added, that, for covetousness' sake, to entice the simple people, false relics have been devised, and feigned miracles reported; and, by those miracles, the superstition of the multitude was so fed, that they were rather taken up with an admiration of the wonders, than drawn to a holy imitation of the saints. And, many times, by the subtlety and illusion of the Devil, abusing the superstition of men, new relics were, by dreams and visions, revealed to the world; and, by the operation of the same Devil, miracles seemed to be wrought for the confirmation thereof." Thus saith Cassander; like a true German, shall I say, or like a true Israelite?

But, we, that have been better taught, dare freely and confidently say of ourselves, as Jerome professed ‡ of old, in the name of all Christians, "So far are we from adoring the relics of martyrs, that we worship neither sun, nor moon, nor angels, nor archangels, cherubin, nor seraphin, nor any name that is named either in the present world, or in the future; lest we should serve the creature, rather than the Creator which is blessed for ever."

Then, that from relics we may descend to images, is it possible,

* Mores in Scot. Orig. Pap. † Cass. Consult. de Reliq. Sanct.
‡ Hier. ad Riparium adver. Vigil.

that we should not be ever displeased with that frantic superstition of the Romish Church? that, against the tables of God's Law, against the institutions of the Apostles, against the practice of the Ancient Church, against the manifest decrees of Councils, against the clear testimonies of Fathers, in defiance of God and men, the churches of Christians should be no less pestered with idols, than the temples of the Heathen? that, as Jerome complained * of old, the native beauty of the Church should be polluted with the filth of Paganism? that, which Eusebius justly taxeth of madness, there should be a visible and bodily image or representation made of the Invisible and Spiritual God? that we should put our confidence in *Agnis Dei*, grains, tapers, roses, swords, ensigns, bells; ridiculously, after their manner, enchanted † ? that, by certain magical exorcisms, the Devil should be driven out of those creatures, wherein he never was? Nay, let us even enter into league with Satan himself, if we shall give either allowance or connivance to such diabolical practices of will-worship.

I do purposely forbear to speak of that profane paradox of the sufficiency of the outward work done, without good inward dispositions; the idle mumbling up of prayers, in a foreign tongue; the number and virtue of sacraments; the sacrilegious mutilation of the eucharist; and a thousand other monsters, both opinions and ceremonies.

These, that I have reckoned, are errors more than enough. And, I would to God, those, which we have here particularized, were not such, that there is no remedy, but that we must eternally fall out, either with God or with Rome.

Since, therefore, neither truth can ever yield, nor obstinacy will yield; let us serve cheerfully under the colours of our Heavenly Leader; and both proclaim and maintain an unreconcileable war with these Romish Heresies.

CHAP. III.

IMPOSSIBILITY OF THE MEANS OF RECONCILIATION.

And now, since no wise man can suspect of us, that we will ever grow to that height of madness, as to run perfidiously from the standard of God to the tents of that Roman Antichrist, is there any hope, that the Papists will ever be drawn back to the sound and pure judgment of the Primitive Antiquity? Oh, that God would vouchsafe this grace to the Christian World, that we could but comfort ourselves with the hope of so great happiness!

What a sight were this, how pleasant, how worthy of God and his angels, that, as it is said ‡ of the Novatian faction and the or-

* Hier. Magno Oratori Rom. † Lib. Sacr. Cerem. ‡ Socr. l. ii. c. 30.

thodox of old, men, women, children of both parts, without all guile and close harbours of discontentment, should mutually bring stones and matter to the building up of this temple of another, yet true, Resurrection!

We will gladly speak unto them; and, if need be, upon our knees; in Cyprian's words *: "Since we may not come forth of the sound and true Church of God, and come unto you; let us beseech and entreat you, by whatsoever should be most dear unto you, that you would return to our fraternity, and into the bosom of that Mother Church whence ye are revolted:" and, as he said in Theocritus †, "yet, at last, be persuaded." We are both brothers of one blood: why will you needs fight more against yourselves, than your brethren?

But, alas, sooner may God create a new Rome, than reform the old. Yea, needs must that Church put off itself, and cease to be what it is, ere it can begin to be once again what it was: for, as the Comic Poet ‡ said in the like "both substance, credit, fame, virtue, honour, have at once forsaken her; and by long disuse have left her worse than nought: neither do I see how these houses can be repaired, but they must be pulled down to the very foundations, and then built from the ground."

But, if there be any likelihood of remedy yet to be hoped for, surely, it must needs come either from herself or from others.

Can it be first from herself, which obstinately defends her errors, not only with tongue and pen, but with fire and sword too? which will not yield so much, as that she can err? which refused to amend those notorious abuses, which, by the moderate verdict of her elect cardinals, were condemned? And, lastly, which, by the palpable flatteries of her last and worst parasites, the Jesuits, is grown, not secure only, but prouder than ever she was?

Can it be then from others? How oft hath this been endeavoured, in vain! Rome may be sacked and battered, as it hath often been, by military forces; but, purged by admonitions, convictions, censures, it will never be. I remember, on this occasion, what Sisinnius the lector advised § Bishop Nectarius in the like case: That he had ever found disputations so far from reconciling of schisms, that they are still wont to inflame the minds of heretics to suffer contention.

What then? can it be from herself and others? Alas, how should it; unless either others had power, or herself had will to be redressed? For, certainly, if there be any one spark of good hope yet alive, it must be in the aid and determination of a General Council: and such a Synod is no less impossible, than reconciliation it-

* Cypr. l. iii. Ep. 2. † Theocr. Idyl. κβ'. Ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν Πείθεσθε, &c.

‡ ——*nunc simul res, fides, fama, virtus,*
Decúsque deseruerunt: ego sum in usu
Factus nimio nequior—nec videor mihi &c. Plaut. Mostellar.

§ Socr. l. v. c. 10. *Poterúntne verò pacem esse pati pacis dissolutores?*

self. For, who shall call it? who shall sit president in it? who shall be present, and give their voices? what shall be the rule of the decisions? what the order of execution?

Let them bring forth, if they will, the sister or the daughter of that their Tridentine Assembly *: who can hold from smiles and scorn? Forsooth, they would deal with us, as Luther wittily jested of the summoning of this Council by Paul the Third, much like unto them, that mock a hungry dog with a crust and a knife; who, instead of giving him the bread, let him feel the haft. Well may we resolve, with Nazianzen, to avoid all such meetings of Bishops; for that no such Synod ever did good, but tended rather to the decay than advantage of the Church †.

I remember Isidore derives the Latin word *Concilium, à ciliis oculorum*; for that all direct the sight of their minds into one centre ‡. There can, therefore, be no Council held by those, which profess a general and public disagreement of judgment. In vain should we endeavour any such course, unless every one of them would resolve to think of peace at home; and would persuade his heart, laying aside all prejudice and wilful respects of faction, ingenuously to submit himself to the truth, when it once appears, and more to regard their souls than their estates.

For can we think it equal, as things now stand, that the same parties should be allowed, witnesses, plaintiffs, defendants, judges in their own cause? Or, shall we perhaps hope, that those privileges, which have hitherto been treacherously and tyrannically usurped by Papists, will now, upon better advisement, be ingenuously given up by them, and renounced? or, that they will now, at last, thunder and lighten Anathemas against their own heads? Some fools may hope for this, which are unacquainted with that old verse, so common in the mouth and pen of Lipsius,

Moribus antiquis Res stat Romana, virisque.

But, for us; unless he, that doth wonders alone, by his stretched-out arm from heaven, should mightily, beyond all hope, effect this; we know too well that it cannot be done.

Only this one thing, which God hath promised, we do verily expect; to see the day, when the Lord Jesus shall, with the breath of his mouth, destroy this *lawless man* §, long since revealed to his Church; and, by the brightness of his glorious coming, fully discover, and dispatch him. Not only in the means and way, but in the end also, is Rome opposite to heaven. The heaven shall pass away by a change of quality, not an utter destruction of sub-

* Synod. Ariminens.

† Ad Constan. Theod. l. ii. c. 19. πάντα σύλλογον φεύγειν ἐπισκοπων; ὅτι μηδεμία; συνόδε τέλος χρῆσον, &c. in Præfat. Concil. Binii.

‡ Optat. Milev. l. vii. Decr. 2. q. *Multi*.

§ τὸν ἄνομον.

stance *: Rome, by destruction, not by change. Of us, therefore, and them, shall that old Bucolick Verse be verified:

> Out of each others' breast their swords they drew;
> Nor would they rest, till one the other slew †.

GLORY TO GOD, VICTORY TO THE TRUTH, WAR WITH HERESY, PEACE TO THE CHURCH. Amen.

NOTE, BY THE EDITOR.

It was a common practice in our Author's time, to place notes and references in the side margin, which being supposed to be opposite to the parts of the text with which they were connected, few or no marks were introduced to determine this connection. When, therefore, the notes and references were so numerous that they could not be placed opposite to the corresponding parts of the text, great confusion would often arise. The reader may form some opinion of the difficulty of disembarrassing this confusion in the preceding Treatise, when he reviews the multitude of notes and references which accompany it, and understands that the preceding editions contain throughout the whole, but one single asterisk. In some passages, even the order in which the notes are placed varies from the order in which the corresponding matter occurs in the text. No certain way was left of removing all obscurity, but that of verifying the respective references and quotations; which, however, would be wholly impracticable, as many of the books are not now to be met with: and I am, besides, obliged to say, that, in some of the instances, in which I have attempted this course, I have found the references so inaccurate, whether from the author's having used editions differently divided from those which I employed, or from his own errors or those of the press, that I have been obliged to desist. After close attention to the preceding Treatise, I think I have succeeded, in establishing, in most cases, the connection between the text and the notes. On the following obscure or doubtful references, however, the reader may try his own skill: viz.—p. 34. reference marked †.—p. 39. from † to ‖‖.—p. 41. *.—p. 45. ***.—p. 58. *. †.—p. 68. †.—p. 71. *.—p. 74. †. ‡.—p. 75. ¶.

* Hier. in Matt. xxiv. † Theocr. Idyl. xβ'. Τὼ δ' ἄορ' ἐκ κολεῶν, &c.

THE

HONOUR

OF THE

MARRIED CLERGY,

MAINTAINED

AGAINST

THE MALICIOUS CHALLENGES OF C. E., MASS-PRIEST:

OR,

THE APOLOGY

WRITTEN SOME YEARS SINCE FOR THE MARRIAGE OF PERSONS ECCLESIASTICAL, MADE GOOD, AGAINST THE CAVILS OF C. E. PSEUDO-CATHOLIC PRIEST.

BY JOSEPH HALL, D. D.

DEAN OF WORCESTER.

TO THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, AND MY MOST HONOURED LORD,

GEORGE,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, AND METROPOLITAN, ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.

MOST REVEREND FATHER, AND NO LESS HONOURED LORD:

IT was my desire and hope, to spend the residue of my time and thoughts, in sweet and sacred Contemplation. Satan, envying me this happiness, interrupts me by the malice of an importunate adversary.

Twelve years ago, I wrote a little Apologetical Letter for the Marriage of Persons Ecclesiastical: and now, thus late, when I had almost forgot that I had written it, a moody Mass-Priest drops out a tedious and virulent Refutation; through my sides striking at the most honourable and flourishing Clergy of the whole Christian world; labouring, not so much for my disgrace (what would that avail him?) as the dishonour and scorn of our holy profession, in the eyes of our people.*

I could contemn it in silence, if the quarrel were only mine: now, my wrong cannot be distinguished from thousands. God and his Church are engaged in this cause; which, in my foil, could not but sustain loss: neither may I be now silent, with safety; without misconstruction. Let this hand and tongue be no longer mine, than they may serve my master in Heaven, and his Spouse on Earth.

That, which I wrote in some three hours, he hath answered in three quaternions of years; and, what I wrote in three leaves, he hath answered in no fewer pages than three hundred and eighty. Should I follow him in this proportion, he might, after some centuries of years, expect an answer in Tostatus-hides, whose first word should be Quis leget hæc? *Or, if my patience would delay my reply to the just paces of his answer, this volume of his would perhaps*

* See Epistles: Decade ii. Epistle 3.—Vol. vii. pp. 149—155 of this edition. EDITOR.

be vanished into grocers' shops for waste paper, in thuris piperísve cucullos; *and would no more need answer, than now it deserveth one. But, hearing of the insultation of some popishly affected, who gloried and triumphed in this* Achilles pro Catholicis, *I addressed myself to the work, with no little indignation, and no less speed; that my self-conceited adversary and his seduced abettors may see, how little a well ordered marriage is guilty of deading our spirits, or slacking our hands.*

At the beginning of this summer's progress, when it pleased his Sacred Majesty to take notice of this sorry libel, and to question with me concerning it, I had not so much as read it over; so newly was it come to my hands. Ere his happy return, be it spoken to the only glory of him that enabled me, I had not only finished this answer, but twice written it over with my own hand; and yet made this but the recreation of the weightier businesses of my calling, which now did more than ordinarily urge me.

It was my purpose to have answered, as beseemeth the person à quo *not* ad quem, *mildly; according to my known disposition: but, upon better deliberation, I found the insolency of my Refuter such, that I could not favour him, and not be cruel to my cause. If, therefore, for many (it is his own art and word) "railative" pages, he receive from my unwilling and enforced pen, now and then, though not a "railative" to such an antecedent, yet, perhaps, some drop of sharper vinegar, than my ink useth to be tempered withal, he may forgive me, and must thank himself.*

What needed this cause so furious an invective? as if the kingdom of heaven and all religion consisted in nothing, but maidenhead or marriage? Cardinal Bellarmin, when he speaks of the Greek Church, wherein a married Clergy is both allowed and required, shuts up moderately: That if this were all the difference betwixt them and the Roman Church, they should soon be at peace. If my Refuter had so thought, this had not been his first controversy. Both estates meet in heaven. John, the virgin, rests in the bosom of married Abraham. This inordinate heat, therefore, of prosecution rises from faction; not from holy zeal.*

Hence it was, that my adversary cunningly singled out this point from many others, ranged in my poor discourses; as that, wherein, by Bishop Jewell's confession, he might promise to himself the likeliest advantage of antiquity.

And how gloriously doth he vaunt himself, in the ostentation of Fathers and Councils! Which vain flourish, how little it avails him, the process shall shew: where it shall appear, upon what grounds no small piece of antiquity was partial to virginity, and over-harsh to marriage; as Beatus Rhenanus, a learned and ingenuous Papist confesseth †.

* *Si errorem alium non haberent, facilè pax concederetur.* Bell. de Cleric. l. 1. c. 21.

† B. Rhenan. Arg. lib. de Exhort. Castit. Tertull.

*But this we may boldly say, that if those holy men had outlived the bloody times; and seen the fearful inconveniences, which would, after a settled peace, ensue upon the ambition or constraint of a denied continency; they had, doubtless, changed their note; and, with the moderate and wisest spirits of the later times, pleaded for that liberty which the Reformed Church now enjoyeth. The universal concession whereof, after the private suffrages of worthy authors *, came to a public treaty in the Roman Church, amidst the throng of their late Tridentine Council: and it is worth the while to observe, on what grounds it received a repulse. "If priests should be allowed marriage," say those wily Italians †, "it would follow that they would cast their affections on their wives and children; and, consequently, on their families and countries: whereupon would cease that strait dependance, which the Clergy hath upon the See Apostolic. Insomuch as, to grant their marriages, were as much as to destroy the hierarchy of the Church; and to reduce the Pope within the mere bounds of the Roman Bishopric."*

This was the plea of the Clergy. Their thrifty Laity, together with them, enemies to the blessing, (or, as they construe it, the curse) of fruitfulness, are wont to plead, Troppo teste ‡. *Our Gregory Martin §, of old, computes the prejudicial increase, that might arise from these marriages to the commonwealth. It is not religion, but wit, that now lies in our way. Fond men, that dare thus offer to control the wisdom of their Maker, and will be tying the God of Heaven to their rules of state.*

As it is, no Church in the whole world, except the Roman, stands upon this restraint: whereof the consequences have been so notoriously shameful, that we might well hope, experience would have wrought, if not redress of their courses, yet silence of ours. And, surely, if this man had not presumed, that, by reason of the long discontinuance of Popery, time had worn out of men's minds the memory of their odious filthinesses, he durst not thus boldly have pleaded for their abominable celibate. The question whereof, after all busy discussions and pretences of age, must be resolved into no other than this, How far the tradition of a particular Church is worthy to prevail against Scripture; yea, and against other Churches: a point, which a very weak judgment will be able to determine.

In this return of my Defence, I do neither answer every idle

* Æneas Sylvius. Panormitan. Durandus. Peresius. Mantuanus. Erasmus, &c.

† *Che Coll' introductione del matrimonio de' Preti si farebbe, che tutti voltassetto l' affetto ed amor loro alle moglie, a' figli, è per consequenza alla casa, ed alla patria; onde cesserebbe la dependenza stretta che l' Ordine Clericale ha con la Sede Apostolica, è tanto sarebbe Conceder il matrimonio a Preti, quanto distrugger la Hierarchia Ecclesiastica; et ridur il Pont. che non fosse piu che Vescovo di Roma.* Histor. Concil. Trid. p. 662.

‡ *Troppo feste, troppo teste, troppo tempeste.* Vid. Dallingt. Observ. upon Guicciard.

§ Doctor Mart. against Pet. Mart.

clause, nor omit any essential. This length of mine is no less forced, than my adversary's continency: wherein yet my reader shall not sigh under an irksome loquacity.

I presume to dedicate this unworthy labour to your Grace, whom this famous Church daily blesseth, as her wise, faithful, and vigilant overseer; as a renowned pattern of holy virginity, and patron of holy marriage. The God of Heaven, whose watch you carefully keep, preserve you long to his Church; and make us long happy in your Grace, and you ever happy in his plentiful blessings. Such shall ever be the prayers of,

Your Grace's

most humbly devoted,

JOSEPH HALL.

THE

ANSWER

TO THE

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE man begins with a threat: I may not but tremble.

He frights me with an universal detection of my errors. It is almost as easy to find faults, as to make them. Perhaps, the time had been as well spent, in tossing of his beads. How happy a man am I, that shall see all my oversights! My comfort is, that if my tree were fruitless there would be no stone thrown at it.

In the mean while, how well doth the title of a Detector become him, that hides himself! If he be not afraid or ashamed of his cause, let his name be known, that his victories may be recorded. It is an injurious and base advantage, to strike and hide; and, after a pitched duel, to gall a fixed adversary out of loop-holes. If his person be, upon some treasonable act, obnoxious; it is hard, if some of his names be not free.

But, if I must needs be matched with the shadow of a libeller, I will so take him, as he decyphers himself: C. E. *Cavillator Egregius:* and, under this true style of his, am ready to encounter him; and do here bid defiance to an insolent and unjust adversary.

And, first, let me tell my Caviller, this order is preposterous. If all my errors be at the mouth of the press, how is it that two or three of them are thus suffered to outrun their fellows? Was his malice so big with these, that it could not stay the time of the common delivery? Needs must they be notorious falsehoods, that are thus singled out from the rest. Let them appear in their own shapes; ugly, doubtless, and prodigious. The first is *, "That most shameless assertion, that Bellarmin, under his own hand, acknowledges two hundred and thirty seven Contrarieties of Doctrine amongst his Catholics." Could the man but have patience, he should find above three hundred †. What says my Detector to this? He hath not seen the severals; yet, like a brave man at arms, he professes to kill his enemy, ere he can appear: and tells us those two hundred and thirty seven Contrarieties, are nothing but two hundred and

* See Epistles: Decade iii. Ep. 5. Reckoned out of Pappus's Enumeration.

† My "Peace of Rome," makes up 303.

thirty seven lies in one assertion. That there are in them so many untruths I easily grant: for, in contradictions, one part must needs be false; and truth is but single. They are untruths, then; lies are too broad a word: but their own. My assertion shall only justify that they are told: let him take care for the rest. "But they are not in points belonging to Faith and Religion: only in matters undecided, and disputable." The sequel shall try that shift. Why do we forestal our reader? Who knows not, that there cannot be so many points fundamental? Let him take them as they are: I aggravate nothing. It is but only in such light chaff, as this: in the number and extent of Books Canonical; wherein Driedo, Erasmus, Genebrard, Cajetan, Sixtus Senensis are acknowledged to oppose the rest: in the Pope's infallibility of judgment: wherein Gerson, Almayne, Pope Adrian, Eckius, Hosius, Pighius, Waldensis are at quarrel: in the reach and original of spiritual jurisdiction; wherein Abulensis, Turrecremata, Fran. à Victoria, Alphonsus de Castro, &c. proclaim to differ. What should I instance in more? It is but in the Pope's power in temporalities; in the inerrableness of Councils, whether particular confirmed by the Pope, or general; in the authority of Councils above Popes; in the force of vows; in the worship due to images: and the like. These, and such other, are the slight trifles (since all cannot be weighty) impertinent to faith, wherein the Romish Doctors vary.

Neither doth my assertion of their discord gall him more, than of our unity. O the forehead of heretics! I said, that we, in our Church, differ only in ceremonies; they, in substance. Let him give leave to the contra-division of these two, and I will take leave to maintain the indivision of the Church of England, in the dogmatical points of faith.

This boldness, together with my eminent ignorance, makes him admire the scarcity of learned men in our country, that could find no better doctors to send to Dort-Conference, than Master Hall. To your grief, Sir, it was a Synod; and that, noble and celebrious. Neither was it out of want, that your silly adversary was sent thither. This happy island, which hath no blemish but that it yields such vipers as yourself, abounds, as you too well know, with store of incomparable Divines: such, as may set your Rome to school. So, as the messengers of Pyrrhus, long since, called your Italy, "A country of kings*," and Egypt was wont to be called "The country of physicians;" so may this blessed island of ours justly merit the title of "The region of divines." For me, I can be content to be base enough in mine own eyes: but, if my disparagement shall redound to my betters, I dare tell him it is my comfort, that I was sent thither by a judgment no less infallible, than of Paul the Fifth. Let himself or any of his eaves-dropping companions (to whom that place stood open) say wherein I shamed those, that sent me. It was my just grief, that the necessity of my health, yea of my life, called me off immaturely: but, since either death

* πατρίδα βασιλέων.

or departure must be yielded to, others shall judge whether I went away more laden with infirmity, than, however unworthy, with approbation *.

But that second lie of mine is so loud, that all my brethren of Dort must hear it; and they, which were lately the witnesses of my sincerity, gracing me with the dear testimony of their approof, are now made the judges of my impudency. What monster of falsehood will come forth!

"In my "Censure of Travel," glancing at the Jesuitical brag of their Indian Miracles (whereat their very friends make sport) I charge Cardinal Bellarmin for an avoucher of these cozenages; who dares aver, that his fellow Xavier not only healed the deaf, dumb, and blind, but raised the dead: to which I add, while his brother Acosta, after many years spent in those parts, can pull him by the sleeve, and tell him in his ear, so loud that all the world may hear, *Prodigia nulla producimus.*

This is my indictment. Let me come to my trial. Cast me, if ye can, ye reverend heads: I crave no favour.

Where lies this so lewd lie, and malicious abuse? That Bellarmin says thus of the Jesuit Xavier, is not denied. That Acosta says thus of himself and his fellow Jesuits, is granted.

The first lie yet is, Acosta was never in the East Indies at all, nor Xavier in the West: and how then could Acosta spend many years in those parts?

A perilous plea! Whoever, I beseech you, mentioned either East or West? I spake of the Indies, in common: so did his Bellarmin, from whom I cited this, *Claruit etiam in Indiis omni genere miraculorum, &c.*†. Here is not one one of the Indies mentioned; but both, or either. If both lived in the Indies, though not in one town, in one country, in one India; wherein have I offended, while, speaking of the Indies in general, I said that Xavier and Acosta lived there? Yet this is one lie, he saith, and that so long a one, as that it reacheth as far as it is from the East to the West, from the Arctic to the Antarctic Pole: wherein I doubt not but your reverences will easily mark the skill of this learned cosmographer. Some parts of those instanced Indies differ not so far: not to speak of the small strait of Anian, the mentioned region of Mexico is not above fourscore degrees from Japan. Either your construction must favour him, or else this must go into the book of oversights.

The second lie is, that Acosta pulled Bellarmin by the sleeve in this assertion, as if he denied those Eastern miracles, which he elsewhere confesseth.

Indeed, this sauciness were dangerous. The Red Hat, you say, is fellow to a crown. But shall I confess where I erred? My dull head could not conceive that God should be the God of the Mountains, and not of the Valleys; of the East Indies, not of the West;

* *Necessitate propellente, proditio est ea tacere quæ quis studiosè perfecerit.* Chrysost. in illa: *Utinam tolerassetis, &c.*

† Bell. de Notis Eccles. l. iv. c. 14.

and yet be the Jesuits' God in both: especially, since the reason that Joseph Acosta fetches * from the persons, which should be the subject of those wonders, holds as equally for both Indies, as an almanac, made for the meridian of one city, serveth the neighbours.

Hitherto then the prologue of my infamous falsehoods, such, as if all my writings could have afforded any equally heinous, these had never been chosen out to grace the front of his Detection. There must needs be much terror in the sequel.

The rest of this storm falls upon our learned Professor, Doctor Collins; one of the prime ornaments of our Cambridge; the partnership of whose unjust disgraces doth not a little hearten my unworthiness. The world knows the eminency of that man's learning, wit, judgment, eloquence. His works praise him enough in the gate. Yet this malapert corner-creeper doth so basely vilify him, for ignorance, silliness, prattling, rusticity, lying; as if in these only he were matchless. Indeed, whom doth the aspersion of that foul hand forbear? *Vilium est hominum alios viles facere!* I appeal to all the tribunals of learning through the world, whether all Doway have yielded ought comparable to that man's pen: whether he have not so conjured down his Caco-Dæmon Joannes †, that he never dares to look back into the light again: whether his *Ephatha* be not so powerful, that, if his adversary were any otherwise deaf than the block which he worships, it might open his ear to the truth. It angers C. E. to hear that kings should not die; or, perhaps, that they, whose heads are anointed, should die by any other than anointed fingers. The sentence of his Cardinal and Jesuits, both *de facto* and *de jure*, of deposing and murdering kings, is now beside our way. Only we may read afar off, in capital letters, *Arise, Peter, kill and eat.* He knows the word, with shame enough. I will not so much wrong that worthy Provost, as to anticipate his quarrel: rather, I leave the superfluity of this malice to the scourge of that abler hand; from whom I doubt not but C. E. shall smart and bleed so well, that he may spare the labour of making himself his own whipping-stock on Good-Friday.

* Jos. Acosta l. ii. de Sal. Ind. c. 9.

† This book of Doctor Collins, C. E. falsely insinuateth to have been suppressed. All stationers' shops can convince him of a lie. Nothing ever fell from that learned hand, without applause.

THE

HONOUR

OF THE

MARRIED CLERGY MAINTAINED,

&c.

THE FIRST BOOK.

SECT. I.

NEITHER my charity, nor my leisure, nor my reader's patience, will allow me to follow my Detector in all his extravagances; nor to change idle words of contumely, with a babbler.

His twelve first pages are but the light froth of an impotent anger *; wherein he accuseth my bitterness, and professeth his own.

For me, I appeal unto all eyes: if my pen have been sometimes zealous, it was never intemperate. Neither can he make me believe, that my passions need to appear to my shame, in calling Rome, Prostitute †; or himself, shameless: or in citing from the *Quodlibet* of his own Catholic Priests, the art of his Jesuits, in Drurying of young heirs ‡. There is neither slander nor shame in truth.

For himself, he confesseth to have sharpened his pen; and to have dipt it, perhaps too deep, in gall: but where his ink is too thick, he shall give me leave to put a little vinegar to it, that it may flow the better. In the mean time, he shall go away with this glory, That a fouler mouth hath seldom ever wiped itself upon clean paper.

After those waste flourishes, his thirteenth page begins to strike §; wherein he chargeth me with odious baseness and insufficiency, in borrowing all my proofs from Bellarmin's objections, dissembling

* *Declamationes ambitiosorum opera, otiosorum cibi sunt.* Scal. Exer. 307.
† *Prostituta illa Civitas.*
‡ The particulars of this History, he shall receive in due place.
§ Refut. p. 13.

their solutions. The man were hard driven, that would go to borrow of an enemy. If all my proofs be fore-alleged and fore-answered by his Bellarmin, to what purpose hath this trifler blurred so much paper? There, he saith, shall the reader see all my Scriptures answered; *the Doctrine of Devils* explicated: there, that other, *Let him be the husband of one wife*, and, *Marriage is honourable*. Answered, indeed! but, as he said, δότε ἀνέκδοτα, answerlessly? Such clear beams of truth shine in the face of these Scriptures, that all the cob-web veils of a Jesuit's subtlety cannot obscure them. Their very citation confutes their answer.

And, where had we this law, That if a Jesuit have once meddled with a Scripture, all pens, all tongues are barred from ever alleging it? If Satan have mis-cited the Psalm, *He shall give his angels charge over thee*, for temptation; may not we make use of it, for the comfort of protection? Briefly, let my Caviller know, that it is not the frivolous illusion of any shuffling Jesuit, that can drive us from the firm bulwark of the Holy Scriptures. In this, they are clearly ours, after all pretences of solution; as he shall well feel in the sequel: and shall secure us against all human opposition.

Before the disquisition whereof, somewhat must of force be premised, concerning the state of our question.

SECT. II.

Where, that all readers may see, how learnedly my wise adversary hath mistaken me and himself; I must tell my Detector, that all his tedious discourse sits beside the cushion. For, thus he writes of my Epistle*: "So as his whole scope is, to disprove the single life of Catholic Priests; and, thereby, to impugn our doctrine, in that behalf:" upon which conceit, he runs into a large proof of the strong obligation of vows, the necessity of their observation, the penalty and danger of their violation, the praise of virginity, the possibility of keeping it; and, upon this very ground, builds he the tottering wall of his whole ensuing Confutation: insomuch as, p. 130, he says, "That marriage, at all times, without contrary injunction, was lawful, is not denied: nor will it be proved in haste, that priests, or such as had vowed the contrary, might use that liberty: and we say not, that virginity is violently to be imposed on any, for it cometh by free election; but where the vow is free, the transgression is damnable." Thus he.

Now, let all indifferent eyes see, whether the only drift of mine Epistle be not, to justify our marriages, not to disprove their singleness; to defend the lawfulness of the marriage of our Clergy, not to justify the marriages of the Romish; to plead for the marriage of our Ecclesiastics, not of Popish Votaries.

* Refut. p. 12.

In express terms, I disavowed it. The intervention of a vow makes a new state. Let Baal plead for himself. What is it to me, if the Romish Clergy may not be husbands? or if, according to the French Proverb, "They have a law not to marry, and a custom not to live chaste?" Let it be their care, whom it concerns: only, I will have leave to speak for our own. Neither did I ever derogate ought from sacred virginity; or lay it level, whether absolutely or in all circumstances, with holy matrimony; neither did I ever conceive of an impossibility of continence, in some persons. Take away these three grounds, which I utterly disclaim before God and men; together with his petulant railings and idle excursions; and what is become of the volume of my great adversary? Those three vast paragraphs are shrunk into so few sheets of paper, that a mouse may as soon run away with his book, as with his God.

My Masters of Doway, if ye be the Superiors, under whose permission this worthy work sees the light; for shame, keep up your lavish unthrifts of good time: and send us such antagonists, as may not feign occasions to empty their note-books.

One dash of a pen might thus justly answer the most part of this bloughty volume: wherein, like a drunken man, he makes a fray with his own shadow; and, like an idle whelp, runs about after his own stern. But, that he may not complain to be cast off too contemptuously, he shall receive a fair account of particulars.

SECT. III.

THE theme of my Epistle is plainly no other, than our marriage censured; he answers, of theirs.

I would there were such cause of familiarity and entireness, that what is said of one, might agree to both: but the world knows we are two. If I say our Clergy is heartily loyal to their king; will he straight take it, of theirs? If, that our clergy is willingly subject to more than the directive power of their sovereign; will he challenge this to theirs?

The very point which I purposely declined, he follows in hot chase. "Even moderate Papists," they are the words of my Epistle, "will grant us free, because not bound by vow; not so far as those old Germans, *pro posse et nosse*:" and yet all my Detector's refutation still drives at the supposition of a vow.

What have we to do with votaries? Our Clergy is free; whether as Clergy, or as ours.

First, as persons ecclesiastical, *quà tales:* for, Holy Orders, whether as Orders or as Holy, are no hindrances of matrimony; as Cardinal Cajetan truly; and, with him, the whole School.

That, which may be pretended for impediment, is either a vow annexed, or an ecclesiastical statute.

As for the vow, it is so far from being essential * to Holy Orders, as that it is made by some learned Papists † a difference betwixt the obligation of their religious and their priests, That their religious are bound by a solemn vow to single life, in the very intrinsical nature of their profession; their priests only by a Church-Constitution, without vow. And those, that go further, with their famous Cardinal; and teach, That it is expressly forbidden to Bishops, to ordain any, without the promise of single life; ground this but upon an Epistle of Pope Gregory ‡; a late and weak foundation: and, besides, hold, that their vow is but semi-solemn, and accidentally incident into this profession; forsomuch as here is neither a direct exhibition of the body to this purpose in the offerer, nor a direct consecration to this end in the admitter; both which make up the solemnity of the vow: upon which reason, according to them, a Religious Order, because it yields over the body unto an estate repugnant to matrimony, doth, of itself, in its own nature, both hinder marriage and nullify it; not so the Ecclesiastical. To which we may add, That, according to their own Doctors §, solemnity and simplicity make no difference of the vow before God, though before the Church: a distinction, too slight, too newly upstart, to overturn an ancient and well-grounded institution. Neither need we any better, or other proof of the inconnexion of this vow with Holy Orders, than that of their own Dominicus à Soto ‖: *Non est de essentiâ sacerdotis, &c.* "It is not of the essence of a priest," "saith he, "to keep single; for that the Grecian Clergy are permitted, even by the Roman Church, to continue in the estate of marriage." What can be more clear? If there were a necessary and inseparable connexion of a vowed continency with Holy Orders, then would not, neither could the Roman Church acknowledge a true priesthood, where it finds conjugal society. Their act of allowance to the Greek Church, implies a fair independency of these two, which some of their clamorous clients plead to have indivisibly coupled.

So as now, all the strength of this necessary Celibate is resolved into the power of a Church-Statute: and of what Church, but the Roman? All other Churches in the world ¶, as of Armenia, Grecia,

* *Ordini Sacro debitum continentiæ non est essentialiter annexum.* Dom. Soto. l. vii. q. 4. de Jure et Instit.

† Vide Cajetan. Opusc. de Castit. Act. Conc. Trid. *Alia est causa Monachi, alia Clerici.* Extr. de Voto, &c. *Plura profitendo promittit Monachus, quàm recipiendo Sacrum Ordinem Clericus.* Dist. 28.

‡ Greg. Petr. Diacon. l. i. Ep. 42. Cajet. ubi suprà. Polyd. Virg. &c.

§ Maldonat. Sum. q. 15. art. 17. *Item, voti solennitas ex solâ constitutione Ecclesiæ est inventa, Matrimonii verò vinculum ab ipso Ecclesiæ capite, rerum omnium conditore, &c.* Extra. *Item, vinculum voti solennis, et solutio ejus est ex statuto Ecclesiæ.* Antonin. *Simplex votum apud Deum non minùs obligat quàm solenne.* Celest. Extr. *qui Clerici, &c.*

‖ *Non est de essentiâ sacerdotis servare castitatem; quandoquidem Græci, etiam ab Ecclesiâ Latinâ, permittuntur in conjugii fœdere permanere.* Dom. Sot. l. vii. de Jure. q. 4.

¶ P. Venetus. Brocard. Lud. Vertomannus. Jos. Indus. of the Christians in India and Cathaia, &c.

Syria, Ethiopia, Russia, the Georgians, &c. allow the conjunction of ministry and marriage; and are so far from requiring a vow of necessary continency, that they rather erroneously pre-require a necessity of marriage in the persons to be ordained. It is only the Church of Rome *, the great and imperious mistress of the world, that imposes the yoke of this vow upon her vassals: Imposes it; but, *ad libitum;* so as her great paramour, in whose vast bosom that whole Church lies, may dispense with it as he lists.

Hear that irrefutable discourse of Cardinal Cajetan. His words bear weight; and are not unworthy the eyes of my reader. "Therefore," saith he †, "since the Pope may, at his pleasure, loose the bond of that statute, it follows necessarily, that if a priest of the Western Church shall marry by the Pope's leave, without any reasonable cause, that such marriage of his is a true marriage, and the parties married are true husband and wife, and their issue truly legitimate, although, in so marrying, both the parties should sin mortally, in doing this act against the vow of chastity, without a reasonable, or at least a probable cause ‡ of their so licensing: and, consequently, neither should the Pope himself be excused from mortal sin. But, if there be any reasonable cause of dispensing with this vow of chastity; then, the party thus marrying and dispensed with, may both safely marry and live in marriage. And, hereupon it appears, that, since a reasonable cause of dispensing with this vow of chastity may be not only the public utility, whether civil or ecclesiastical, but any other greater good than the observing of that chastity; it justly follows, that the Pope not only may, but with a safe conscience may dispense with a priest of the Western," or Roman, "Church, that he may marry; even besides the cause of a public benefit. And, therefore, the determination of some hath been too presumptuous, in affirming, that, absolutely and without such cause, the Pope cannot dispense: whereas, as we have shewed, the Pope may do it without any cause, though in so doing he should sin; and, with any reasonable cause, without sin: and, in both, the matrimony stands firm." Thus he. Words, that neither paraphrase nor enforcement.

And, how usual § the practice of this dispensation hath been, that we may not rest only in speculation, appears enough by the ingenuous complaint of their selected Cardinals ‖, to Paul the Third; who cry down the abuse of these over-frequent grants, which they would not have yielded, but upon public and weighty causes:

* *Non si quid turbida Roma elevet, accedas.* Pers. *Ecclesiæ statuto, nec universalis, sed Latinæ.* Espenc. l. i. de Cont. c. 13.

† *Idcirco, cùm summus Pontifex possit, ad libitum, &c.* Cajet. Opusc. de Castitate.

‡ *Dubia causa.*

§ *Sedes clementissima, quæ nulli deesse consuevit, dummodo albi aliquid vel rubei intercedat.* Matth. Paris.

‖ *Alius abusus est in Dispensationibus, cum Constitutis in Sácr. Ord. &c.* Concil. Selector. Card. *Si sacerdotes non maturâ deliberatione se astrinxerunt, videat Rom. Pont., qui circa hæc solet dispensare, quid fit agendum in particularibus.* Mart. Peresius, &c.

"Especially," say they, "in these times, wherein the Lutherans urge this matter with so much vehemence."

Neither is it long, since our kind apostate, M. Carier, gave us, here in England, from bigger men than himself, an overture of the likelihood of this liberal dispensation, from his Holy Father of Rome, upon the conditions of our re-subjection. Would we, therefore, but stoop to kiss the carbuncle of that sacred toe, our Clergy might as well consist with holy wedlock, as the Grecian. Oh, the gross mockery of souls, not more ignorant, than credulous! Will his Holiness dispense with us for our sin? We can be dispensed with at home, for his dispensation. It is their sorrow, that the world is grown wiser; and finds heaven no less near to Dover-cliff, than to the Seven-Hills.

And, ere we leave this point, it is very considerable, what may be a reasonable cause of this dispensation: for those very Jesuits, which hold the power of this vow such *, that the vehementest temptations and foils of the flesh may not be relieved with an arbitrary matrimony; since the matter of this vow is so important, and carries so much danger in the violation, as that it is not to be left to the power of a private judgment †, though morally certain, whether matrimony, all things considered, be, in this particular expedient; for that may be fit for a man as a singular person, which is not fit for him as part of the community: yet, they grant, that this extreme perplexedness and violence of carnal motions, is a just cause of dispensation ‡. What need we more? Though some Casuists § be more favourable; and grant, that, in such cases, we may not only allow but persuade matrimony to the perplexed votary: as Cardinal Æneas Sylvius ||, who was never less *Pius* than when he was *Pius*, gives this hearty advice to his friend John Freünd, a Roman priest, that he should, notwithstanding his Orders, help himself by marriage: yet the former will serve our turn. If, therefore, those superiors, which have all lawful and spiritual authority over us, shall have thought good, upon this reasonable cause, to give a generality of dispensation to all such of our Clergy, as shall not, after all careful and serious endeavours, find themselves able to contain; allowing them, by these lawful remedies, to quench those impure flames; what can any Jesuit or Devil except against this? This is simply the clear case of them, whose cause I maintain.

* *His votis astrictus, non potest matrimonium absque dispensatione inire, quamvis vehementissimis carnis stimulis urgeatur, &c.* Sanch. l. vii. de Matr. Imped. Disp. 11.

† *Authoritas superioris dispensantis expectanda est.*

‡ *Communis illa regula Doctorum, et nominatim Cajetani, nimirum quando ei, qui vovit, constat aliquid esse melius præteritâ voti materiâ posse propriâ authoritate receaere.* Sanch. l. vii. de Matr. Imped.

§ Angel. Matr. 3. Imped. 5. in fine vera cruz. 1. part. spec. art. 15.

|| Æn. Syl. Epist. 307. So Benedict. XII. gave dispensation to Petrarch, Archdeacon of Parma, to marry his Laura; too near him in blood, as it is thought: and, *ex uberiore gratiâ*, that he should keep all his promotions, and receive yet more, on condition, that the said Benedict might have the use of Petrarch's sister. Matth. Parker. Defens. of Pr. Matt. ex Fasciculo Temp.: et Platina: et Vita Petrarchæ, &c.

And, yet further, put the case this had not been; if, without the thought of any Romish Dispensation, the Eastern Church * never held it needful to require the vow of single life in the ministers of the altar, (they know the words of their own gloss) why should not our Church challenge the same immunity: for, (that, from the general consideration of ecclesiastics, as such; we may turn our eyes to our ecclesiastics, in special) no Church under heaven kept itself more free from the bondage of those tyrannous impositions?

The Clergy of this Island †, from the beginning, never offered any such vow, the Bishops never required it, for more, if any credit be due to histories, than a thousand years after Christ. The great champion of Rome, Master Harding, was driven to say, "they did it by a beck, if not by a *Dieu-gard*:" but could never prove it done by either.

Neither is it more worth my reader's note, than my adversary's indignation, that the wise Providence of God so pleased to contrive it of old, as that, from the beginning of the first conversion of this happy island, it rather conspired with the Greek Church, than with the Roman. After the Grecian account, we kept our Easter: insomuch as Beda tells us, that Pope John the Fourth, about the year 637, was fain to require of the English, that they would keep their Pasch after the Roman fashion; a difference, as it was then taken, of no small importance: the story of St. Aidanus and Colmannus, may be herein an abundant witness: and, for the Britons, Beda left them in the close, both of his life and history; fast to Greece, loose from Rome. After the Grecian form, we celebrated the Sacrament of Baptism. After the Grecian liberty, we continued the marriages of persons ecclesiastical, through so many centuries of years, without the scandal, without the contradiction of the Christian World; so as now we are but repossessed of the ancient right of our forefathers, which the interposition of the Romish tyranny, for awhile, injuriously debarred.

Our adversaries have wont to brand us, for the uncharitable censures of our forefathers: and can they think the successions of many generations so faithless, that they made solemn vows, for no other purpose, but only to break them? It was the question of the rich and precious Jewell of England, to which his hardy adversary had never the face to reply. My refuter's forehead is stronger, with a weaker wit. Let him try here the power of his audacity.

And, if the Church of this island, in the days of her forced servitude to the Roman See, maintained this liberty (as we prove in the sequel) and derived it to posterity, how much more free shall it be for us to renew and enjoy it, after the just excussion of that servile yoke!

Let now C. E. go waste good hours, and mar clean paper in dis-

* *Occidentalis (non Orientalis) Ecclesia castitatis obtulit votum:* in Dist. 31.

† Vid. postea. Epist. Girard. Eboracens. Arch. ad Anselm.—Huntingd. Fabian. Polydor. Virgil. vid. post. lib. iv.

proving the marriage of Romish votaries; and, in the mean time, come as near my question, as Thames is to Tiber. What is this, but to mock the reader, and abuse himself?

How much wiser is he grown in the process of his discourse, where he grants our marriage, and denies our clergy. From which weak and witless hold, if we beat him not, in the due place, we suffer not enough from that rude hand.

SECT. IV.

Having then hitherto detected no error, no ignorance, but his own; he now descends to untruths, and finds* here so many mistakings, lies, falsifications, that a reader would wonder, by what art I could couch so many of them in so small a room; and might verily think that I could out-lie the Legends, and out-juggle a Jesuit. But, ere I have done, these shall appear to be but the fictions of a passionate fugitive: the man shall be cooler; I shall be innocent; and my reader shall say, that, if that forehead had not been so oft crossed, it could not have had so little shame.

My first untruth is, That I avouch St. Paul to call the single life of priests, a *Doctrine of Devils.*

Reader, is my Detector awake? I said, That to maintain the unlawfulness of the marriage of the ministers of God, is, according to St. Paul, a *Doctrine of Devils;* and now he would persuade the world, I said thus of the single life of his priests. What can we make of this? That single life is a Doctrine? If not truth, yet let him learn to speak sense.

But, that he may not always refute what I never affirmed, I must guess at what he meant. He would elude this charge, with that stale shift, worn out with the pens of his predecessors, that St. Paul is to be understood, according to Theodorit, of those, which call marriage execrable†: according to St. Austin, that say, "Marriage is evil, and of the Devil's making:" according to Clemens Alexandrinus, of those, that abhor marriage: of Manichees, and other heretics, as Ambrose and Epiphanius; from which "Catholics are so far, that they approve it for a sacrament."

First, the words of St. Paul are κωλυόντων γαμεῖν; *forbidding to marry;* not, condemning marriage. Then, we know well, what the Tacians, Ebionites, Encratites, Montanists, Marcionites, Manichees, Adamites, and Apostoliques held of matrimony. "The Apostle brands them here:"—but, what! Them, only? While he condemns them, doth he free those, that partake with them? The act is one, *Forbiddance of marriage;* whether to some, or to more, or to all, St. Paul expresses not. The number doth not vary the quality. And, if one be a part of all, then to condemn marriage in some one kind of men, can it be other, than the partaking of an

* Refut. p. 17. † *Nuptias execrabiles, &c.*

universal condemnation of it? This then only he hath gained, that some others have been deeper in this evil, than themselves.

Object. "But our Apostle speaks of them, which condemn marriage as evil in itself:"—

Ans. We take what he gives. No man's mouth shall condemn my Refuter, but his own. What was he, that accused marriage of Unholiness, out of *Sancti estote; Be ye holy?* of Uncleanness, out of *Omnia munda mundis; All things are clean to the clean?* of Contamination with carnal concupiscence? Was it not his own Pope Innocentius *? Who was he, that interpreteth of marriage, the text Rom. viii. 8. *Those, that are in the flesh, cannot please God?* that called the married man, no less than the whoremonger, *sectatorem libidinum, præceptorem vitiorum;* "A follower of lust, a teacher of vice?" that said, "Marriage was a loosing the reins to luxury, an inhiation after obscene lusts?" Was it not his Pope Siricius †, the first founder, if we may believe their now-defaced gloss, of forced continency? Who was it, that called marriage a "defiling with unclean society," and "execrable contagion?" Was it not his Council of Toledo ‡? Who was it that called marriage *Spurcitias immundas;* "filthy beastliness?" Was it not his St. Dunstan and Oswald §? Let him construe this; and then tell me, what it is, if this be not, "to condemn marriage as evil ‖."

Yet more, his own example shall convince him. He pleads out of St. Austin, that this text, amongst others, intends to strike at the Manichees. Now the Manichees allowed marriage to their auditors, that is, analogically, their Laity; forbad it to their Electi, that is, their Clergy: so far approving it in their Laic-Clients, that no modest pen may write whence they fetched their sacramental bread ¶. Either, then, the Manichees must be excluded, or Papists must be taken in for company into this *Doctrine of Devils.*

It is true, they miscall marriage a Sacrament: so as we may well wonder at these two extremes in one doctrine; and study, in vain, how the same thing should be sacred in a ceremonious inchoation, and in the real consummation morally impure; how a sacrament should be incompatible with a sacred person. These Sphyngian Riddles are for better heads.

With what brow, then, can my Detector add **, that, "With St. Chrysostom and St. Austin, they do but compare marriage; they do not condemn it: only teaching marriage to be good, virginity better; with Fulgentius, not so comparing virginity to corn, that

* Innoc. Exuperio Tolos. Episc. Epist. 3. c. 1. Dist. 82. *Proposuisti.*

† Ead. Dist. c. Plurimos ad Himerium Tarraca, Ep. 1. *Semove namque differentiam perversi nominis connubii, unam eandemque rem effecisti adulterii et conjugii.* Laur. Valla, Canon. Eccl. Later. l. i. de Volupt.

‡ *Uxorum aut quarumcunque fœminarum immundâ societate, et execrabili contagione turpari.* Conc. Tol. 8. c. 5. cit. à C. E. p. 231.

§ Vide Regist. Eccl. Wigorniensis, postea. l. iii.

‖ *Essendo il matrimonio un stato carnale:* pleaded in the Council of Trent. Histor. Corcil. p. 662.

¶ August. de Hæres. ad *Quod-vult-Deum.* ** Refut. p. 19.

they count marriage cockle?" In this, where should they find an adversary? But, if luxury, filthiness, uncleanness, contagion, beastliness, vice, obscenity, be the styles of good; we can well allow them to the honour of C. E's virginity, and are content our marriages should pass for evil.

SECT. V.

My second untruth, he saith, is, That I make the single life of priests the Brand of Antichristianism *.

Shameless mouth! Where did I ever say so? My words are: "Were it not for this opinion, the Church of Rome would want one evident Brand of her Antichristianism." The life is one thing; the opinion, another. Single life is good: the opinion of the necessity of single life, and the unlawfulness of the married, is antichristian. What can be more plain? yet this wilful slanderer tells the world, that I make the profession of continence, antichristian: whereas, we do willingly profess, that true profession of true continency is truly laudable; that the forceable imposition of it, as necessary to some state of men, savours strongly of that *Man of Sin*. Now, let my reader judge, whose untruths my adversary hath hitherto detected.

Neither can I eat that word of mine, unless I would renounce the Apostle; who seems purposely to decypher our Romanists by these lines. For, having immediately before described the condition of Bishops and Deacons, with their wives and children, allowing them indifferently with others a married estate; he presently, as foreseeing that point which would be most subject to contradiction, foretells, that the seducing spirits of Antichristianism would forbid marriage: and this he fore-prophesies shall be done in the latter, or, as their Vulgate and Rhemists † turn it, in the last times; and that, by them, which shall speak lies in hypocrisy. Neither of which can so exactly agree to those first heretics; who, as they were early in time, so also gross in their doctrine; wherein there was more open impiety, than secret dissimulation.

SECT. VI.

In vain, therefore, doth my Refuter bring in St. Paul, as an abettor of his forced continence ‡; while he saith of younger widows, that, *When they have begun to wax wanton against Christ, they will marry; having damnation, because they have forsaken their first faith.*

* Refut. pp. 19, 20.

† And if ὅταν καιρὸν may agree to all the ages of the Church after Christ; yet most to the last: and that other addition seems to strengthen this sense.

‡ Refut. p. 21.

In which place, boulted before to the bran by many controversers, mine adversary hath learned of his Bellarmin to triumph above measure. "This first faith," saith he, "all the Fathers, without exception, understand to be a vow or promise, made to God of continence, in the state of widowhood." It is a wide word, "all the Fathers." I had thought I had read in holy Athanasius *, *Væ vobis, qui primam fidem baptismi, cælitùs institutam, irritam facitis:* "Woe to you, that make void the first faith of baptism, ordained from heaven." I had thought Jerome had somewhere said †, "They are not worthy of belief, which have voided their first belief; Marcion, I mean, and Basilides:" whom yet I never found condemned for the breach of any vow of continence. I had thought, the author of the Interlinear Gloss would not have crossed all the Fathers, in expounding it, *Fidem baptismi;* "The faith of baptism;" which is indeed the *first faith:* and the Apostle saith *the first;* not "the former." As for that other, which he imagines, a vow of continued viduity, it was neither *faith* nor *first*. Let him instance, if he can, where our Apostle takes Faith for a Vow. Rather, as if he meant to expound his own word in this very Scripture and this occasion, he clears this doubt, while he speaks of the wilfully improvident man, that *he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel;* and now, in the same context, he speaks of these perverted widows, that *they have forsaken the faith.*

Much less is it the *first;* whether in time, or dignity: for, they could not have been Church-widows, if not Christians; and they could not be Christians, if they should have valued the vow of their widowhood above the vow of their Christianity. Yea, so far was this from the first vow, if it had been one, as that it was the last of all: for, according to them; their first faith must be to their husband; their second to Christ, in their initiation to religion; their last, in the vow of widowhood. So as here is a feigned vow made faith, and last made first; and all, to uphold a crazy conceit of our Romanists, which hath no other ground but this one ambiguity. Chrysostom ‡, indeed, calls it συνθήκην; *pactum;* "a covenant:" but, what covenant, or with whom, he expresses not; whether of Christianity, or of widowhood, or of ministration: some of the others, that followed him, spake according to the gloss, which the corrupt conceit of the times had set upon him.

But what need my Refuter stand upon particular authors, he says §, when he may bring two hundred and fourteen Bishops, all sitting in Council at Carthage, all agreeing in this exposition? pointing us to the Fourth Council of Carthage; Can. ult. His Gratian had wont to tell us (for the more Grace) that it was in the Third

* L. vi. de Trinitate: de Beatitudine Filii Dei ad Theophilum. *Et instrumenta libertatis semel concessa per iterationem infirmatis.*

† *Non sunt digni fide, qui primam fidem baptismi irritam fecerunt; Marcionem, loquor, et Basilidem.* Hier. Proœm. in Epist. ad Tit.

‡ Refut. p. 20. § Refut. p. 21.

Council of Carthage; Can. 4. Now he is taught to change his note. So doth C. E., with his Binius, tell us it was the Fourth Council, and the last Canon. We have reason to suspect it was in neither. The very style and manner of discourse, so different from the rest of those brief Canons and the fashion of those times, carry in it open likelihood of bastardy. It was an easy fraud, to patch it to the end of those Canons: neither, which learned Junius taught me first to observe, is it found among the Greek; than which, there cannot be a worse sign.

But, that I may at once answer this vaunt of antiquity, and stop the mouth of this Caviller; let me ask him, whether those Fathers, whom he cites for this sense, do not take those young widows for votaries. If they do, as he cannot deny, how can these two stand together, That they should have damnation, because, against their vow, they would marry; and yet, that the Apostle should wish them to marry? Can he imagine that St. Paul would advise them to incur wilful damnation?

And if, in this, I should have dissented from the interpretation of much antiquity, I should but take to myself the liberty of his masters, the Jesuits; with whom this is no novelty. For instance: his not unlearned and bold Maldonate *, as we shall see afterwards, upon a text of this very question, confessing the current of the stream of antiquity, can come in, at last, with a doctorly wipe of *adduci non possum ut sequar*; "I cannot go with them." This privilege is for none but the Fathers of the Society, to control the Fathers of the Church.

The state then of these widows † was shortly this. They being, for their poverty, sustained by Church-alms ‡, upon condition of attendance on the Saints, whether sick or travelling, were to dedicate themselves to this service; but, some of the younger sort, being inveigled by infidel-lovers, were drawn to leave, not their station only of their ministration, but their profession of Christianity. These had damnation most justly, for *casting off their first faith*. Their marriage was accidentally faulty; because it forced them from their holy employment: their apostacy was absolutely and damnably sinful; in that they left Christ, and followed after Satan.

The inextricable dilemma §, then, of my Detector is easily answered. "I demand now of Master Hall, whether these young widows, in breaking their vows, did sin or not. If they did not; why shall they have damnation? if they did sin, as indeed they did, then how is the vow unlawful? how the brand of antichristianism?" Nothing can be more base, than to beg the question. What do we dispute, but whether any vow were made? and, if any, whether of continence, or of service? But why then shall they have damnation? for waxing wanton against Christ; not

* Maldonat. in Matth. xix. 11. † Χηρα ἀπὸ τῦ χηρῦσθαι.

‡ *De his agit, quæ ad Ecclesiæ stipem vel ministerium recipiebantur, ejus sumptibus alendæ.* Espen. de Cont. l. iv. c. 1. § Refut. pp. 21, 22.

merely for marrying. If, to marry, were to wax wanton against Christ, why would the Apostle have advised it them? in a word, for abandoning both their office and religion.

Lastly, who can but wonder at the face of our adversaries, that dare bring forth so plain a witness against themselves? For, if the vow of continence be the *first faith* here spoken of, then may not any woman, by the Apostle's charge, make this vow, till she be threescore years old; which, how is it, at this day, practised in the Romish Church? since *, as the Cæsar-Augustane Council and the Agathense abated it to forty years; and the Third Council of Carthage, yet lower, to five and twenty: so Pope Gregory † fell, yet lower, to eighteen; and some other Councils, yet lower, to twelve: although the Trent-Conference ‡ very liberally rise up to whole sixteen. Either, therefore, let them grant, that our Apostle speaks not of votaries; or else, let them follow his rule of the age of votaries; that the world may think they have honest nunneries: and let them confess their change presumptuous.

Thus, I hope, this gordian knot, "that requires more strength than Master Hall's learning, and a sharper edge than Alexander's sword to dissolve or cut," is proved more easy than the knot of a friar's girdle, which a very dull whittle may cut asunder: and C. E.'s appeal to all scholars, proclaims him ignorantly confident.

SECT. VII.

If it had not been for two poor words of mine §, both yet misunderstood, I wonder how C. E. ‖ could have discovered to the world his dexterity, in serving out his oft-sodden coleworts; the refuse of his Bellarmin and Coccius.

Threescore and four pages ¶ or more, hath he bravely spent in the vindication of virginity, which never honest and wise man opposed.

"Let their shavelings," I said, "speak for themselves; upon whom their unlawful vow hath forced a wilful and impossible necessity." The man is angry, that I meddled with his crown: but, if his hair had not been longer than his wit, this deep offence had never been. For, if he had taken my words, *cum grano salis*, in the sense which they will only well bear, "Let such of their shavelings, as upon whom an unlawful vow hath forced an impossible necessity, speak for themselves," (none other need speaking for) he had found the sentence so particular, that it might have spared him both much spleen and work: since, neither was it in my heart, ever to affirm the observation of this vow impossible to any man; neither will he, I hope, hold, that it is kept by all. It is

* Bellar. de Monachis. l. ii. c. 35. Can. 13. † Greg. l. i. Epist. 48.
‡ Sess. 25. c. 15. § "Impossible." "Unlawful." ‖ Refut. pp. 23, 24. ¶ From page 26, usque ad 90.

not in the power of the razor, together with the hairs to cut off inordinate affections: some vow, which cannot contain. Upon this supposition only, I called this necessity impossible, and this vow unlawful.

I cannot, therefore, but pity my passionate Detector, that he hath set himself all on a froth, in running this wild-goose chase alone; following nothing but his own fancy, while he pursues a certain chimerical monster, that holds continence utterly and universally impossible.

And, that he may the better repent him of this witless waste, and prevent the spoil of good paper hereafter, let him know, at once, which perhaps hath not hitherto been allowed him, what we hold concerning this point.

We do, therefore, from our hearts honour true virginity, as the most excellent estate of life, which is incident to frail humanity. Gerson hath taught us not to call it a Virtue; but it is cousin-german to a Virtue. Neither do we think that the earth affords any thing more glorious, than Eunuchism for the Kingdom of Heaven: which is, therefore, commended by our Saviour, not as a thing merely arbitrary, by way of advice, but of charge to the able: *Qui potest capere, capiat.* In this we can gladly subscribe to St. Chrysostom, *Bonum est virginitas*, &c. "Virginity is good; I yield it: and better than marriage; I confess it."

Secondly, every man therefore, not Ecclesiastics only, should labour and strive to aspire unto this estate, as the better; using all holy means, both to attain and to continue it. Neither do we think it any other than blameable, that young persons, not so much as advising with their own abilities, without all endeavour and ambition of so worthy a condition, leap rashly into the bands of wedlock.

Thirdly, though every man must reach for it, yet every man cannot catch it: since it hath pleased God to reserve this, as a peculiar gift, for some persons; not intending it as a common favour to all suitors.

Fourthly, those, then, which are, upon good trial, conscious to themselves of God's call to this estate, and his gift enabling them unto it, may lawfully make profession thereof to the glory of the Giver, and, if need be, may vow, God continuing the same grace unto them, a holy perpetuation thereof, to their end: the observation whereof, if they, through their own neglect, shall let fall, they cannot be excused from sin * or freed from censure. But those, which, after all serious endeavours, find nothing but weakness and uncertainties in this behalf, shall sin, if they absolutely vow; shall not sin, if they marry †, in what condition of life so-

* *Qui statuit firmus in corde suo non habens necessitatem, potestatem habens suæ voluntatis, et vouerit continentiam Deo, debet eam, usque ad finem, tota mentis solicitudine, custodire.* Aug. de Fid. ad Petr.

† *Solutio voti mala; Conjugium, tamen, bonum.*

ever; not sin in marrying, however their marriage may have faulty circumstances.

Now, my Detector, by this time, in our assertions sees his own folly. If, against this, he can except ought, he knows where to find an adversary.

In the mean time, he needed not to take it so highly, that, in the Romish use of vows, I made mention of "unlawfulness," of "impossibility:" unlawfulness, in the making; impossibility, in keeping. I am ready to maintain both; in respect of the indisposition, yea, incapacity of the votaries.

SECT. VIII.

But, in speaking of the impossibility of some men's continency, it was not possible for my Refuter to contain himself from a scurril invective against Luther, Pellican, Bucer *.

And it becomes him well. His fathers, like sepulchral dogs, tore up the graves of God's Saints, and gnawed upon their dead bones; and now, this whelp of theirs *Commingit cineros*, "Bedribbles their ashes."

The Heroical Spirit of Luther, for I cannot be flouted out of that word, hated the brothelry of their cloisters; and chose rather, which galls them to the heart, to be an honest husband than a fornicating friar.

What did he other in this, than the Holy Fathers have advised him; yea, than he learned in their own school? for, casting, perhaps, his eye upon the Index of their Aquinas, he found there, *Votum vergens, &c.*: "A vow, tending to the danger of the person, may be securely broken, if a dispensation cannot be had †:" what other, than all their more ingenuous Casuists would think fit to give way unto ‡?

If Luther would have still kept on his cowl, and but have paid the fees of a concubine, he had lived and died a holy Augustinian; but now, all his crimes sink down out of sight: *una uxor supernatat*, as that Father § said; "his wife only floateth:" and poor honest Catharine Bora hath made more noise in their papers, than ten thousand of their courtezans. Neither needs this man any other inscription on his grave to make him odious, than this, "Here lies the man, that held marriage better than fornication."

If now Doctor Luther, in a vehement detestation of the impurity of their holy stews, after the homely plainness of a blunt German liberty, used some over-broad speeches to express his own

* Refutat. pp. 25, 26, 27. † *Votum, vergens in periculum personæ, debet frangi securè, si dispensatio non possit haberi.* Ind. 3. in Aq. voce *Votum*.

‡ *Plus habet hìc luxuria, quàm castitas.* Gloss. Extrav. de Bigam.

§ Hieron. ad Ocean.

freedom, and their abominations *; what is this to us? If we honour the man, must we hold his pen impeccable? This is enough to maintain in their Vice-God of the Seven Hills. For us, we have sworn into the words of no master, but that One in Heaven, the Eternal Word of his Father.

But, this we dare say, that this adversary's truth is no more, in fathering all these reports upon Luther, than in fathering Luther upon an Incubus. One of them tells us, that a devil begot him. Another † tells us, that, by his own confession, a conference with the Devil begot his opposition to the Mass: another ‡, that he was in league and favour with Solyman, the great Turk; who, by his instigation, was drawn to war upon Christendom: another §, that Luther would have been a king alone; and that, from him, sprang the rebellion of Muntzer: another ‖, that Leonard Knoppen was his bawd; and that his Catharine, for two years together after her stealing away, was debauched by the scholars of Wittenberg. And now, lastly, comes in that malicious apostate ¶, which should rather have changed the false name of Justus than the over-worthy name of Calvinus, and avouches, forsooth, that Luther "was, yesterday, a monk; to day, contracted; to morrow, a husband; the next day, a father." Go on, ye brazen-faced parasites of Rome. Lies and blood may bring you into the calendar.

But this last my Detector countenances by the testimony of Erasmus; who, in a Letter of his to his friend Daniel Mauchius of Ulmes, delivers the same story in more words. Reader, be entreated to look over that large volume of Erasmus's Epistles: and, if there be no such man found there, as there is not; no such Letter; judge what to think of these men's fidelity. Yea, to the plain contrary, my Detector, having not memory enough for a true liar, in the page 173 **, upon another occasion contemptuously citing Luther's brood out of his own Works, confutes this spiteful fiction. *Anno* 1525. *June* 12, *uxorem duxi*, &c. "In the year," saith he, "1525, on the 12th of June, I married: in the year 1526, my eldest son John was born: in the year 27, my daughter Elizabeth; and so the rest." Either, then, my man hath a new calendar of his own, which, contrary to the Gregorian, begins the year on June 13th, or else Luther was not a father the next day after he was a husband. But what do I trouble my reader with this idle Scoganism? Scolds or jesters are only fit for this combat.

As for those excessive speeches of comparison ††, whereby Luther points forth the necessity of carnal actions, they are spoken only of such persons, as have not the gift of continency; whom natural inclination, by which they are led, carries, without a higher restraint,

* *Et lupanaria thalamis præferentur.—Beatus vir, cui non imputavit Dominus uxorem.* Refut. pp. 28, 29. † Cochleus. ‡ Peter Frarin. Lovan. out of Stoltius in Somm. Luth. § Jo. Fowler in the Translat. of Frarine's Invective. Marg. ‖ Vide Fulke ag. Frar. 16. ¶ Justus Baronius; formerly called Calvinus. ** Tom. 2. Lat. Colloq. Tit. *De Morbis Lutheri.*

†† Refut. pp. 28, 29

importunately unto these desires: wherein he says not much other, than their own Saint, Aquinas *: *Omnibus animalibus, &c.* "In all perfect living creatures, there is a natural inclination to carnal conjunction."

But, when Luther speaks of men blessed from above with this gift, C. E. might have heard him in another strain; pleading both the possibility and worthiness of this condition. As in his Commentary upon the Psalm cxxviii. verse 3 †, to give one for all, thus he saith: "For one and the same Spirit hath distributed his gifts, to some after one manner, and to some after another, &c. Let them, therefore, to whom it is given to receive this, abide in their single life; and let them glory in the Lord: on the other side, let them, that are not so strong; but know and feel their infirmity, that they cannot live both chaste and out of matrimony; let these, I say, consider more their own infirmity, than the discommodities and troubles that belong unto matrimony." Thus he, gravely and holily.

SECT. IX.

Now, to follow my adversary in particulars: whereas all the world sees, that the unlawfulness of their vow depends upon the inability of performance; he, like a true artist, begins first with the unlawfulness ‡.

It is well, that all these sheets of paper, which he hath spent in this point, may serve for some necessary use: this, which he hath put them to, is foolishly superfluous.

"If the vow of chastity be unlawful," he saith §, "it must be either in respect of the vow, or the matter vowed."

"Not the first; because vows in general are lawful:" which he will prove out of Scripture and Fathers. Idle head! Who ever denied it, but the exploded Lampetians? His own Cardinal ‖ could have taught him, that Luther and Calvin approve the vowing of things commanded, first; and, then, of things not commanded too, to the avoiding of sin, or other good purposes.

"Not the second ¶" which he will prove by many arguments; some of them from the Fathers, extolling virginity, and comparing it with the state of angels, and preferring it before marriage. And who ever thought otherwise, except Jovinian? and, perhaps, not he.

And, at last, after some severe examples of penance enjoined to fornicating vow-breakers, by Chrysostom and Basil; to incontinency and rape, by the civil laws **; as if these concerned us so much as

* Lib. iii. contr. Gent. c. 126. *Omnibus animalibus perfectis, inest naturalis inclinatio ad conjunctionem carnalem.* Item: *Cum muliere semper esse, et illam non cognoscere, majus est quàm mortuum suscitare.* Joan. de Sanct. Geminiano. Simil. l. ii. 10. 27. † Luth. in Ps. cxxviii. vers. 3. *Unus idemque Spir. &c.*

‡ Refut. p. 29. § Refut. p. 30. ‖ Bell. l. ii. de Monachis: c. 15. *Ad negotia hujus vitæ expeditiùs peragenda, aut ad vitanda peccata, aut ad alios bonos fines.* ¶ Refut. pp. 32, 33, 34, usque ad 42.

** Refut. p. 43. usque ad 48. et p. 54. Usque ad finem parag. 1.

themselves; he descends to this challenge *: "Let Mr. Hall, if he be able, produce us some proof, although but one classical authority of any one ancient writer, where he hath ever persuaded such as have solemnly vowed chastity, to use marriage as a means to overcome temptations; and he shall have some excuse for calling it a filthy vow; and his heroical Luther for terming it a diabolical thing."

So he. I take him at his word: only, let him not fly forth upon the shift of solemnity, which their School lately hatched. That were to seek grey hairs in infancy.

First, I bring forth that famous place of St. Cyprian, in his Epistle written, both in his own name and his fellow-Bishops', to Pomponius, concerning some vowed virgins, which were found in bed with men, whereof one was a Deacon; of which virgins, he, with his brethren, pass this sentence †: *Quòd si se ex fide Christo dicaverunt, &c.* "If they," saith he, "have faithfully dedicated themselves unto Christ, let them, without all deceit, persevere in the course of Chastity ‡; and so courageously and constantly expect the reward of their virginity." *Si, autem, perseverare nolunt, vel non possunt, &c.* "But, if either they will not, or cannot persevere, it is better that they marry, than, by their wantonness, fall into the fire §. Let them give no scandal to their brethren and sisters." What could Luther or Calvin write more directly? So that Erasmus notes in the margin, *Etiam virginibus sacris permittit nubere:* "Here Cyprian permits even holy virgins to marry." Bellarmin's shift ‖ hereof is ridiculous: That Cyprian, by occasion of some virgins which after their vow behaved themselves dishonestly, advised others, that, if they had not a firm purpose of persevering, they should not vow, but marry: whom we remit to the check of his own Pamelius; yea, of his conscience. Indeed, what is this, but to mock both the author and the reader? For, doth Cyprian at all vary the persons, of whom he speaks? Doth he not speak plainly of virgins devoted to Christ? And what persevering could there be, but in that, which they had undertaken? and what had they undertaken, but a dedication of themselves to Christ? What is this, reader, but willingly to try his oars against the stream of truth?

To the same purpose is that noted sentence of Jerome, though otherwise none of the best friends to marriage ¶; who, speaking of virgins, ascribed by their vow into the celestial family, adds, *Quibus apertè dicendum, &c.* "Whom we must openly charge, that, either they would marry, if they cannot contain; or, that they would contain, if they will not marry." We know the elusion of this place also **: that Jerome speaks of virgins in purpose, not in vow. But whose name, I beseech you, was defamed by their lewdness? or, what was the heavenly and angelical family,

* Refut. p. 45. † Epist. l. i. Epist. 11. ‡ *Pudicè et castè, sine ullâ fabulâ perseverent.* § *Melius est ut nubant, quàm in igne sui, deliciis suis, ardeant.* ‖ Lib. ii. de Monach. c. 34. ¶ *Hieronymus impendio semper virginitati favens; et, ubi il, nuptiis frigidior.* Erasm. ** See the Scholia of Erasmus upon the place.

whose glory was blemished herewith? Was it of any other, than professed virgins? Or, could the act of a purposed virgin only, shame virgins professed?

To the same purpose is the advice of Basil *, and Epiphanius †.

Add to these, an elder than they all, Tertullian; and, with him, all those Fathers, which interpret St. Paul's, *volo juniores nubere* ‡, of vowed widows: all which must needs hold, that our Apostle allows marriage for the lawful remedy of unable votaries.

Let not this malicious Mass-Priest then turn us over to his Tyberianus or Jovinian §, for the first founders of our opinion and practice; which we received from no other, than that Divine Arch-Heretic, that sat at the feet of Gamaliel; from no other, than the holily-heretical Fathers and Martyrs of the Church.

As for those two mis-alledged authors, to whom he ascribes us, his skill doth palpably fail him in both.

For Tyberianus: he, being suspected of Priscillianism, wrote affectedly against that heresy; at last, foully fell to that, which he disclaimed: whereon it was, that Jerome says, *Canis ad vomitum*; not upon the marriage of his daughter. And, for that particular fact, it is no less mistaken. Jerome says only, *Filiam virginem Christo devotam, matrimonio copulavit*; "He married his daughter, being a virgin dedicated to Christ:" but Sophronius, who it seems well knew the story, turns it γαμηθῆναι κατενάγκασεν; compelled his daughter, a consecrated virgin, to marry ‖. A foul fact, which we detest no less, than the contrary practice of those Romanists, who compel their daughters, which would marry, to be consecrated virgins. It is then no less false, that Tyberian gave beginning to us, than it is true, that Tyburn hath given a just end to some of them.

For Jovinian, what is he to us? when neither our practice was his, nor his opinion ours. Not our practice; for he lived and died a single monk: not his opinion; how can we be said to admit marriage to an equal share of merit with virginity, when we deny merit in either? Again, that Eunuchism (not in itself, but) for the Kingdom of Heaven, is better than it, we doubt not. But, when these two are reduced to their subjects, their value is according to their use ¶. Chrysostom could say ** μετὰ συμμετρίας, &c. "Use marriage with meet moderation, and thou shalt be the first in the kingdom." And Gregory Nazianzen, besides that he saith of his sister Gorgonia, when he commends the children of Basil the elder, tells

* Basil. l. de Virg. † Epiphan. Hæres. 61. *Melius est unum peccatum habere quàm plura.* Φανερῶς ἑαυτῷ λαβεῖν γυναῖκα κατὰ νόμον. Ibid. Epiphan.

‡ *I would have the younger widows to marry.* § Refut. p. 51.

‖ *Coegit ut nuberet.* Vide Erasm. Schol. in Hier. Catalog. Scriptor. Eccle. S. Syagria in Greg. Epist. *marito violenter sociata.*

¶ *Quamvis universaliter dicatur homini melius esse continentiam servare, quàm matrimonio uti; tamen alicui hoc melius est.* Thom. l. iv. contr. Gent.

** Μετὰ συμμετρίας τῷ γάμῳ χρῶ, καὶ πρῶτος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἔσῃ. Chrys. ad Hebr. κεφ. ϛ. λογ. ζ.

us*, some of them so used their marriage, that it was no hindrance to them, *quo minùs ad parem virtutis gloriam aspirarent;* "that they might not aspire to an equal glory of virtue with the virgins;" and made these two rather different kinds of life, than manners of living.

St. Chrysostom, then, and Nazianzen, shall usher us into the school of Jovinian. And, if Jovinian were *Formosus monachus, crassus, nitidus, &c.* "A fair, fat, spruce monk;" as he saith †: methinks, HE should rather have hoped to match him in their Sybaritical Cloisters, where they abound with meat, and drink, and ease, than in our laborious Clergy.

It is happy for us, and for that reverend Archbishop Marcus Anton. de Dominis, that this railer ‡ can object nothing to him, but a harmless load of corpulency. It moves their spleen enough, that this learned Prelate hath honoured our island with a Dalmatian Pall. Their cause feels, that he can, notwithstanding, pass into the pulpit. What speak they of this? when, to their sorrow, they see he could pass over the Alps to leave Rome. This beagle, and his bawling Beverlinck, and the kennel of Sorbonne, may bay at him; but not one of their bandogs dare fasten.

But why do I suffer this babbler to lead me out of my way? What is all this sleeveless discourse § to a man, that never said, never thought every vow of this kind unlawful; nor every breach of such vow sinless? When he takes me with this *Tenet*, let him load me with authorities. Till then, his now-frivolous papers may serve for any honest use.

SECT. X.

No less wise and proper is that other discourse of Impossibility ‖.

For, to make short work; "That no man can contain, though it be given him," I never said: "That any man may contain, though it be not given him," either he will not say, or, if he do, he hath Christ for his adversary.

Why do we blot paper? How the performance of this vow is not possible only for all, but facile ¶ also, which he contendeth, the issue proves too well; and the world blushes to see it.

Let it not be too much burden to his patience, that I said, "Some of their shavelings cannot hold." He knows what their Gloss upon Gratian said** of old, though now they have pulled out that tongue for blabbing, *Communiter dicitur, &c.* "It is commonly said, that a Clerk ought not to be deposed for simple fornica-

* Greg. Naz. Orat. in laudem Basilii. Or. 22. † Hier. l. ii. in Jovin.

‡ Refut. p. 52. § The residue of this paragraph is spent in the Canon and Civil Laws against vow-breakers. *Quid ad Rhombum?* Refut. pp. 54, 55, 56.

‖ Refut. pp. 57, 58, 59. ¶ *Majus miraculum est, de propriâ carne fomitem eradicare luxuriæ, quàm expellere immundos spiritus de corporibus alienis.* Joan. Brom. Sum. Prædic. cap. Castit. ** Distinct. 81. Maximianus.

tion :" *Cùm pauci sine illo vitio inveniantur;* " Since there are but a few found without that vice." This they have wiped out of the book; but the *Margarita Decreti*, as happy is, holds it still. And their honest Cassander *, yet more plainly, *Vix centesimum invenias;* " you shall scarce find one of a hundred free." And, if need were, I could tell him, out of our old Bromiard †, what the voice of a ghost said to a priest of theirs; but I will not: only thus he shut up; " That there came daily such store of priests to hell for their luxury;" in plain English, Lechery; " that he had not thought there had been any left upon earth." And to these I could add the jerks of their zealous preacher, friar Menot ‡, who fetches the threefold shame of their Clergy out of the Ave Mary: " The second whereof," though the first in mischief, is, " *in mulieribus.*"

But what should I fill carts with such stuff, as I easily might, when the salacity of the Romish Clergy, is grown to be the proverb § and scorn of the world?

Let not my Refuter scare us, with the threat of recriminations. We know, that, in all professions, there may be found lewdness enough. But, when all is done, we shall justify that, which worthy Bp. Jewell said, long ago: *Scortum apud nos modestiùs vivit, quàm apud vos Penelope:* " Our strumpet is their Penelope."

What needed he, therefore, to upbraid ‖ us with that frump of Erasmus, *Quæ malùm est ista tanta salacitas, &c.!* when he knows how easily we can overpay him in this coin?

Was it not Erasmus ¶, whose word it was, which Master Doctor Collet, Dean of Paul's, was wont to have familiarly in his mouth, *Nunc is est rerum ac temporum status, ut nusquam reperias minùs inquinatam morum integritatem, quàm inter conjugatos?* " Now such is the state of the times, that you shall never find less corruption of manners and life, than amongst the married."

Was it not Erasmus **, that said, *Atque utinam verè castrati sint, quicunque suis vitiis magnificum castrationis prætexunt titulum: sub umbrâ castitatis turpiùs libidinantes, &c. Neque enim mei pudoris esse puto commemorare, in quæ dedecora sæpe prolabantur, qui naturæ repugnant, &c.*

This is enough to let my Detector see, we need not die in his debt for Erasmus.

* Consult. Art. 23. And Bellarm. *Qui continent, quos notum est non esse multos:* de Monach. l. ii. c. 3. † Jo. Bromiard. Sum Prædic. voce *Luxuria.*

‡ *Zelantissimus Prædicator.* Tit. Concion. § *Cauda solet sacrificulorum in proverbium abiit.* ‖ Refut. p. 61. ¶ Erasm. Apolog. pro Declam. Matrimonii.

** Ibidem Erasm. Englished thus: " And I would they were gelded indeed, which hide their vicious courses with the glorious name of eunuchism: more freely following their filthy lusts, under the shadow of chastity, &c. Neither will my modesty suffer me to report, into what shameful courses they fall many times, which resist nature, &c." *Ex vitâ Sacerdotum palam dedecorosâ, palam contemnitur eorum doctrina; et inde perit fructus Verbi Dei. Quid si iis qui non continent concederetur matrimonium, et ipsi viverent quietiùs, et populo cum authoritate prædicarent Verbum Dei.* Ad Christoph. Epis. Basil.

SECT. XI.

"But, it is no arguing from the act to the possibility. These did not contain; but they might:"—What! whether it were given them or no? So seems mine adversary to hold, while he censures Luther *, for saying, that this is God's gift; and that here we can only take, and not give.

"Yea, but if they had asked, it would have been given them. *Ask, and it shall be given:*" so says my Refuter †, out of Origen, none of the best interpreters: so, his masters, the Jesuits. *Sufficit promissio generalis*, saith Bellarmin ‡. By this rule, if the Cardinal should but pray for the Popedom, the three crowns must come tumbling upon his head: and if C. E. should but pray for a Red Hat, it would have Mercurial wings, and come flying to Doway. I would he had but prayed for wit: he had then, perhaps, been silent: Not considering, that virginity, and honour, and degrees of wit, though excellent in their kinds; yet are such things, as, without which, we may enjoy God, and go to heaven; and, therefore, that perhaps God sees it best for us to ask them, and go without.

What can be more plain than that of Jerome §? "If all might be virgins, Christ would never have said, *Qui potest capere, capiat;* neither would the Apostle so timorously have persuaded to virginity." Could he ever suppose that virginity might be had without prayers? and yet he says, "If all might be virgins, &c."

Who would not have thought, that this one text of our Saviour should have stopt all mouths? His disciples had said; *If thus, it is good not to marry:* he replies; *All men cannot receive this word, save they to whom it is given;* and concludes, *He, that is able to receive it, let him receive it.* Yet here, see the forehead of a Jesuit: Maldonate, upon the place, dares say thus ‖: "That he saith, *All men do not receive this word*, all interpreters, almost, do so expound it, as if the sense were, All men cannot perform this which you say, that is, want a wife, because all have not the gift of chastity; but only those, to whom it is given:" for which he cites only Origen, Gregory Nazianzen, Ambrose; concealing the rest of his, "almost all:" yet, after, in the same page, forgetting himself, *solus D. Augustinus &c.* "Only St. Austin uses," saith he, "to teach, that this gift of continency is not given to all, but to some only." It is happy, yet, that herein we are granted to err with St. Austin; and, yet, ere long, we take in Origen, Nazianzen, Ambrose, Jerome, and, at last, overtake, *ferè omnes:* so as we need not fear solitariness in this error.

But what says the Jesuit to this good company? *Adduci non possum ut sequar;* "I cannot be persuaded to follow them." No

* Refut. p. 60. † Refut. p. 74. ‡ Bell. l. ii. de Mon. c. 31.
§ Hieron. advers. Jovin. l. i. ‖ Mald. in Matt. xix. 11. *Omnes ferè &c.*

marvel: mark, how well the Jesuits follow Jesus himself! Jesus says, *All men cannot receive this*: the Jesuits say *, "All men may receive it." Jesus says, *It must be given from God*: the Jesuits say †, "it is so the gift of God, that it is in the power of man." How can we look to escape their opposition, when they dare thus contradict their Saviour?

For me, I shall be still in this heresy, That all their priests, and monks, and nuns cannot contain: and his Bonaventure ‡ shall bear me out, who teaches me, that, to the third degree of chastity *requiri privilegium singulare*, "there is a singular privilege required;" for that it seems to be above the pitch of natural possibility, to live in the flesh, and not to feel the faults of flesh.

SECT. XII.

As for his Holy Sisters at Brussels, the touch of whom hath so much enfired his ghostly zeal; I intended no quarrel to them in particular. They may be as honest, as their champion is malicious §. What I said, was out of the supposition of the common frailty: and if he have been so much in their bosom, as to know they never repented them, it is well known, that others have; whose song hath been, in the hearing of those I know:

"What shall I do? shall I die, and never married be?"

Like unto those vestals,

Fœlices nuptæ, moriar nisi nubere dulce est.

As for the mischief following hence, the visible monuments of so many murdered infants, if not in Gregory's ponds, in the very place where I now live and elsewhere ‖, convinces it too much.

But my example ¶, I wis, shall clear his vestals of Brussels, and all other votaries. "Master Hall was absent," some three months, "in France. Flesh is frail: temptations frequent:" add to these his body sickly, and well-near to death: "yet, both then and before his marriage, he would take it in great scorn," as well he

* *Omnes continere possse, si velint.* Bellar. l. ii. de Mon. c. 31.

† *Et donum Dei esse, et tamen in potestate et arbitrio hominis positum.* Ibid. *Qui potest, habeat secum aurum hoc virginitatis: Qui minus nuptiarum argentum excipiat.* Chrysost. in 1 Tim. iv.

‡ Bonaven. in Opusc. de Processu Relig. p. 120. *Sumptuosa turris est, et verbum grande quod non omnes capere possunt.* Bern. de Contempt. Mun. *Nam si generale esset, quod potest unus, et omnes possunt.* Primas.

§ Refut. pp. 60, 61.

‖ Vid. Histor. Radulphi Bourne Augustadensis Eccl. Abbatis, qui testatur se vidisse, in quadam piscina in Monialium Abbatiâ, quæ Provines dicebatur, multa parvulorum ossa, ipsaque corpora integra ibi reperiebantur. Antiq. Brit. Revoc. Clem. V. Papæ, ex Adam. Murim. ¶ Refut. p. 61.

might, "to be suspected for dishonest." True, and might defy men and devils in that challenge. What of this? It follows then: "If Master Hall could, for so long together, live a chaste life, why no more?" Why not always? Demonstratively concluded! as if a man should say: "C. E. doth speak some wise words: how can he, at any time, write thus foolishly? A Christian hath sometimes grace to avoid a temptation: why not always? Why doth he not keep himself ever from sinning? A good swimmer may hold his breath under the water for some portion of a minute: why not for an hour? why not for more? A devout Papist may fast, after his breakfast, till his dinner in the afternoon: therefore, why not a week? why not a month? why not so long as Eve, the maid of Meurs?"

The Spirit of God, if at least he may be allowed for the Author of Continency, breatheth where and when he listeth; and that God, which makes marriages in heaven, either averts the heart from these thoughts, or inclines it at his pleasure.

Shortly, the great Doctor of the Gentiles had never learned this divinity of Doway: whose charge is, *Defraud not one another, except with consent for a season, that ye may give yourselves to fasting and prayer:* and, *Again come together, that Satan tempt you not through your incontinency;* 1 Cor. vii. 5. He only wanted my monitor, to jog him on the elbow, as here: "What needs all this fleshliness? If they can safely contain, while they give themselves to extraordinary devotion, why not more? why not always?" It is pity, that no man would advise the Apostle, how great a gap this doctrine "of his opens to all lasciviousness*."

Let me but have leave to put St. Paul's name instead of mine, into this challenge of my Refuter, and thus he argues †: "If St. Paul say, that πρὸς καιρὸν, *for a while*, they are able to live chaste, but not for any long while; I ask again, how long that while shall endure: and what warrant they have therein for not falling: seeing it may so fall out, that, in the while appointed, they may be more tempted than they shall be again in all their lives after." How saucy would this sophistry be! how shameless! The words are his: only the name is changed. What the Elect Vessel would answer, in such a case, for himself, let C. E. suppose returned by me.

SECT. XIII.

THE Refuter hath borrowed some weapons of his master Bellarmin, and knows not how to wear them. It would move any man's disdain to see, how absurdly those poor arguments are blundered together. We must distinguish them, as we may.

First ‡, "St. Paul condemns the young widows mentioned: therefore, he overthrows this impossibility of containing:"—

* Refut. p. 65. † Refut. p. 65. ‡ Refut. p. 63.

I answer: St. Paul advises the young widows to marry; and admits none into the Church-book, under threescore years: therefore, he establishes, in some, this impossibility.

Secondly *, " St. Paul advises Timothy to live chaste:"—

Reader, tell him the word is σώφρονα; 1 Tim. iii. 3: which their own Vulgate, Tit. i. 8. turns, *sober*; and in Tit. ii. 5. *prudent*. But, to grant him his own phrase; can my Detector descry no difference, betwixt Chaste and Single? Did he and his fellows never hear of a conjugal chastity? So they have still wont to speak, as if chastity were only opposite to marriage; as if no single life could be unchaste. His Espencæus might have taught him that verse in Virgil,

Casta pudicitiam servat domus:—

and he might have heard of that Roman law of vestals, *Castæ ex castis, puræ ex puris sunto:* yea, his Erasmus † might have taught him, yet further, *E diverso, nihil prohibet in conjugio virginitati locum esse;* that even in marriage there may be virginity.

Thirdly ‡, " The Fathers exhort to virginity; especially St. Ambrose and St. Austin:"—

Let him tell this to them, that know it not; to them, that dislike true chastity in virgins: not to them, that condemn unchasteness in a pretended virginity. To what virtue do not the Fathers exhort? yet never supposing them to be within our lure. Lastly, where is the shame of my Refuter, that cites Austin as the man on whom he depends for this universal possibility of continency, when his own Maldonate professes that St. Austin is the only enemy to this doctrine?

Fourthly §, " Where there is impossibility or necessity, there is no sin, no counsel: as no man sins in not making new stars, in not doing miracles:"—

A stale shift, that oft sounded in the ears of Austin and Prosper, from their Pelagians. " The natural man, in this depravedness of estate, cannot but offend God: therefore he sins not, in sinning. Counsel given shews what we should do, not what we can." *Jubendo admonet, &c.* saith Austin ‖: " In commanding, he admonisheth us, both to do what we can, and to ask that which we cannot do." In continency then, our endeavour is required for the attaining of that, which God will give us. God never employed us in making of stars: though my Refuter is every day set on greater work; the making of him, that made stars! Lastly, it is true, there is no sin in marrying: there may be sin, after a vow, in not using all lawful means of chastity. The Fathers, therefore, supposing a pre-required assurance of the gift and calling of God in those,

* Refut. pp. 63, 64.

† Eras. Apol. pro Declam. Matr. *Secundus gradus Virginitatis est Matrimonii casta dilectio.* Opus Imperf. in Matth.

‡ Refut. p. 64. *Ab his duabus columnis crede mihi difficile duellor.* Ibid. ex Bernardo. C. E. § Refut. p. 64. ‖ Aug. l. de Nat. et Grat. c. 43.

whom mature deliberation and long proof* had covered with the vail of virginity, do justly both call for their continence, and censure their lapses.

Fifthly †, "Upon this ground, the father cannot blame his child for incontinence. To contain, implies impossibility:"—

Ask him wherefore serves marriage. "Yea, but to provide a husband or a wife, is not a work of an hour's warning: in the mean time, what shall they do?" Sure, the man thinks of those hot regions of his religion, where they are so sharp set, that they must have stews allowed, of one sex at least. Else, what strange violence is this, that he conceives? As our Junius answered his Bellarmin, in the like. *Hic homo sibi videtur agere de equis admissariis ruentibus in venerem, et de hippomane, non de hominibus ratione præditis.* He speaks as if he had to do with stallions; not with men, not with Christians; amongst whom is to be supposed a decent order, and due regard of seasonableness and expediency. A doughty argument! wherewith "Master Hall is sore pressed:‡" "They may contain till they marry; and, therefore, they may ever contain, and not marry." How easy is it for me to take up this load, and lay it upon my Saviour, which said, *All men cannot receive it;* and upon his great Apostle of the Gentiles, who hath taught us an ἴδιον χάρισμα, a *proper gift;* 1 Cor. vii. 7: which God hath bestowed on some, not on others; and supposes a necessity, that may be, of giving a virgin in marriage!

Sixthly §, "The husband and wife are separated, upon discord or disease. What shall they do? To live continent with this man is impossible:"—

I answer; if only their will sunder them, that must yield to necessity: dissension may not abridge them of the necessary remedy of sin. If necessity; that finds relief in their prayers: if they call on him, who calls them to continency by this hand of his, he will hear them, and enable them to persist. "And why not then in the necessity of our vows?"—This is a necessity of our own making: that is of his. He hath bound himself to keep his own promises; not ours.

SECT. XIV.

While his fellow, or master, Maldonate, talks of confuting Austin in this very point, by Austin himself; this man will confute us by him ‖: whom he no otherwise cites for himself, than his ancestor, Pelagius, cites Lactantius, Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, and Austin, in this case. "The thing," saith he, "is in our power: and, though it require the assistance of God's grace, which still preventeth our will; yet that hinders not, but that we may, if we list, live chaste

* *Post multam deliberationem et considerationem, &c.* Basil. † Refut. p. 65.
‡ Marg. of the Refut. p. 65. § Refut. p. 65. ‖ Refut. p. 66.

all the days of our life; as we may, upon the same terms, believe in God, and love him."

What impudency is this! to make him the patron of the power of our freewill to God, whom all the world knows to have been *Malleus Pelagianorum;* and who, in so many volumes, damns this conceit to the pit of hell: evermore so establishing the natural faculty and use of the will against Stoical necessity, as that he abandons any power of the act or exercise of it unto good, without grace, against human presumption! When he speaks of this, here is not a cold and feeble prevention, but an effectual inoperation; yea, a powerful creation.

Since my Refuter, then, will needs be parallelling our ability of containing and of believing, let him hear that holy Father say *, *Non solùm Deus posse nostrum, &c.* "God doth not only give, and help our power to good; but works in us both our will and working of good."

And, elsewhere †: "He is drawn to Christ, to whom it is given to believe in Christ. Power is therefore given unto them to be made the sons of God, which believe in him, when this is given them to believe in him."

And, so far is he from saying, with my Detector and his Bellarmin, that who lists may believe when he lists, that he reasons thus ‡: *Quid mihi ostendis, &c?* "What dost thou tell me of thy freewill; which can never be free to do good, except thou be a sheep of God? He, therefore, that makes men to be his sheep, frees the wills of men to the obedience of piety. But why doth he make these men sheep, and those not; since with him is no respect of persons? The Apostle answers, *O homo! &c.*" Thus he.

Either, therefore, let him never cite St. Austin against us, in this point; or, else, we must be forced to countercite him, once more than we meant. *Planè possumus dicere frontem hæreticorum non esse frontem* §.

And, if there could be any more on that holy Father's score, Father Maldonate hath paid it for us. To conclude, therefore, for him; *Arbitrium humanæ voluntatis nequaquam destruimus:* We know no man doth well against his will. God uses not to make virgins by force: and the same goodness, that gives chastity to the married, continues virginity to the single.

What of all this? "Therefore," saith he ‖, "it is as well in the power of all single persons to be always continent, as of the married to keep conjugal chastity:"—an illation and conclusion, worthy of my Refuter's logic and divinity! As if he argued thus for himself: "The same God, that disposes of Orders, disposes of the

* Aug. de Nat. et Grat. 25. † Cont. duas Epist. Pelag.

‡ Aug. l. iv. cont. Jul. c. 6. *Qui igitur facit oves homines, ipse ad ob dientiam pietatis humanas liberat voluntates. Sed quare istos homines oves facit, et istos non facit; apud quem non est acceptio personarum? Respondet Apost. O homo! &c.*

§ Ibid. ‖ Refut. p. 69

Popedom: therefore, I may as well look to wear three crowns, as one shaven." Or, "The same God gives both life, and grace, and glory: therefore, all those, that live the natural life, may also live the spiritual and glorious." Who sees not the reason of these unlike? Conjugal honesty is absolutely commanded of God to all married persons: perpetuation of virginity, he grants, was never commanded. The breach of conjugal honesty is, of itself, a sin to all: marriage is not so. Against the one, therefore, we may absolutely pray, in faith *: against the other, but with condition. God hath promised to deliver us from our sins, not from our marriage.

As for St. Ambrose, we easily grant him large in the praise of virginity. But no one word of all his cited authorities † toucheth our assertion. The helps of the Church, the service of angels, the merit of the prayers of our Saviour, we yield to be good means of continence, where it is intended; but, that it is meant to all comers, we deny. Let the success speak.

Neither do we tax the vow, for any improbity in itself; but, for the incapacity of the persons. The vow were good, if the men were not either evil or unfit.

And here, by the way, whereas C. E., like a masterly monitor, wishes "Master Hall to read the divine works of Ambrose, concerning this subject ‡;" Master Hall is bold, in requital, to tell C. E. that He knows not Ambrose; and to teach him, since he hath not learned it of other masters, that the book, which he so oft and so solemnly cites § for Ambrose's, *Ad virginem lapsam*, is a noted counterfeit, a true Novatian; which his grave ignorance might have heard from his Bellarmin and Possevin. And, how much better is that other tract, which he cites ‖ from Ambrose, Epist. 82, wherein mention is made of Venice ¶; which was not extant till Ambrose was not? And the commentary of Ambrose, upon 1 Tim. iii. whence he fetches his forceablest testimony ** for forced continency; slit in the nose, and bored in the ear, long since, by Salmeron††, Baronius, Bellarmin, and Francis Lucas.

Of the same stamp, that the reader may here see once for all how he is gulled by this false priest with foisted authorities, is his Augustin, de Bono Viduatis, thrice ‡‡ by him here quoted, not without great triumph; branded by Erasmus, Hosius, Lindanus: as likewise his Augustin, de Eccles. Dogmat. §§ confessed counterfeit by Bellarmin, and his friends of Louvaine: and the Sermons, de Tempore ‖‖; cashiered by Erasmus, Mart. Lypsius, the Louvanians.

Whereto let us add the book of great Athanasius, de Virginitate, produced ¶¶ in great state by C. E. not without great wrong and shame fathered upon that Saint; as, if Erasmus and Nannius

* *Christus erit, si fides aderit, quæ impetrat à jubente quod jusserit.* Aug. de Nat. et Gr. l. ii. c. 19.

† Refut. pp. 71, 72, 73. ‡ Refut. p. 71.

§ Cited four times by C. E. upon weighty occasions. Refut. pp. 34, 43, 48, 50.

‖ Refut. p. 41. ¶ Vide Censur. Rob. Coci. p. 129. ** Refut. p. 94.

†† Censur. Coci. p. 133. ‡‡ Refut. pp. 20, 49, 68. §§ Refut. p. 40.

‖‖ Refut. p. 80. ¶¶ Refut. p. 35.

did not shew, the ridiculous precepts therein contained would speak enough.

To follow all were endless. Of this kind, lastly, is his Cyprian. de Disciplin. et Bono Pudicitiæ, not more magnificently brought forth * by C. E. than fairly ejected by Erasmus and Espencæus.

These are the glorious testimonies, which grace the swelling pages of mine adversary. These are the pious frauds, wherewith honest readers are shamefully cozened. It shall suffice thus, in a word, to have thanked my Reverend Monitor, for his sage advice; and to advise my reader, to know whom he trusts.

For Origen: we have already answered †. My Detector could not have chosen a better man for the proof of the facility of this work, than him, who, according to the broad tralation of his rude Rhemists, gelded himself, and made himself no man for it.

"That all graces are derived to us from the fountain, or rather the full ocean, of Christ's merits and mercies," which he shews ‡ from St. Jerome, we willingly teach against them; so far are we from being injurious to the Passion of our Dear Redeemer. But if he will therefore infer, that every man may be a perpetual virgin, he may as well hope, that therefore every scribbler may write all true. Our Saviour himself, which said, *I will draw all men unto me;* yet said, *All men cannot receive this:* not, "I cannot give it;" but "They cannot take it."

As for that practice, which he cites § from St. Austin, of forcing men both into Orders and Continency, it shews rather the fact than the equity; what was done in a particular Church, rather than what should be. The Refuter himself renounceth it in the precedent page: "For the Church forceth none thereunto." Neither is it any other, than a direct restraint of that, which the Council of Nice determined to be left free.

Lastly, that there may appear to be no less impossibility of honest truth in some men, than true chastity, he cites ‖ one place for all, out of St. Austin ¶: "Let not the burden of continency affright us: it will be light, if it be of Christ: it will be of Christ, if there be faith, that obtains of him which commands, the thing which he doth command:" see, reader, with what fidelity: and, by this, esteem the rest! St. Austin speaks there of persons divorced each from other, whom necessity, as he supposes the case, calls to continency: the Detector cites him for the power of voluntary votaries. The very place confutes him. "It will be Christ's yoke," saith Austin, "if there be faith, that obtains of him which commands, the thing which he doth command." There can be no faith, where is no command. Now C. E. will grant there is no command ** of single life to all: therefore, all cannot ask it in faith: therefore, all cannot think it the yoke of Christ; all cannot bear it.

* Refut. p. 36. † Vid. suprà. ‡ Refut. pp. 74, 75. § Refut. p. 78.
‖ Refut. p. 79. ¶ Lib. ii. c. 19. De Adulter. Conjug. vid. sup.
** *Neque enim, sicut non mœchaberis, non occides; ita dici potest, non nubes.* Aug. de Virg. Sanct. l. sing. c. 30.

SECT. XV.

Now, at last, like some sorry squib that after a little hissing and sparkling ends in an unsavoury crack, my Refuter, after all these flourishes of their possibility, shuts up * in a scurrilous declamation against our ministry; granting it indeed impossible, amongst us, to live chaste; and telling his reader that we blush not to blaze in pulpits and printed books this brutish paradox. That chastity is a virtue impossible to all †, because so it is to such lascivious "Libertines, sensual and sinful people, as heretics are: and here are *sordes, dedecora, scabies libidinum*: the brutish spirit of heresy, fleshly and sensual." Impure mouth!

How well doth it become the son of that Babylonian strumpet, to call the Spouse of Christ harlot! How well doth it become lips drenched in the cup of those fornications, to utter blasphemous slanders, *Spumam Cerberi*, against innocence!

By how much more brutish that paradox is, so much more uncivilish is the unjust imputation of it to us. Which of us ever blazed it? Which of us doth hate it less, than the lie that charges it upon us? How many Reverend Fathers have we, in the highest Chairs of our Church; how many aged Divines, in our Universities; how many grave Prebendaries, in our Cathedral Churches; how many worthy Ministers, in their rural stations; that shine with this virtue in the eyes of the world!

"If, therefore, the proper place of chastity be the Church of God," as this Caviller pleads, it is ours in right, theirs in pretence ‡. And, so much more noble is this in ours, for that in ours it is free §; in them, forced ‖. *Infida custos castitatis necessitas*, as that Father said: *Neque opus passeri fugere ad montem.* In them, as Chrysostom said, long since, τὸ σεμνον τῆς Παρθενίας ἀπόλωλεν; "The grace of Virginity is lost:" γελῶσιν αἱ κοσμικαὶ: "The world makes sport with such maidenhead."

For the rest, the God of Heaven judge betwixt us and our ene-

* Refut. p. 80. usque ad 87.

† *Illud dixerim, tantum abfuisse, ut ista coacta castitas illam conjugalem vicerit, &c.* saith Polydore Virg. "This I may say, that it is so far off, that this compelled chastity excelled the conjugal chastity, that no crime of any offence could bring more hatred to the state of priesthood, or more disgrace to religion, or more sorrow to all good men, than the blemish of the unchaste life of priests, &c." Polyd. l. v. c. 4.

‡ Hier. l. ii. in Hos. *Quicunque amare pudicitiam se simulant, ut Manichæus, Marcion, Arius, Tatianus, et instauratores veteris hæreseos venenato ore mella promittunt: cæterùm, juxta Apostolum, quæ secretò agunt, turpe est dicere*

§ Minut. Fel. Octav. *Inviolati corporis virginitate fruuntur potiùs, quàm gloriantur.*

‖ *Talis castitas, quia non est spontanea, non habet magnam retributionem.* Bran. Carthus. *O mysteria, O mores, ubi necessitas imponitur castitati, authoritas datur libidini: Itaque nec casta est, quæ metu cogitur; nec &c. Illa pudica quæ these tenetur.* Ambros. l. i. De Virg.

mies. To him we appeal, how we desire to serve him in chaste wedlock, whom they dishonour with unclean and false virginity.

Not to put my Detector in mind how honourably he now speaks of marriage, how dares he talk of our fleshliness, and their chastity? as if he had to do with a world, that were both deaf and blind.

Do not their own records fly in their faces; and tell him "there are but a few of them honest?" Did not their own select Cardinals complain *, that "the most of their Nunneries were justly scandalized with sacrilegious incontinencies?" Do not our histories tell us †, that, in the reign of Henry the Third, Robert Grosthead, the famous Bishop of Lincoln, in his Visitation, "was fain to explore the virginity of their nuns by nipping of their dugs;" *indignum scribi*, as Matth. Paris? Do not the forenamed Cardinals find it a common grievance ‡, that "their courtezans rode in state through Rome itself, attended, even at noon-day, with the retinue of their Cardinals, and with their Clergymen?" Doth he find the Church of England to maintain stews; and to raise rents from professed filthiness? Can he deny the unnatural beastliness, that reigns in his Italy?

But what do I stir this puddle? Let me hear no more brags of their chastity; no more exprobrations of our lasciviousness.

SECT. XVI.

As if my Refuter had vowed to write no true word, he challenges me § for translating Isidore's *Turpe votum*, "a filthy vow."

I turn to my Epistle, and find it not Englished by me at all. His own conscience, belike, so construes it; or, if some former Impression of mine, which I believe not, had so turned it, here is neither ignorance nor unfaithfulness. Wheresoever is sin, there is filthiness. And, if a lawful vow be properly *de meliore bono*, can there not therefore be an unlawful vow? What was that of Jephthah's; or that of St. Paul's forty conspirators?

"But the word there," saith he, "signifies a Promise:" as if every vow were not a promise: and, if Isidore take *votum* for *promissum*, Gregory takes ‖, by his construction, *promissum* for *votum*, in this very case we have in hand.

This vow of theirs, therefore, is metonymically filthy, because it makes them such. In one word, (that he may rave no more of Epi-

* Concil. Delect. Cardin. Paul. iii. Exhib. *Alius abusus turbat populum Christianum in Monialibus, &c. Ubi in plerisque monasteriis fiunt publica sacrilegia cum maximo omnium scandalo.*

† Mat. Paris Hist. Angl. Hen. iii. p. 1085. *Et, quod indignum est scribi, ad domos religiosarum veniens, facit exprimi mammillas earundem, ut sic physicè, &c.*

‡ *In hâc etiam urbe meretrices, &c.* Concil. Del. Card. *Pejus est quàm mæchari, continentiam ducere criminosam.* De Singul. Cler.

§ Refut. p. 83. ‖ Dist. 28. Greg. Petro Diac. l. i. Ep. 42.

cures, Turks, Pagans) their vow is, in profession, glorious; filthy, in effect.

And now, for a conclusion of this point, I must, out of all these gross and ignorant passages of his (though unproperly, yet) truly vow to the world, that a truer Bayard did never stumble forth into the press.

SECT. XVII.

He hath done with their own vows, and now descends to us, whom he confesses vowless *. His scorn cannot strip us of the benefit of that truth, which he confesseth.

Thus then he writes: "I freely, with other Catholics, grant, that our English Ministers, according to their calling, make no vows. I grant their marriage to be lawful: I grant that every one of them may be the husband of one wife, &c."

And why did not this liberality of my wise Detector tie up his tongue in his purse, all this while? No more was required: no less is yielded: whereto is all this jangling?

But, that his grant may prove worse than a denial, thus he proceeds: "But we deny them to be truly Clergymen; or to have any more authority in the Church, than their wives or daughters have: and this, because they want all true calling and ordination. For, they entered not in at the door, like true pastors; but stole in at the window, like thieves. We deny their ministry, I say, to be lawful, because they did run before they were sent; took their places by intrusion, &c. Let Master Hall disprove this, and I will say, *Tu Phyllida solus habeto.*" Thus he.

A deep crimination; and such, as, if it could be proved, would rob our question of the state, and us of our duly-challenged honour.

Reader, this vehemence shews thee where his shoe wrings him. It is the gall of Romish hearts, that we prosper; and are not theirs. Where they have presumed upon credulity, they have not stuck to say, we are not men like others; but, more frequently and boldly, that we are no Christian men; and here, most peremptorily, that we are no Clergymen. There is no Church, no Christianity, no Clergy not theirs! Neither can we be in Orders, while we are out of Babylon!

The man dreams of the Nag's-Head in Cheapside: where his lying oracle, Tradition, hath not shamed to report, Jewell, Sands, Horne, Scory, Grindall, and others in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time, being disappointed of the Catholic Bishop of Llandaff, to have laid hands mutually on each other; and that, from hence, have flowed our pretended Orders.

This our shameless Sacrobosco † heard of some good old folks; and they had it of one Neale, Professor *Ebrius* in Oxford: Kellison

* Refut. p. 89. † Alias, Halywell, the Jesuit.

took it of Sacrobosco; and C. E. of him. *Concordat cum originali. Diabolus est mendax, et pater ejus.*

And is not this a worthy engine, to batter down the walls of a whole Church, to blow up all our Ordination? Is it possible, that any Christian face should be so graceless, as to bear out such an apparent and ridiculous falsehood, against so many thousands of witnesses, against the evidence of authentical records, against reason, and sense itself?

For, can they hope to persuade any living man, that these, having at that time a lawful Archbishop of their own religion, legally established in the Metropolitical Chair by an acknowledged authority, the sway of the times openly favouring them, when all churches, all chapels gladly opened to them, that they would be so mad as to go and ordain themselves in a tavern? He, that would believe this, may be persuaded that their adored blocks can weep, and speak, and move; that their cake is God.

Never truth could be cleared, if not this.

No less than the whole kingdom knew, that Queen Mary died in the year 1558, November 17th; and her Cardinal, then Archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied her soul in death, the same day. The same day, was Queen Elizabeth's *Initium Regni:* her coronation, January 15th following.

That leisure enough might be taken in these great affairs, the See of Canterbury continued void above a year. At last, in the second year of Queen Elizabeth, 1559, December 17th, was Matthew Parker legally consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, by four Bishops: William Barlow, formerly Bishop of Bath, then elect of Chichester; John Scory, before of Chichester, now elect of Hereford; Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter; John Hodgskins, Suffragan of Bedford.

Matthew Parker, thus irrefragably settled in the Archiepiscopal See, with three other Bishops, in the same month of December solemnly consecrated Edmund Grindall and Edwin Sands. The public records are evident and particular: relating the time, Sunday morning, after prayers; the place, Lambeth-Chapel; the manner, Imposition of hands; the consecrators, Matthew Cant., William Chicheser, John Hereford, John Bedford; the preacher at the Consecration, Alexander Nowell, afterwards the worthy Dean of Paul's; the text, *Take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock, &c;* the Communion, lastly, administered by the Archbishop.

For Bishop Jewell, he was consecrated the month following, in the same form, by Matthew Cant., Edmund London, Richard Ely, John Bedford.

Lastly, for Bishop Horne, he was consecrated, a whole year after this, by Matthew Cant., Thomas St. David's, Edmund London, Thomas Coventry and Litchfield: the circumstances, time, place, form, preacher, text, severally recorded. The particulars whereof, I refer to the faithful and clear relation of Master Francis Mason: whose learned and full discourse of this subject, might have satisfied all eyes, and stopped all mouths.

What incredible impudency is this then, for those, which pretend not Christianity only but the Consecration of God, wilfully to raise such shameful slanders from the pit of hell, to the disgrace of truth, to the disparagement of our holy calling!

Let me, therefore, challenge my Detector in this so important a point: wherein his zeal hath so far out-run his wit, and with him all the brats of that proud harlot, that no Church under heaven can shew a more clear, even, uncontrollable, untroubled line of the just succession of her Sacred Orders, than this of ours. If his Rome, for her tyrannous primacy, could bring forth but such cards, the world would be too strait for her.

He shall, maugre, be forced to confess, that either there were never true Orders in the Church of England, which he dares not say; or else that they are still ours.

The Bishops, in the time of King Henry the Eighth, were undoubted. If they left Rome in some corrected * opinions, their character was yet, by confession †, indelible. They laid their hands, according to ecclesiastical constitution, upon the Bishops in King Edward's day: and they both upon the Bishops in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth: they, again, upon the succeeding inheritors of their holy Sees: and they, lastly, upon us: so as never man could shew a more certain and exquisite pedigree from his great-grandfather, than we can from the acknowledged Bishops of King Henry's time, and thence upwards to hundreds of generations.

I confess, indeed, our Archbishops and Bishops have wanted some Aaronical accoutrements; gloves, rings, sandals, mitres, and pall, and such other trash: and our inferior Orders have wanted greasing and shaving, and some other pelting ceremonies. But, let C. E. prove these essential, which we want; or those acts and forms not essential, which we have; *Et Phyllida solus habeto.*

In the mean time, the Church of England is blessed with a true Clergy, and glorious; and such a one, as his Italian generation may impotently envy, and snarl at; shall never presume to compete with, in worthiness and honour. And, as Doctor Taylor, that courageous Martyr, said at his parting, "Blessed be God for holy matrimony."

SECT. XVIII.

My Caviller purposely mistakes ‡ my rule of Basil the Great, and my text of the great Apostle.

While from both I resolve thus, "I pass not what I hear men or angels say, while I hear God say, *Let him be the husband of one*

* Query, "corrupted?" EDITOR.

† *Quis ignorat Cathol. &c. et similiter Ordinatos verè esse Ordinatos, quando Ordinator verè Episcopus fuerat et adhuc erat, saltem quantum ad characterem?* Bellar. de Rom. Pont. l. iv, c. 10.

‡ Refut. pp. 90, 91.

wife;" he will needs so construe it, as if I took this of St. Paul's for a command, not for an allowance: as if I meant to imply from hence, that every Bishop is bound to have a wife.

Who is so blind, as the wilful? Their Leo calls these words a Preception *: I did not. If he knew any thing, he could not be ignorant, that this sense is against the stream of our Church; and no less than a Grecian error.

Who knows not the extremes of Greece and Rome; and the track of truth betwixt them both? The Greek Church saith, "He cannot be in Holy Orders, that is not married:" the Romish Church saith, "He cannot be in Holy Orders, that is married:" The Church Reformed says, "He may be in Holy Orders, that is married; and convertibly."

Some good friends would needs fetch us into this idle Grecism, and to the society of the old Frisons †; and, if St. Jerome take it aright, of Vigilantius: Espenceus, and Bellarmin, and our Rhemists free us.

There is no less difference betwixt them and us, than betwixt May and Must; Liberty and Necessity. If then, *Let him be the husband of one wife* argue that a Bishop may be a married man, I have what I would; and pass not for the contrary from men and angels.

We willingly grant ‡, with Luther, that this charge is negative. *Non velut sanciens dicit*, saith Chrysostom. But this negative charge implies an affirmative allowance: we seek for no more.

As for the authorities, which my Detector hath borrowed of his uncles of Rhemes, they might have been well spared.

He tells us, St. Jerome says, *Qui unam habuerit; non, habeat:* "He, who hath had one wife; not, he, that hath one." I tell him St. Paul saith § εἴ τις ἐστὶν. *If any man be the husband of one wife;* not, "If he have been." Let St. Chrysostom ‖ therein answer Jerome, and Epiphanius, and all other pretended opposites: *Obstruere prorsùs intendit hæreticorum ora, qui nuptias damnant, &c.* "He purposed in this to stop the mouths of heretics, that condemned marriage; shewing, that that estate is faultless, yea, so precious, that with it a man might be advanced to the holy Episcopal Chair." Thus he.

Whom their learned Bishop Espencæus seconds ¶; and, by the true force of the text, cleareth this sense, against all contradiction. *Nec enim Paulini de Episcopis, &c.* "For," saith he, "those places of St. Paul, concerning Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, cannot be so eluded, as that they do only belong to men, that have been sometimes married, and are now widowers and single: but the text doth plainly note out husbands; and those, that are now found in the present estate of marriage; which is implied, both by the word *esse*, and by *unius uxoris vir*; that is, *having one wife*, not, as some

* Leo. Ep. 87. *Tam sacra semper est habita ista Præceptio.*
† Espenc. lib. i de Contin. c. 1. ‡ Refut. pp. 91, 92. § Tit. i. 6.
‖ Chrysost. in i Tit. Homil. 2. ¶ Esp. ubi. supra.

have understood it, 'which hath had one:' for, as Chrysostom hath noted, the Apostle would, by the society of marriage and priesthood, stop the mouths of heretics that condemned marriage; whereto add, that the Apostle, amongst the virtues of a Bishop, reckons up this, that he doth *govern his own house well*, not, that he did govern it:" Thus he.

Unto which, let me yet adjoin this other consideration, That the Apostle describes what manner of wife a Bishop should have; which, as in other professions, he hath not done; so, in this would have been useless, if he had only aimed at an estate past, and not present. Where it is a cunning trick of the Rhemists, and their Vulgate, instead of *their wives*, to read, "the women;" quite beside the scope and context of the Apostle.

As, to the same purpose; whereas their Leo, in the forecited Epistle, says, that this precept of a Bishop to be the husband of one wife was always so sacred, *Ut etiam de muliere sacerdotis eligendâ, eadem intelligatur servanda conditio;* "That the same condition is to be understood of her, that is to be chosen for the wife of the priest:" Bellarmin, and his mates, would needs face us out, that the copies are corrupted; and contends to have it read *sacerdotis eligendi;* "of the priest to be chosen," not, "of the wife:" whom our industrious and worthy Doctor James hath refelled, both by the press and the pen; by the Coleine edition, and manuscript authority.

As for that he cites * from Jerome against Vigilantius, he might have found the salve together with the wound. Our Rhemists clear us from the imputation of his opinion.

For the rest, nothing is more plain, than that our Apostle, according to the just interpretation of Chrysostom, Theodoret, Theophylact, and others, alludes to the loose fashion, as of the Greeks, so especially of the Jews, with whom polygamy and re-marriages, after unjust divorces, were in ordinary use. These, the Apostolical Spirit finds unfit for the Man of God: whom he, therefore, charges to be only, *The husband of one wife.*

Neither doth it argue too much wit in my Refuter, to bring† two Fathers upon the stage for his purpose, and then to set them together by the ears with each other: Ambrose, I mean, and Jerome; who, in this which he cites them for, confute one another: Jerome, though otherwise a back friend to wedlock, censuring the opinion of Ambrose, as savouring too strongly of Cainism and superstition.

However, even the more vehement of the two, out of this place doth hold marriage compatible with Holy Orders, which is the only thing I required. So as still ‡, "This one word shall confirm me against all impure mouths:" impure, not for preferring continency, as my Caviller will take it; but for depraving of marriage, by the foul titles of fleshliness and sensuality; such as his own: a worse we need not.

Neither doth St. Ambrose at all control me herein §, while he

* Refut. pp. 92. 93. † Refut. pp. 94, 95. ‡ Refut. p. 95. § Ibid.

teacheth that the Apostle "doth not here invite us to beget children in the priesthood:" *Habentem enim dixit filios, non facientem.* We did not challenge hence any command: we challenge an allowance; which we have, and proclaim. That I may not say, some copies of Ambrose run, according as I have learned of our eminent Doctor Fulke, *Habentem filios, aut facientem;* "Having children, or begetting them:" the difference is not worth standing for: let it pass after his own reading: I could stop his mouth with the ingenuous answer of his Espencæus *: "*Habentem enim, &c.* for he said, 'Having children, not begetting them;' *Debellatum hic esset, &c.* This field were won, if either this were the text, and not the gloss; or they, that thus interpret it, were Apostles, as they are not." Thus their own Bishop. But I need not call for any aid. The words of Ambrose do plainly drive against an invitation, or command; which we do willingly disclaim.

SECT. XIX.

How unhappy is this man, that still shoots his arrows quite besides the butt †! He proves, forsooth, with great zeal, that the Fathers never understood a positive command in our Apostle's words; which I never thought, so much as in dream: and then he bends his forces against Bigamy; which I no where avouched. The man of valour loves to play his prizes alone.

"Here is no command then," saith he, "but a permission." How much are we bound to him, for this favour! "Permission!" Thus much he, with his Holy Father, yields to their stews.

No, here is a direct allowance: *Let him be the husband of one wife;* not, "He may be so."

"But this was only for a time," he saith, "because of the paucity of single Clergymen." Let him shew me the Apostle's limitation, and I am satisfied: otherwise, this mis-grounded conceit, what countenance soever it may find in a private human authority, shall pass with us as a gloss of Bourdeaux, that mars the text ‡.

But, how shamelessly, how fraudulently, how like himself, doth my Refuter cite Chrysostom's *Castigat impudicos, &c?* "He checketh the incontinent," saith that Father §, "while he permitteth them not, after their second marriages, to be preferred to the government of the Church, and dignity of Pastors:" and there, my Refuter stops, with "So he;" whereas, if he had gone forward, the place had answered him, and itself. "For," saith Chrysostom, "he, which is found not to have kept his benevolence towards his wife, which is gone from ‖ him, how should he be a good teacher to the Church?" plainly shewing us, that he intends this to those

* Espenc. l. Præcit. † Refut. p. 96. ‡ Refut. p. 96.
§ Chrysost. in Tit. Hom. 2.
‖ The word is τῇ ἀπελθούσῃ; by them translated falsely, *defunctum.*

unchaste husbands, which, after an unjust divorce of their former wives, have married also a second; not after the death of the first.

The like Priestly fidelity he useth in the place of Chrysostom, Hom. 2 upon Job. The poor man had taken up some scraps of quotations, upon trust; having never seen the authors: for Chrysostom never wrote any Homilies upon the Book of Job; only, he hath five Homilies of the Patience of Job; whereof this cited, is the second: wherein his *errori ignoscebat*, hath reference, rather to *sine crimine*, which he opposeth to *irreprehensibiles*; than to *vir unius uxoris*; as the sequel plainly shews.

As for Bigamy, it is out of our way; but, since his loquacity will needs rove thither *, let him shew, that, before Montanus infected the world with a prejudice against second marriages after decease, they were held unlawful for any calling or person, and we will grant him clamorous to some purpose.

To prove this opinion and practice of the Church, like a wise master, he brings in † Tertullian's authority, in his book which he wrote in the time of his heresy ‡; while he was over the ears in Montanism: where he tells us he hath known some ejected for second marriages. But, if he had ever read the book following, of Monogamy, he might have found his Tertullian, then Montanizing, to upbraid the True and Catholic Church, which he calls *Psychicos*, with the usual practice and allowance of the second marriages of their Bishops. *Quot enim et digami*, &c §. "For how many Bishops are there amongst you, twice married!"

But who ever was matched with so vain a babbler? I proved from St. Paul, that a Bishop might have one wife: he proves, by Councils and Fathers, that he may not have two. It is pity, that his masters, the Jesuits, have no more trees for him to set with the roots upward. Any thing, rather than to weary the world with this foolish clacking.

Out of this indiscreet and odious verbosity, lest he should want noise, he stumbles upon the Council of Constantinople ‖, before it come in his way; and spends a whole leaf, only to tell us, that he will talk of it hereafter. Hereafter, he shall receive answer enough. What needs this disorderly anticipation?

To conclude then, this place of our Apostle stands for us unshaken, by any the impotent blasts of his frivolous elusions; and shall warrant us against earth and hell, That a Bishop may be the husband of one wife.

* Refut. p. 97. † Refut. p. 98. ‡ Tert. Exhort. ad Castit. c. 7.

§ Tert. De Monogamia. c. 12. *Quot enim et digami præsident apud vos, insultantes utique Apostolo, &c! Miror te unum protraxisse in medium, cùm omnis mundus his ordinationibus plenus sit. Non dico de presbyteris; ad Episcopos venio; quos si sigillatim volvero enumerare, tantus numerus congregabitur, ut Ariminensis Synodi multitudo superetur.* Hier. ad Ocean. de Carterio Hisp. Ep. digamo, &c.

‖ Refut. p. 99.

SECT. XX.

My next place*, of the Honourableness of marriage amongst all, he smooths over with a pretended concession: professing, with Fulgentius and Jerome, to give all high titles to that state; only preferring the rule of a better life: praising marriage; but more extolling virginity.

But, who ever made the comparison? These are fair net to catch fools. While he heaps up all the reproachful terms, that spite can devise, against the very state of marriage, in some callings, not so much as prejudiced by vow; how doth he grant marriage honourable amongst all? If the comparison be the matter he stands upon, let him say, "Marriage is good and lawful for all conditions; virginity is better;" he shall have no adversary.

And, whereas, to call him to reckoning for arrearages, he turned off this place, when it was†, with a scoff out of Bellarmin, That marriage is honourable amongst all, yet not between father and daughter, &c. the man alluded sure to their great and good Alexander the Sixth; and his chaste Lucrece, of whom he knows the riddle,

Filia, Sponsa, Nurus ‡.

For us, that it is honourable in all estates of men by apostolical warrant, is sufficient assurance, that to no calling or estate it can be dishonourable and unlawful.

But, to untie Bellarmin's trifling knot: I say, Marriage is honourable, ἐν πᾶσι, but not, πάντων πρὸς πάσας: *in all*, but not "between all:" that is, every man may marry with a woman, but not with any woman whatsoever; as with his mother, or sister. So father and daughter may marry; but not one the other.

See, now, what a worthy mess of sophistry is laid in St. Paul's dish by these carvers; and how easily overturned: so as I might very well proclaim to all the world, which I do now confidently second, "that, if God might be judge of this controversy, it were soon at an end."

If my Refuter make faces at this §, their whole School shall bear me out in it. *Et sanè communis est Scholæ resolutio, &c.* "And in truth it is," saith their Espencæus ‖, "the common resolution of the School, that, if we insist only in those things, which were spoken by Christ and written by the Apostles in the Canon of the New Testament, secluding the laws of the Church, Holy Orders, nei-

* Refut. pp. 100, 101. † Refut. p. 13.

‡ "Here lies Lucrece, in name; Thais, in life:
The same Pope's daughter, leman, and his own son's wife."

§ Refut. p. 102. ‖ Espenc. l. i. de Cont. c. 3. Cajet. Opus. de Castit.

ther as Orders, nor as Holy, are any hindrances of matrimony." Thus he. And said I any more? any other?

By their confession then *, God never imposed this Law. My proof was, that, even in the time of that Legal strictness, he allowed wedlock to the ministers of his sanctuary. Herein, how am I refuted? "If he mean," saith my Detector, "that, for purity and perfection of life, the Law of Moses was more strict than the Gospel, the untruth is notorious." To which he adds, out of Jerome, that the greater perfection of the Evangelical Sacrifice exacteth greater holiness; and concludes, that "the permission of wives in the Aaronical Priesthood argues evidently the imperfection of that Law." So he. Surely, God wanted this counsellor upon Mount Sinai. He could have advised him better rules of his mis-contrived priesthood!

Would my Refuter make himself so ignorant, as not to know, that, notwithstanding the rather greater perfection of morality required under the Gospel; yet that the Levitical Law placed impurity in many of those creatures and actions, wherein the Evangelical findeth none? Did not the touch of some vessels or garments make a man legally unclean? Did not the lawful act of conjugal benevolence? Did not the accidents of the holiest childbed carry in them an expiable impurity? If he be not a Jew, he will not say it is still thus under the Gospel.

How justly, therefore, might I infer, that if our Holy God, unto whose wisdom it seemed good to stand, of old, upon such points of outward uncleannesses, did, notwithstanding, allow wedlock to his priesthood; much more, at least no less, under the Gospel, doth he allow it, when as all those imputations of impurity are vanished.

SECT. XXI.

I PRODUCED the testimony of their Pope, their Cardinal, their Doctor †. Basil's rule is a sure one, That the witnesses of enemies are most convictive.

Their Cardinal was Panormitan; their Pope, Pius the Second; their Doctor, Gratian.

For Panormitan; my Refuter likes his words so well, that, like a saucy fellow, he dare pull off his Red Hat, and trample it in the floor: denying his Cardinalship; and charging him "with participation of the schism."

But, first, he cannot, I hope, deny him to have been their Abbot; then, their Archbishop. As for his Red Hat, it never came from Wittenberg nor Geneva: it was of their own dyeing. "Felix, the false Pope," he says, "gave it him."

Reader, the famous Council of Basil, consisting of no less than four hundred reverend persons; Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops,

* Refut. pp. 102, 103. † Refut. pp. 103, 104.

Doctors; gathered and allowed, at first, by Pope Martin, then by his successor Eugenius the Fourth, afterwards was, upon some politic considerations, called off by Eugenius. The Fathers of the Council, finding their own strength, stood upon the right of their superiority; and, as they well might, censured the Pope. He proceeded to obstinacy. Those brave spirits, upon ripe consideration, justly deposed him. In the room of this Eugenius, otherwise called Gabriel Condulmarius, was, by just number of voices, elected Amadeus, the devout Duke of Savoy; and named Fœlix the Fifth; a man, too good for that See: neither had he ever any so great blemish in all his life, as the name of a Pope. Volateran can tell us, what a kennel of hounds he shewed to the ambassadors; namely, whole tables of poor souls daily fed by him. All histories speak of his devotion and piety. This man, called from his intended retiredness, must carry the keys. He makes choice of Archbishop Panormitan, for one of his Cardinals. What offence is here?

"But, he was a false Pope:"—If the Council of Basil were a true Council, then was Fœlix a true Pope. It is in my reader's choice, whether he will believe four hundred Divines, representing the whole Church; or a Pope's parasite.

"But, Panormitan died in the schism against Eugenius:"—The world knows, that the greatest blot Panormitan ever had was his violent plea for Eugenius, against the Bishop of Argens, against the eloquent Segovius, against the whole stream of that Council. This is the thank he now carries away: *Fœlix scelus virtus vocatur.* If Eugenius had not dealt underhand with the Dauphin of France, and Frederic of Austria then ambitious of the empire; and tried all his wits, both to make new Cardinals and to divert the neutrals; Eugenius had not been *fœlix;* and *Fœlix* had been still Eugenius, the true and undoubted successor of Peter.

However, if these points should be strictly stood upon, Rome would be at a loss; which, many a time, hath been to seek for her head.

But, what though it were granted that Panormitan was Cardinilated by an intruding Pope? Can this call down the authority of his judgment and writings? especially those, which he wrote before he was Cardinal or Archbishop, being only Abbot: and yet may be cited by us, under the name of Cardinal: as Bellarmin's dictates and composures, elder than his Red Hat, yet are fathered upon that title.

Once, this I am sure of, that Cardinal Bellarmin * doubts not to style Panormitan a Catholic and learned Doctor. This is the man, that stands with his hat off to this worshipful clerk of Doway; and tells him, that continency is not of the substance of Order, nor by Divine Law annexed to it; whereto, he shuffles out a miserable and desperate answer, as we shall see in the sequel.

But, in the mean time, see the cunning of my Catholic Caviller. This is not the sentence I stood upon, of Panormitan: it was not

* Bell. de Cleric. lib. i. c. 19. *Catholicum aliquin et doctum authorem.*

this, whereto I proclaimed mine *Oyez;* but another, which he slily smothers; not daring so much as to repeat it, lest his Romanizing, popular, ignorant readers should hear, and see, and smell, that the sacred celibate of priests did stink, a hundred years before Luther's time. I will, therefore, here supply for him; and, hoping he will, in his next, take notice of the sentence, will represent it here again.

The words are these *: *Melius foret, et pro bono et salute animarum salubrius, si et uniuscujusque voluntati relinqueretur; ita, ut non valentes aut non volentes continere, possint contrahere: quia, experientiâ docente, experimus contrarium effectum sequi ex illâ lege continentiæ; cùm hodie plerique non vivant spiritualiter, nec sint mundi, sed emaculentur illicito coïtu cum insorum gravissimo peccato; ubi, cum propriâ uxore esset castitas.* That is, "It were better, and more wholesome for the good and salvation of souls, if it were left to every man's will; so as they, which either cannot or will not contain, might marry: for we find, by experience, a contrary effect to follow upon that law of continency; since the greatest part," of our priests. "at this day live not spiritually, neither are chaste, but are defiled with unlawful copulations, not without their most heinous sin; whereas, with their own wives it should be chastity." Thus he.

A sentence, worthy of that Epiphonema of mine, "Is this a Cardinal, think you; or a Huguenot?"

With this my Detector deals, as their Inquisition doth with a misnamed heretic: he choaks it up, in secret; or, if he bring it forth, it is not without a gag in the mouth. All his answer is, "We tie not ourselves to every man's opinion;" and, "This sentence is censured by Bellarmin as erroneous:" as if Panormitan were every body, and Bellarmin an oracle. It is enough for us, that one of their own greatest, learnedest, zealousest Prelates justifieth our marriages; and wisheth them in use, rather than their continency.

To that other testimony of Panormitan, he answers † by a grant, yielding us freely, that "if we take Divine Law, for that, which is expressly determined in Scripture, it must needs be said, that there is no evident proof set down of continency in ecclesiastical men by the Apostles; yet, that it is so insinuated, and the observation of it hath been so ancient, as Bellarmin noteth, that it may be truly termed Apostolical ‡." Thus he.

And even for this are we beholden to him: all his friends would not have been so liberal: his Joannes Major, his Clictovæus, his Torrensis, and all their rigorous clients would not have said so. As, on the other side, the old gloss was not so wise, that could only say (which is now expunged) *Apostoli docuerunt exemplo;* "The Apostles taught this by their example."

But what are these so pregnant insinuations? Good wits have found them out.

* Abb. Panorm. de Cleric. Conjugat. Cap. *Cùm olim.*
† Refut. p. 107. ‡ Refut. p. 105.

One was, that of Innocentius II. *, "That these men are the vessels and temples of God: therefore, they may not *Cubilibus et immunditiis servire*, serve for chambering and wantonness." I wis, no layman is such: therefore, he may be allowed to be filthy!

Another was, of Franc. Torrensis: *Take heed, lest your hearts be oppressed with surfeiting, and drunkenness, and cares of this life;* Luke xxi. 34: whereof Bishop Espencæus is so ashamed, that he answers it with an *absit!* "God forbid," saith he †, "that we should think, that the Lord, which is the author and sanctifier of marriage, should hold it in the same rank with surfeiting and drunkenness."

Another was of the same author: *teaching us to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts;* Tit. ii. 12: "us, of the Clergy:" belike the rest need not ‡! And, who knows the witty and learned insinuations of their good Siricius, *Those, that are in the flesh, cannot please God?*

These, and such like, are the forcible insinuations of this imposed continency; which even very boys and idiots can hiss out of the Schools.

SECT. XXII.

FROM Panormitan, he descends to my alleged Gratian §; who, because he speaks these words, by way of explication, in a continued tenor with a sentence of Austin, is, to my mortal sin, cited by me as speaking from Austin.

The position and the inference of the words is such, as might deceive any eye, that would trust a Gratian. What might the price be, trow we, of such a crime in the Apostolic Chamber? In my next shrift, he shall hear, *meâ culpâ.*

The words are Gratian's, that *Copula sacerdotalis vel consanguineorum*, "The marriage," or, as this clerkly grammarian translates it, the carnal copulation, "of priests or kinsfolks, is not forbidden by any Legal, Evangelical, or Apostolical authority; but, by Ecclesiastical Law it is forbidden." We could not hire a proctor to say more.

But herein C. E. hath detected two foul faults of the citation: the one, that I trusted his Gratian so far, as to make him speak out of Austin; which, I trust, a little holy water may wash off: the other, that I concealed the marriage of kinsfolk, within the prohibited degrees; "which," saith he‖, "although only forbidden by Ecclesiastical Law, yet dares not Master Hall, I think, transgress it; so as this Law hath greater force than he supposeth it to have." So he.

Plainly, my Refuter knows not what he saith: else, he would

* Decret. p. 1. Dist. 28. † Espenc. de Cont. l. i.

‡ *Si quis legitimam commixtionem et filiorum recreationem, corruptionem et coinquinationem vocat, ille habet cohabitatorem dæmonem apostatam.* Ignat. Epist. ad Philadelph.

§ Refut. p. 105. ‖ Refut. p. 106.

never thus palpably plead against himself. For, what ever thing was there, in all the constitutions of his Church, more subject to variation, than the legal supputation of the forbidden degrees? which was, a long time, confined to the third degree inclusively; another while, extended to the fourth; and, sometime, to the seventh? Let him herein reconcile his Pope Nicholas and Gregory, with Pope Innocent: whereof the one left all free, that were without the pale of the fourth degree; the other restrained all to the seventh. And, when he finds an unalterableness in the determination of these degrees, let him plead for an equally-fatal necessity of his ecclesiastical continence. In the mean time, let him take it patiently, to be beaten with his own rod.

No Divine Law then, he grants, hath enjoined this celibate; but an Ecclesiastical. What is this other than I said? "God never imposed this law of continency: who then? the Church *." And why may not I go on to ask, Whether "a good wife would gainsay what her husband willeth?" Flourishing will not answer this. All the praises of beauty and fidelity, which are given to the true Church, argue Rome to be the false.

Whereas, therefore, the Priest shuts up thus bravely †; "And this Minister, who would make the one to gainsay the other, should bring some place or sentence to shew the same; which he may chance to do the next morning after the Greek Calends: or else never avouch so unchristian a paradox:" He shall understand, that his Greek Calends are past.

The Spirit of God saith, *A Bishop may be the husband of one wife:* the Church of Rome says, "A Bishop may not be the husband of any wife at all." Whether is this a contradiction?

The Spirit of God says, *Marriage is honourable amongst all men:* the Church of Rome says, "Marriage is dishonourable to some."

The Spirit of God says, *To avoid fornication, let every man have his wife:* the Church of Rome, like a quick-huswife, says, "Some order of men shall not have a wife, though to avoid fornication."

Let my Mass-Priest shew these to be no contradictions; which he may chance to do at the Greek Calends: or, else, grant this to be neither paradox, nor unchristian.

SECT. XXIII.

From Cardinal Panormitan, I ascended to Pope Pius the Second; whom I ushered in, with this preface: "Let a pope himself speak out of Peter's Chair; Pius the Second, as learned as hath sat in that room this thousand years."

* Esperæ. ex Test. Abb. l. i. c. 3. *Facerat igitur Ecclesia, boni medici instar, medicinam, cui obest magis quàm prosit, tollentis:* "The Church should therefore do like a good physician, in removing the medicine, which he sees to do more harm than good."

† Refut. p. 107.

Two things my Caviller snarls at, in the preface; two, in the authority itself*.

My first manifest untruth, is, that Pius the Second spake this as out of the Chair. A witless misprision. I hope he sat in Peter's Chair that spake it: if he spake it not as from the Chair, I care for no more. Is not this sufficient to win respect from a Catholic Priest? Otherwise, whether it were stool, or chair; or, if a chair, whether the consistorial, or the porphyry-chair, wherein he sits before his first triumph †, *tanquam in stercorariâ*, it is all one to me. Themselves must first agree, what it is to speak as from the Chair; ere I can affirm, that Pius the Second so spake this. *Id populus curet:* I referred the chair to the man, not to the speech. In the mean time, C. E. is not so good a groom to the Chair, as Gregory of Valence, who attributes infallibility to a Pope's sentence, though it be *sine curâ et studio* ‡.

My second wrong, is, "the superlative lashing," so he calls it, of other Popes' learning, in comparison of this. I cry him mercy: I did not know what sin it was to commend a Pope's learning. That is not it, I confess, that carries away the Crowns and the Keys. But the comparison offended. Perhaps, C. E. hath known that Chair more learnedly furnished. It may be, he thinks of Boniface the Ninth, called before Peter de Thomacellis, a Neapolitan, who could neither write nor sing §; hardly understanding the propositions of the Advocates in the Consistory: insomuch as, in his time, *Inscitia, ferè venalis facta fuit in ipsâ curiâ;* "Ignorance was grown valuable." Or, it may be he thinks of those ancient ferule-fingered Boy-Popes; one of the Benedicts, a grave Father of ten years old: or, John the Thirteenth, an aged stripling of nineteen. Or, perhaps, he alludes to those learned times within my compass, which were acknowledged in the Council of Rhemes; where, when offer was made of requiring the Pope's judgment, it was publicly replied, that besides the exposedness of that city to sale, *Romæ jam nullum ferè esse, qui literas didicerit;* "There was scarce a man at Rome, that could spell his letters."

Heu, quàm perfatuæ sunt tibi, Roma, togæ!

If I should here add, out of Alphonsus de Castro ‖, that some Popes were such great Clerks, *ut grammaticam penitùs ignorent;* "That they had no skill in grammar;" C. E. would tell me, that my book is not of a corrected edition, though it was printed at Coleine. Such bran hath been cast out in their later sifting and shifting of authors.

* Refut. p. 108. † Lib. Sacr. Cerem. ‡ Vid. Rom. Irrecon.
§ Theod. Niem. lib. i. c. 6.
‖ Alphons. contra Heres. l. i. cap. 4. Edit. Colon. ann. 1543.

SECT. XXIV.

In the authority itself, his cavils are childish.

Where Pius said, *Sacerdotibus, magnâ ratione, sublatas nuptias; majore, restituendas videri;* "Marriage, upon good reason, was forbidden to Priests; but, upon greater reason, seems fit to be restored:" my first fault, is*, that I turn *Sacerdotes*, "The Clergy," instead of "Priests;" which word is of a larger extent, including also Bishops. The silly man sees not, that I translated it to his advantage, against my own: for, every *Sacerdos* is *Clericus;* not every *Clericus*, *Sacerdos.* Very frequently are Bishops comprehended under the name of *Sacerdotes*, as well as of *Clerus;* and, no less usually, under the name of *Clerici*, the superior Orders are not comprehended. He is not worthy to write himself Priest, that understands his Orders no better.

My second error, is, that I turned the last clause of the sentence, "is to be restored:" whereas the words are, *restituendas videri.* Here could be no fraud, while I set the Latin words in the margin. The man thinks of his δοκεῖ μὲν, ἔστι δὲ ὅ: or his *Videtur quòd sic; probatur quòd non:* but, if his grammar had not been ill learned, he had known that *videri* doth not always signify a doubtful probability, but sometimes a certain evidence; as, *Visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis;* and, *Qui videbantur columnæ:* or, if his logic had fully taught him the distinctions of *sunt* and *videntur*, this quarrel had been spared: this "seeming" was "being." Or, if this lawless lurker had ever had any taste of the Civil or Canon Law, he might have been able to construe that maxim, *Quod quis per alium facit, per se facere videtur:* and that Judged Case, *Qui nomen debitoris legatum vivens exegerit, legatum ademisse videtur.*

In this style spake this learned Pope, which my unlearned adversary cannot reach unto. For, if Pius or Sylvius may have leave to comment upon himself, when the question was of suffecting Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, a married man, in the room of Eugenius; *Ex quo constat*, saith he, *&c.* "It is apparent, that, not only he which hath been married, but he that is married, may be assumed to the Popedom:" and, a little after; *Fortasse, pejus non esset, &c.* "And, perhaps, it were not worse, if more Priests had wives; for, many would be saved in a married priesthood, which now in a single priesthood are damned." He saith directly, *Damnantur*, "They are damned;" not, "They seem to be damned." And, therefore, to prevent this real damnation, marriage is really to be restored to them; not that it should only seem to be restored.

To conclude, take *Videri*, for bare "Seeming," surely, it must be construed, *Videtur mihi;* "I, Pope Pius, think or judge, that it were fit that Priests should have the liberty of marriage restored again to them;" which, together with *sublatas*, implieth, that, in

* Refut. p. 109.

former times, Priests were married; and, as the case now standeth, ought again so to be: which is the very state of this question, which we avouch. And, in his Epistle to John Freünd: *Credimus te non insulso uti consilio*; "I think it is no ill counsel for thee, since thou canst not contain, to seek for a wife; although that should have been thought of, before thou didst enter into Holy Orders: but we are not all gods, that we can foresee future things. Since it is come to this, that thou canst not resist the law of thy flesh, it is better for thee to marry, than to burn." Thus he.

For which advice, doubtless, he found good cause in his own experience; who, having been employed formerly in this island of ours, left two bastards behind him: the one, begotten of an English woman; the other, of a Scottish: the one whereof, he commends to his father Sylvius, a citizen of Syenna; the other, he confesses to his friend P. de Noxeto.

But this, indeed, was before his priesthood. Afterwards, it is strange what he confesses of himself, in his 92d Epistle: *Mihi, hercle, parum meriti est in castitate*; "I cannot boast of any merit in my chastity: for, to tell the truth, *Magis me Venus fugitat, quàm ego illam horreo*; Venus doth rather fly from me, than I abhor it." It was not, therefore, out of speculation, but sense; not out of seeming, but certainty; that Sylvius passes his *restituendas videri**.

So, now, to shut up this point, the blessed Apostle St. Paul; and, in his attendance, Panormitan, Gratian, and Pius, in their clear suffrages for us; are fully acquitted from the vain cavils of my Detector: and God is on my side; the Church of Rome, on his. Let sincerity judge which scale of the balance is heavier.

SECT. XXV.

From the lawfulness of our marriages, I descended to the Antiquity.

Where my Refuter takes an ignorant exception †. I said, "Some things have nothing to plead for them, but time. Age hath been an old refuge, for falsehood." Then I lay, for my foundation, Tertullian's rule, "That, which is first, is truest ‡."

My Detector finds here a flat contradiction; and cries out, "Do these men wake or sleep, when they write?"

There are none of his wise friends, which will not be ashamed of this gross stupidity. For, whether of these two sentences can he dislike? and, if both be allowable, how can they be contradictory? Neither am I his adversary herein, but Tertullian.

What surer way could there be, than to control the pretences of

* While he was Cardinal, he had his concubine; to whom, at last, he gave threescore florins for her dowry. Epist. 361.

† Refut. p. 110.

‡ *Rectum est, quodcunque primum; adulterinum, quodcunque posterius.* Tert. de Præsc.

a secondary antiquity by the first? And what contradiction is in this? The first is true: all under the first is obnoxious to error; the puisne posthumus antiquity hath been a refuge for falsehood: the primigenous antiquity, which proceeded from the Ancient of Days, is certain.

Let this trifler go learn to spell English, ere he presume to Divinity. This antiquity is the touch, whereby we desire all truth to be tried; which easily finds all the gilded coins of Romish innovations shamefully counterfeit.

Not to go back so far as paradise, though I well might, where God made the first wedding in perfect innocence; I began with Moses, and his Levitical Brotherhood.

To which my Refuter replies *; that, "yet, in eating their Paschal Lamb, they had their loins girt." Justly concluded! All the Jews did eat the Paschal Lamb with their loins girt, for the expedition, or moment of their flight: therefore their Priests and Levites did not converse with their wives! If his Superiors of Doway do not blush at this logic, his wit and their shame are gone together.

But, "They abstained," he saith, "from their wives, while they did minister in the sanctuary." What if we yield this? Their ministration was by courses, and had intermissions. There is a holy and decent modesty, in all those, which are worthy to serve at the altar; which teacheth them to give God his due times, with respect even of outward purity: which is all, that Eusebius †, by them mistranslated, and mis-alleged by him, requireth. But what will my Refuter say to the High Priest himself, which was bound, every day, to a morning and evening sacrifice; who was not yet restrained from a conjugal society? That bone hath troubled, blunted, and broken better teeth than his.

"But," saith he ‡, "the figure of the eternal priesthood of Christ," to wit, "Melchisedec, is not read to have had any wife at all." What of this? He, whom he prefigured, was only a Spiritual Husband to his Church. If this man be not read to have had a wife; no more is he read to have had father or mother. Nay, he is read to have had neither. Why do they not thence infer, that Priests ought to have neither; but to be begotten and born of angels, not of human kind? Which is as good for an inference, as that foppery is for a legendary fable, that Luther was begotten by an Incubus. Yet, had the literal, not mystical, Melchisedec both father and mother: and, if Shem were Melchisedec, as wiser men than mine adversary have upon good probabilities thought, he may pass, I hope, for a married man.

As for the perfection of the New Law above the Old, it only bars those institutions, which had in them an imperfection; not those, which God thought fit for paradise itself. So as, the practice of the

* Refut. p. 111.

† Euseb. de Præp. Evang. l. i. c. 9. τοῖς ἱερεύσιν, i. *Sacra facientibus*: they turn it, *Sacratis*, &c.

‡ Refut. p. 112.

Jewish Church, founded by God himself, is an all-sufficient warrant for the marriage of his Evangelical Ministers.

SECT. XXVI.

From Moses and the Prophets, I descend to the Apostles.

What did they? C. E. answers roundly *. "They did not marry: and they, who were married before, did leave their wives."

I urge St. Paul's report of the rest of the Apostles, and the Brethren of the Lord, and Cephas; that they not only had wives, but carried them along in their travels; 1 Cor. ix. 5. He answers, "They were not wives; but other devout women, which followed them to administer maintenance to them." A likely tale, if they could all agree in it, that the Apostles would cast off their own wives, and carry about strange women with them, upon whatever pretence! *Credat Judæus Apella: non ego.* Yet, my shameless Refuter cries out of my pride and ignorance, in not allowing this; which he dares proclaim for the received exposition of all the Fathers, and all that ever wrote in the Greek and Latin Church: when he knows that his Clement in his Recognitions †, and his own Pope in their Canon Law, hath expounded it, contrarily, of wives, not of strange women; Leo the Ninth ‡, against the Epistle of Nicetas the Abbot; where he directly affirms, that the Apostles did carry about their wives: *Ut de mercede prædicationis sustentarentur ab iis;* "That they might be maintained by the reward of their preaching:" making the force of the word to lie in *circumducendi*, not *amplectendi*. Either therefore his Pope errs in a deliberate exposition of Scripture, or else I have not erred: and either his Popes are no Fathers, or C. E. hath no forehead.

Nothing can make the Rhemists' ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα, *a sister, a woman*, not ridiculous: not that visor of age, which my Refuter pleases to fasten upon it §. "There wants an article," he saith. Our Apostle should have come to Cardinal Bellarmin and him, to learn when and where to use it.

That our last accurate Translation of the English Bible hath *woman* in the margin, is a poor advantage. Who seeth not, that it is the manner of that exquisite edition, to set all the idiotisms of either language, and divers readings in the margin? Every schoolboy knows, that the word signifies both. But, whether of them is fit to be received into the text, our text itself shews.

How wittily is St. Paul's, *A woman, a sister*, paralleled with St. Peter's, *Viri Fratres; Men and brethren.* "Ye men, which are brethren," is a meet predication; but, "Ye sisters, which are women," is absurd. Neither doth St. Peter say ἀδελφοὶ ἄνδρες, "Brethren men;" as St. Paul says, ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα, *A sister, woman.*

* Refut. p. 112. † Clem. Recognit. l. vii. ‡ Dist. 31. *Omnino.*
§ Refut. p. 113.

As for the authority of Jerome, well may we appeal from his judgment as incompetent, whom his own doctors accuse as partial; and censure as *μεμψίγαμον* *, if not *μισόγαμον*. Yet, even he, against Helvidius, translates it, *Uxores circumducendi.*

For the rest, it is worth my reader's note, how the Plagiary Priest, having stolen this whole passage, as most of the rest, verbatim out of Bellarmin, yet over-reaches his master †: for, where Bellarmin says, *Ita ferè omnes Græci et Latini*; "So almost all the Greek and Latin;" this Bayard dares say, "All, saving Clemens, as well Greek as Latin:" and, when he hath done, names some, that say nothing of it at all; as Chrysostom: another, that in heresy speaks for him one where, another where against him; as Tertullian; who, being also himself a married Priest, could say, in his exhortation, *Licebat et Apostolis nubere, et uxores circumducere:* another, that grounds upon an evident mis-reading; as Ambrose: and, to make up the bulk, puts in St. Bede and St. Thomas parties to the cause: and then sings, *Iö pæan.*

It is well yet, that he grants Clemens of Alexandria and St. Ignatius to be on our side, for this interpretation: and, when he hath done, he must be forced to yield us his Pope Clement, Pope Leo seconded by his Gratian, and Laurentius Valla, and others cited by Erasmus; insomuch as Espencæus himself grants herein, *διαφωνίαν veterum*, "a difference amongst the Ancient ‡."

And, if these had never been, the text clears itself. For, not to inforce the word *περιάγειν, to lead about*, which implies a power over the party carried; the Apostle speaks of a matter of charge to the Church, by this circumduction. Now, that rich matrons should follow the Apostles, and minister to them of their substance, was a matter of ease to the Church. Neither was this attendance for ministration, so much an act of Cephas and the other Apostles, as a voluntary act of the women themselves.

To conclude, in this, the Apostles' practice should have crossed their doctrine. For, if St. Paul gave that charge, of being the husband of one wife, on purpose, as Chrysostom saith §, to stop the mouth of the enemies to marriage; how must this needs open them again, and breed a conceit of that impurity which St. Paul meant to oppose, that the Apostles themselves, as ashamed of their wives, forsook them, and chose rather to be attended by strangers!

So as I must take leave to be ever in this heresy, That the Apostles had wives, and carried them about.

SECT. XXVII.

But, what boys'-play is this, to give and take! Our doughty champion hath granted us Clement of Alexandria; and now, he pulls

* A title given to Gregory also, in Apolog. Tumultuaria. † Refut. p. 115.
‡ Esp. l. i. de Cont. § Chrys. Hom. in Tit. præcitat.

him back again. "Clemens," saith he *, "grants the Apostles to have had wives; but he denies, that they used them as wives;" cunningly dissembling that, which Clemens said in the beginning of the same period: for "Peter and Philip," saith he, "did beget children, &c." How did Peter beget them, if he were not Peter when he begot them? In the time of their painful evangelical peregrination, they forbore, perhaps: doth it therefore follow, that they did always forget to be husbands? Whence, in all likelihood, had St. Peter his Petronella; if she were not born after he was Peter? Whence was that inscription on Pilagia's tomb, if we may believe Perionius †, *Hic sita est sponsa Dionysii, Thomæ Apostoli filia:* "Here lies the wife of Bishop Dionysius, daughter to Thomas the Apostle?"

There is not, I grant, necessity in this proof: there is probability. It is, therefore, too boldly affirmed by my Detector, that the Apostles, after that public calling undertaken, used not their wives.

Is that of St. Ignatius nothing against him? *Opto Deo dignus, &c.* "I desire to be found worthy of God, as Peter and Paul, and the rest of the Apostles which were married men; and not for lust's sake ‡, but for propagation of posterity, enjoyed their wives." Thus he.

So much against C. E., that C. E. is no less against him. "The testimony of St. Ignatius," saith he, "is a mere forgery; easily answered. If Ignatius had either denied or disliked these marriages, no man's word had been more authentic: now, this clause hath made him falsified." He cannot, I hope, say that the sentence came out of our forge: we take him as we find him. Neither doth B. Espencæus, or any other ingenuous writer, take such exception; but finds the authority weighty. That more unlikely Epistle, which Ignatius wrote to St. John and the Blessed Virgin, though palpably rejected by their own, is classical enough, when it may serve a Coccius, or Bellarmin §, or a Pierre Cotton. But here, the Epistle itself is not questioned; only this clause is bored in the ear. And why so? Forsooth, the ancient Greek copies have it not. Doubtless, the man hath vexed the old Greek manuscripts: but, when he hath done, his own fellow shall give him the lie; who confesses it to be in all copies both Greek and Latin, old and new, while he saith ‖, that those words '*Et alii Apostoli, ex textu abradenda;*' "'And the other Apostles,' are to be razed out of the text." Or, if that will not serve, there is yet to be seen in Baliol College in Oxford, an old copy of the age of seven hundred or eight hundred years, wherein the words are found; only the words "St. Paul and the other Apostles" blurred; yet so, as they are still to be well discerned. If the Greek should want the clause, what were this? The first edition of Ignatius in Greek was 1558;

* Refut. p. 116. † Cit. ab Espen. loco citato. ‡ Ignat. Ep. ad Philadelph. *non libidinis causâ, sed posteritatis surrogandæ gratiâ, conjuges habuerunt.* § Bell. Tom. 1. p. 847. ‖ Margar. de la Bigne. Not. in Ep st. ad Philadelph.

as the Centurists have noted: and how easy was it to leave out one sentence, that seemed prejudicial!

Let him never cast this upon the Grecians: they never so excelled in this faculty of counterfeiting, as the Romans. Greece, in this, must yield to Italy, however it pleases Pope Gregory and Cardinal Bellarmin herein only to give it superiority *.

Amongst the rest, this very place puts me in mind of a memorable juggling trick of his fellows. The old Platina, printed at Paris by Francis Regnault, an. 1500, which I have seen, and all other old copies, read thus † of St. Luke; *Vixit annos* 84; *uxorem habens in Bithyniâ*; "Luke lived 84 years; having a wife in Bithynia." Now comes the Onuphrian edition, set forth at Coleine, an. 1600, from the shop of Matervus Colinus; and reads, *Uxorem non habens in Bithyniâ*; "Having not a wife in Bithynia:" with which authority, Espencæus himself was deceived; citing Jerome for it as the fountain, whence perhaps Platina might fetch it. But, if my reader please to turn to that Catalogue of Famous Writers ‡, ascribed, not unjustly, to Jerome, there shall he find the very same cozenage. The words run so indeed, in the Latin printed copies; but not acknowledged, not mentioned by Sophronius in the Greek translation: and Erasmus, reading it either, "Having" or "not having," at last shuts up; *Hæc verba videntur adjecta; quandoquidem nec adduntur apud Sophronium, nec in exemplaribus emendatioribus:* "These words," saith Erasmus, "seem patched to the rest; since they neither are added in Sophronius, nor in the better copies." Thus he. It was fit my reader should have a taste of the Roman integrity.

I alleged the learned Cardinal Cajetan for the likelihood of St. Paul's marriage. Can my Refuter deny this? The words are plain §: *Locus cogere videtur*; "The place seems to enforce it, not by demonstrative reason, but in all reasonable sense, that Paul had a wife." So he: which is all I contended for. If now he shall think to choke me ‖ with a cross testimony of the same author, concerning St. Paul's not conversing with his wife after his apostleship; he may understand, that I well remember Cajetan to have been a Roman Cardinal; and therefore, in some points, necessarily unsound: whose ingenuity yet in this business I have formerly shewed.

SECT. XXVIII.

From the practice of the Apostles, which is yet clear for us, we descended to their Canons.

* *Erat consuetudo Græcorum ferè ordinaria corrumpendi libros.* Bell. l. iv. de Pont. c. 11. *Quoniam Romani sicut non acumina, ita nec imposturas habent.* Gree. l. v. Ep. 14. ad Noorsen.

† Platin. in Cleto. ad finem. ‡ Hier. Catal. Script. Illustr.

§ Cajet. Com. in Phil. c. iv. *Quia omnes Apostoli, exceptis Joanne et Paulo, uxores habuerunt.* Amb. &c. ‖ Relat. p. 117.

It troubles my Refuter *, that I say, the Romish Church fathers these upon the Apostles; and that their Jesuit, Turrian, sweats to defend it; insinuating my contrary opinion: and, yet that I cite them for myself. Whereas his wisdom might have considered, that their force is no whit less strong against them, notwithstanding our doubt or denial. For example: the Trent Canons roar terribly to them; to us, or the French, they are but as the pot-guns of boys: we may cite these to them as Gospel; they may cite them to us as Alcoran.

By this it appears, how far, not only school-learning, but even logic, transcends this poor Refuter's capacity; who could not distinguish between disputing *ad rem* and *ad hominem*.

What I said in my Epistle to my reverend and worthy friend Master Doctor James, the incomparably-industrious and learned bibliothecary of Oxford (a man, whom their Possevine thought so well of, that he hath handsomely stolen a book of his, and clapped it out for his own: a man, whom so base a tongue as my Detector's cannot disgrace) I profess still: That I hold those Canons of the Apostles uncanonical.

And do I hold this alone? Doth not his Pope Gelasius so? Doth not Isidore, Bishop of Hispalis, so? Doth not Leo the Ninth so? Are not some † of them, at pleasure, rejected by Possevine, Baronius, Bellarmin?

Or, in a word, if they be the true issue of the Apostles, are they accordingly respected and observed of the Roman Church? Doth not his Medina grant ‡ to their shame, that the Latin Church scarce observes six or eight of them?

These Canons then I do not hold Apostolical; I do hold ancient and not unworthy of respect; and such, as I wonder they have escaped the Roman Purgations.

As for those other nine or ten noted counterfeits, which I joined herewith for company, in that Epistle, his shame would serve him to justify, if his leisure would; whereas, there is scarce one of them, whom his own authors have not branded.

My Refuter must have a fling. In an idle excursion § therefore, he unjustly rails on the Protestant practice, in rejecting those Fathers for bastardy one while; whom, otherwhiles, they cite for current: when his own eminent impudency, in the very passage next going before, and in the next following, to go no further, offends in the same kind.

The truth is, the Protestants take liberty to refuse those Fathers, whom even ingenuous Papists have censured as base: the Papists take liberty, when they list, to reject the authority of those Fathers, whose truth they cannot deny. The instances hereof would be endless.

But, with what face can any Papist tax us for this, when all the

* Refut. p. 118. † Can. 65, 67. &c. ‡ Mic. Med. de Sacr. Hom. Contin. l. v. *Vix sex aut octo Latina Ecclesia nunc observat.* § Refut. pp. 120, 121. usque ad 125.

world may see above three hundred and twenty of their authors, whom, after the first allowance, they have either suppressed or censured? To their eternal and open conviction, Doctor James, whom they may revile but shall never answer, hath collected and published the names and pages.

SECT. XXIX.

NOT to follow, therefore, this babbling vagary * of my adversary against Zuinglius, Luther, Musculus, Whitakers, (what puppy cannot bark at a dead Lion?) we come close to the Canon †: "That no Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon shall forsake or cast off his wife in pretence of religion or piety, upon pain of deposition."

Wherewith, how much my Refuter is pressed, appears, in that he is fain, with Baronius, to avoid it, with, *Apocryphorum non est tanta authoritas;* "There is no so great authority in Apocryphal Canons."

Where is the man, that, even now, upbraided us with the lawless rejection of ancient records; and, by name, would undertake to justify those, whom my Epistle taxed for adulterine, whereof these Canons of the Apostles were a part? Now, he is fain to change his note: *Apocryphorum non est tanta authoritas.* He hath cast off Ignatius already: anon, you shall find him rejecting Socrates, Sozomen, Nicephorus, Gratian, Sigebert, H. Huntingdon, and whom not? upon every occasion, shamelessly practising that, which he censures.

If I allege the Sixth General Council, that of Constantinople, proclaiming this sense truly apostolical, even the Sixth General Council is rejected, as neither Sixth, nor General, nor Council.

That this Apostolical Canon is bent against the denial of matrimonial conversation, is apparently expressed in those Canons of Constantinople; however the extent of it, in regard of some persons, is restrained. There is no way, therefore, to untie this knot; but, by cutting it: and my Cavilling Priest, with his Jesuits, may gnaw long enough upon this bone, ere they suck in any thing from hence, but the blood of their own jaws.

Any of those words, single, might be avoided; but, so set together, will abide no elusion: "Let him not, upon pretence of religion, eject his wife."

The shift, that C. E. borrows ‡ from Bellarmin, is gross; and such, as his own heart cannot trust: "προφάσει εὐλαβείας," saith he; "that is, *prætextu cautionis;*" "In pretence of heediness." Look over all the copies; all interpretations of these Canons; that, of Dionysius Exiguus; that, of Gentianus Hervetus; that, of Caranza; that, which Gratian, whom my either graceless or ignorant adversary dares name against me, citeth from hence: all of them run *prætextu religionis.*

* Refut. pp. 126, 127. † Apost. Can. 5. ‡ Refut. p. 128.

How clear is that of their own law * ! *Si quis docuerit Sacerdotem*, &c. " If any man shall teach that a Priest, under pretence of religion, may contemn his own wife, let him be accursed !"

And Zonaras, whom both our Junius and their Espencæus cite out of Quintinus's Exposition, is most clear: *Hoc enim videtur in calumniam fieri nuptiarum*, &c. " For this ejection," saith he, " would seem to be done in reproach of marriage; as if the matrimonial knowledge of man and wife caused any uncleanness." Thus he. Where it is plain, that he takes it, not of maintenance, but περὶ τῆς μίξεως, " of the conjugal act."

The necessity of which sense also is evicted by their own Espencæus †, out of St. Chrysostom in his second Homily upon Titus.

And Balsamon no less directly: " Because," saith he ‡, "before that law of Justinian, it was lawful for a man, upon any cause, to divorce his wife; therefore, the present Canon gives charge, that it shall not be lawful for a Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, upon pretence of piety, to put away his wife." Thus he.

From all which, it is not hard to see, that, in those young days of the Church, *the Mystery of Iniquity* began in this point to work: so as marriage, according to the Apostle's prediction, began to be in an ill name; though the clear light of that primitive truth would not endure the disgrace.

So as, in all this, I have, both by Moses and the examples of that Levitical Priesthood, by the testimony of the Apostles, by their practice, by their anciently-reputed Canons, and by the testimony of the agedest Fathers, so made good the Lawfulness and Antiquity of the Marriages of Persons Ecclesiastical, that I shall not need to fear a divorce, either from my wife or from the truth, in that my confident and just assertion.

* Dist. 28. *sub obtentu religionis propriam uxorem contemnere.*
† Espenc. l. i. de Cont. c. 4.
‡ In Canon. Apost. in Phot. in nono Can.

THE

HONOUR

OF THE

MARRIED CLERGY MAINTAINED,

&c.

THE SECOND BOOK.

SECT. I.

And now, since in this point we have happily won the day, less labour needs in the other *. It is safe erring with Moses and the Prophets, with Christ and his Apostles. Soon after, according to St. Paul's prophecy, spirits of errors were abroad; and, whether out of the necessary exigence of those persecuted times, or out of an affectation to win favour and admiration in the eyes of Gentilism, virginity began to raise up itself, in some private conceits, upon the ruins of honest wedlock: neither is it hard to discern by what degrees; yet, never with such absolute success, as to proceed to any law of restraint. I do not therefore feign to myself, as mine idle Refuter, golden ages of mirth and marrying †, under those tyrannous persecutions; but, in those bloody ages, I do avouch to him and the world, an immunity from the tyrannous yoke of forced continency. This, if he could have disproved by any just instances, he had not given us words.

If he be angry ‡ that I said, some of the pretended Epistles of his ancient Popes to this purpose are palpably foisted; let him fasten where he lists, if he have not an answer, let me have the shame. In the mean time, it is enough to snarl, where he dares not bite.

That, which I cited from Origen, advising the sons of Clergymen not to be proud of their parentage, he cannot deny; he can

* Refut. p. 130.

† Though Amram, the Levite, father to Moses, married in the heat of Pharaoh's persecution; and David did the like in Saul's.

‡ Refut. p. 131.

cavil at. "The same persuasion," saith he *, "might be made to St. Peter's daughter, (as many are of opinion that he had one;) yet will it not follow, that he knew his wife, after he was an Apostle." So he. But what needs this parenthesis, if the man be true to his own authors? Did we devise the story of Petronilla? Did we invent the passage of her suitor, Flaccus? of her fever, the cure whereof her father denied? of her epitaph engraven in marble, by her father's own hand; *Aureæ Petronillæ, dilectissimæ filiæ;* "To my dear and precious Petronilla, my most beloved daughter;" found by Paul the First †? Are not these things reported by their own Volaterranus ‡, Petr. Natalis §, Beda, Ussuardus, Sigebertus ‖, Platina ¶? Still, where is the man, that cries out of rejecting authorities, in other cases allowed? Either, then, let him give the lie to his histories; or else let him compute the time, when Flaccus, the Roman Count, was a suitor to her; and see if he be not forced to grant, that she was begotten of St. Peter after his Apostleship. And so, for ought he knows, might those sons be, whom Origen thus dehorteth. This man was not their midwife. The place of Origen **, which he cites to the contrary, he took up somewhere on trust. Let him go and enquire better of his creditor; by the same token, that, in the Homily of Origen, whither he sends us, he shall find nothing but Balaam's Ass; an object, fit for his meditation.

As for that parcel of the testimony, which he saith †† my chincough caused me to suppress, *in ipsâ Christianitate*, it is as Herb-John in the pot, to the purpose of my allegation. Origen speaks of that text, *Many, that are first, shall be last, &c:* which he applies as a cooling-card to the children of Christian parents, especially *Si fuerint ex patribus sacerdotali sede dignificatis;* "If they be the sons of them, which are dignified with sacerdotal honour." The change of the preposition is remarkable: *ex patribus*, arguing, that he speaks not of their education, but their descent; and therefore implying no less than I affirmed, that their parentage gives them a supposed cause of exaltation.

SECT. II.

Holy Athanasius was brought by me instead of a thousand histories ‡‡: who tells us, that it was no rare thing, to find married Bishops in his time.

My wise Refuter, after he hath idly gone about the bush a little, comes out with this dry verdict §§: "What will Master Hall hence infer? That Bishops and Priests may lawfully marry? St. Athana-

* Refut. pp. 131, 132, 133. † Esp. i. c. 8. ‡ Volat. i. 18.
§ Pet. Nat. l. v. c. 69. ‖ Sigeb. 757. ¶ Plat. Vit. Pauli I.
** Orig. Homil. 13. in Numer. †† Refut. p. 133.
‡‡ Athanas. Epist. ad Dracont. "Many Bishops &c." §§ Refut. p. 134.

sius saith it not; but only recounteth the fact, that some married of both sorts; but, whether they did well or ill, or whether himself did approve or condemn the same, there is no word in this sentence." Thus he. We take what he gives, and seek for no more. We cited Athanasius, instead of many histories; not of many arguments: histories *de facto;* not discourses *de jure.* The lawfulness was discussed before: the practice, and use, is now enquired of. This Athanasius witnesses, and C. E. yields.

Wherein, yet, I may not forget to put my Refuter in mind, how brittle his memory is; who, in the same leaf, contradicts himself: for, when he had before confessed that Athanasius doth neither approve nor condemn the practice, either as good or evil; now, he plainly tells us *, that "the words were not spoken by way of simple narration, but of mislike and reprehension." He would be a good liar, if he could agree with himself. Why of dislike? "For," saith he, "it was never lawful for Monks or Bishops to beget children." *Ipse dixit:* we must believe him.

Not to tell him that Chrysostom teaches us † δυνατὸν μετὰ γάμου τὰ τῶν μοναζόντων ποιεῖν; "It is possible, with marriage, to do the acts of Monks:" nor to convince him with counter-testimonies: let him tell me what fault it is, to do or not to do miracles. These, in this sentence of Athanasius, go in the same rank with marriage ‡. But, to clear Athanasius, he brings Jerome against Vigilantius, (impudently called by him, "The Father of the Protestants," who would have all Clergymen to marry; when his very Rhemists have checked him for this slander) pleading against that necessity, from which we have oft washed our hands; when as the same author, against Jovinian, affirms *de facto,* the same with Athanasius and us. To say, then, that Athanasius spoke this only of lewd licentious Monks or Bishops, is but the lewd liberty of a licentious tongue, that hath overrun both truth and itself.

From hence, this orator, this parcel of wit, flies out into a pleasant frump, as he thinks; but, indeed, an ugly, inhuman, loathsome ribaldry; ill-beseeming the mouth of any, that was born of a woman: I will not say, whether ill or well beseeming the pen of a Virgin-Priest; forsooth, so pure and angelical, that marriage would un-saint him. His unmanly, unnatural sty belcheth thus §: "Thus Luther, of Catherine Bore, his sow, had six pigs." Away, nasty C. E. transformed by Circe! Hoy! back to her sties, yea thine, where thou mayest freely

Grunnire in septis cum fœde hoc agmine clausus.

Then, proceeds he, envying the matrimonial fruitfulness of Bu-

* Refut. p. 136. † Chrys. ad Hebr. ϑ. λ. ζ.

‡ Athanas. ibid. "We have known Bishops working miracles, and Monk working none; many Bishops not to have married, &c. As likewise you may find Bishops to have been fathers of children, and Monks not to have sought for marriage."

§ Refut. p. 137.

cer: who, surely, had he, under the vail of maidenly priesthood been far more fruitful in a whole swarm of bastards, should never have heard of it, unless perhaps he had denied to pay *Taxam Cameræ*.

As for Ochins, allowing polygamy, and perhaps other worse obliquities in his opinions, what are they to us? For the marriage of P. Martyr, Œcolampadius, Pellican, &c. let him take for an acquittance that, which hath been payed them thus, *Nobis nostræ sunt Junones, vobis vestræ Veneres:* and then I ask, *Vivat uter nostrûm cruce dignior?* If this will not serve for repayment, I must eke it out with a small, yet current, commodity of two poor verses, which I learned of his Mantuan at the grammar-school:

Sanctus ager scurris, venerabilis ara Cynædis,
Servit, honorandæ Divûm Ganymedibus ædes.

Let him take this spoonful of holy-water, to digest his hog's-flesh.

SECT. III.

HITHERTO my Refuter's iron hath been as straw, his brass as rotten wood, his sling-stones as stubble; Job xli. 27, 28: but now he hath found that will kill me dead; and says no less than *hoc habet**.

Cyprian † is by me alleged for the history of Numidicus; whom I avouched a married Presbyter, by the same token, that he saw his wife burning, besides him, with the flames of martyrdom.

And, Lord, what outcries are here of fraud and corruption! and how could this Mass-Priest wish himself near me, when I should be urged with this imposture, to see what face I would make thereon? Even such a one, good Sir Shorne, as is framed by the confidence of honest innocency. God deal so with my soul, as it means nothing but ingenuous sincerity: neither hath my pen swerved one letter from the text. My margin said, *Numidicus Presbyter*; "Numidicus Priest:" so doth Cyprian himself, two or three lines before this, report of his wife: so, besides the text, doth the margin of Erasmus. And what treachery could it be to add the word of Cyprian's own explication?

"But Numidicus was not then Priest, when his wife was martyred; rather, upon that constancy, was honoured with Holy Orders:" —How appears that, when Cyprian only says, *Numidicus Presbyter ascribatur Presbyterorum Carthaginensium numero, et nobiscum sedeat in Clero;* "Let Numid. the Priest be received into the number of the Priests of Carthage, &c." He was before a Priest, for ought this libeller, or any mortal man knows; and now was ascribed into the honoured Clergy of Carthage, soon after to be pro-

* Refut. pp. 138, 139. † Cypr. l. iv. Epist. 10.

moted to Episcopal dignity. Before the report therefore of his wife's martyrdom, he is named a Priest. What have I offended, in seconding St. Cyprian? Let this peremptory babbler prove this Ordination to be after that noble proof of his faith, I shall confess myself mistaken in the time, never false in mine intentions. Till then, he shall give me leave to style the man, as I find him, *Numidicus Presbyter.*

If Cyprian had said, *Numidicus, Presbyterorum numero ascribatur*, the case had been clear; but now, doubling the word *, he implies him a Priest before; and, how long before, and whether not before his confession, it will trouble my learned adversary to determine. How fain would this man crow, if he could but get the colour of an advantage! In the mean while, this impotent insultation bewrays nothing but malice and ignorance.

SECT. IV.

My Refuter may transpose † the history of Paphnutius; but he shall never answer it. After his old guise, therefore, he falls to his hatchet; and, when he hath tried to bow it a little and finds it stiff, he cuts it up by the roots.

What one word can he control in the relation of Socrates, or mine illation? "The Bishops went about to bring in a new law of continency, to be imposed upon their Clergy;" saith Socrates ‡, and Sozomen §: therefore, before it was not. Paphnutius reclaimed, and called that yoke, heavy and unsupportable; the use of the marriage-bed, chastity. The issue was, *Potestas permissa cuique pro arbitratu;* "Every man left to his own liberty."

The story is plain: there is no place for cavils. The only comfort, that my Detector ‖ and his tutors find in the history, is, that, Paphnutius is not all ours: "He calls for the use of marriage to the wedded Clergy, not for wedlock of the unmarried:"—True: therein I must retort the answer of Sotus, that the good martyr gave way to the corruption of the times; wherein the wicked mystery had begun, with St. Paul's κωλυόντων.

But, in the mean time, let him know, that if Paphnutius plead but by halves for us, he pleads against them altogether: yea, this he knows already; else, he would never be so audacious as to condemn the authors for unsincere and fabulous, yea heretical; and to bring the clamours of his Bellarmin, to discredit Socrates in three gross untruths, and Sozomen with *multa mentitur* ¶.

O impudency, without measure, without example! Cassiodorus, and Epiphanius, Socrates, Sozomen, Nicephorus, grave and approved authors of our Ecclesiastical Story, for but reporting one

* *Numid. Presbyter Presbyterorum Carth. numero ascr.*
† Refut. p. 112. ‡ Socr. l. i. c. 8. § Sozom. l. i. c. 22.
‖ Refut. p. 145. ¶ Refut. p. 146.

piece of a history in favour of Clergymen's marriages, are spit upon, and discarded with disgrace.

This is no new song: my Refuter hath learned it of Copus, Torrensis, Bellarmin, Baronius, and others.

All whose mouths, together with his, in these particular exceptions, let me stop with that ingenuous answer of B. Espencæus *: there needs no other advocate: *Excipit Torrensis, &c:* "But Torrensis excepts against Socrates and Sozomen, as though they had lewdly and shamefully belied this story of Paphnutius; and says, the one was a friend of the Novatians, the other an abettor of Theodorus the heretic; that both their histories are, in this, void of credit, authority, probability. As if they could not, at once, be bad men and yet good historians; or, if they lie in any other place, they must needs lie in this. For Sozomen, Tritemius commends him for a worthy furtherer of secular learning, and well versed in the Scriptures. And, for Socrates, he extols him for a learned and eloquent man; for a very excellent and greatly experienced historian."

Thus he, and much more; to which, for brevity, I refer my peremptory Refuter; who shall there find satisfaction to his objections † of the silence of other authors, and the Canon alleged against the subintroduction of *Mulieres extraneæ*, "strange women," into the houses of Clergymen: his Clictovæus telling him, *uxores dici non posse extraneas;* "That wives cannot be comprehended under the name of strange women:" and the law, made afterwards by Honorius and Theodosius, plainly commenting upon this constitution.

SECT. V.

As for his testimony ‡ of Leo the Great, living in the time of Socrates, I answer it by the testimony of Socrates, living in the time of Leo the Great. *Multi enim, &c:* "For many," saith he §, "in this Episcopal dignity, in their Episcopal houses, in the time of their being Bishops, do beget children of their wives, whom they had before lawfully married." Thus he.

A place, that answers for itself, and many others.

Wherein, yet, my Refuter finds some of my faulty concealments.

First, That the more, and more famous Bishops and Priests, did the contrary. True: they did so; but voluntarily; as, with us, some of the heads of our Clergy, and others of the body, do contain, not forced: *Continent sponte, ac pro arbitrio;* "They contain of their own accord, and at their own choice ||." This I think is not the Roman fashion.

Secondly, "They conversed with the wives, which they mar-

* Espenc. l. i. de Contin. † Refut. pp. 144, 145. ‡ Refut. p. 148.
§ Socr. l. v. c. 22. || Socr. ubi supr.

ried before their Ordination: they did not marry after." Let his wisdom shew me upon what reason the act of marrying should be unlawful, where the act of marriage is lawful; and we will yield him justly to stick at this difference. And, when he hath done, let him bite upon their old gloss *; though now by them defaced; *Dicunt quòd olim, ante Siricium, Sacerdotes poterant contrahere;* "They say that of old, before Siricius, Priests might contract matrimony." *Et quòd Gregorius introduxit continentiam Subdiaconis; sed Presbyteris et Diaconis, Siricius* †.

SECT. VI.

In the rest ‡, he falls not upon me, but the received historians, Socrates and Nicephorus. They have done him a spite, and he will revenge it.

These he will convince of a double lie.

The one, That Heliodorus was the first author of the law of continency in Thessalia: the other, That this continency was arbitrary.

His reason for the former is weighty. "It is not likely," saith he, "that Heliodorus, which would rather lose his Bishopric than recal his lascivious book, would be so eager above the rest for the continency of his Clergy:" as if ever any men had been more luxurious, than the greatest enemies to marriage: as if it were impossible for Pope John the Thirteenth, from whom Dunstan received his rigorous commission, to be unnaturally incestuous: as if it were impossible for his great Prelate of Crema, when he came to oppose the marriage of our English Clergy, to be found that night in bed with a harlot §! And, here, my childish adversary will needs make sport for boys. I cited in my margin Heliodorus, the author of the Ethiopic History: "As if," saith he, "Heliodorus had written some History of Ethiopia, whereas he only entituled his work, Ethiopia." Ridiculous head! What school-boy, what apprentice, knows not Heliodorus? *Nosque manum ferulæ, &c.* If this learned critic had but ever opened the book, he had found Αἰθιοπικῶν: neither doth any Englishman know it by any other name, than, as it is translated, ere I was born, "The Ethiopic History;" yea, if a man were not resolute to shut his eyes, in the very place of Socrates, which he cites, the book is called Ethiopica; whereto, what construction can be given, but this of mine? Such folly is for the rod or ferule. This is, I confess, a trifle; yet such, as may give my reader a taste of the bold blindness of my impudent Detector.

* Dist. 84. *Cùm in præterito.* † Dist. 82. ‡ Refut. p. 150.
§ Vid. Pos. I. in.

SECT. VII.

THE other * stings yet more, that this Episcopal and Priestly continency was upon no other terms, than † *Modò ipsi voluerint;* "If themselves will:" and, *Nullâ lege coacti;* "Forced by no law:" and *Consuetudo invaluit;* "The custom hath been."

And now, all in a rage, my Refuter will prove, against Socrates, that there was a law for this; and, to this purpose, he brings in two Canons of the Constantinopolitan Council in Trullo. Mark, reader, with what judgment! The Trullan Council was above two hundred years after: Socrates ended his history in the year 443 ‡. The Trullan Council was held, as their Binius computes it, in the year 692: and yet the Canon of the Trullan Council, in a matter of fact, disproves Socrates! The other Councils of Ancyra, Cæsarea, and Nice, are either provincial, or against him. As for the plea of Synesius, that he might not be a Bishop, because he would not leave his wife; it is answered by the fact of Synesius, that he was made a Bishop, and left not his wife. But, what an idle and insosolent boldness is this, for an obscure libeller to go about now, almost 1200 years after, to control a grave approved historian of the Church, in a matter of ordinary practice, which his own eyes and the world's did daily witness! As if he durst have published such a report of the common use of his time, wherein all the age he lived in, could have convinced him.

The witlessly-malicious prosopopey, wherein my Refuter brings in § the Reverend and Peerless Bishop of London, pleading for his wife to his Metropolitan, becomes well the mouth of a scurril Mass-Priest, and is worthy of nothing but a scorn. Those two incomparable Prelates are the chief objects of these evil eyes; whom God hath raised happily above the reach of their envy. It galls this Romish rabble, that these two ringleaders of the English Clergy (besides their busy employments in their careful, prudent, and zealous government) preach more sermons in a year, than, perhaps, all the Bishops under the Papacy. *Rumpantur et ilia.*

SECT. VIII.

IT pleaseth his discretion to marshal my Epistle as he lists ‖; and then to complain of disorder, and my leaping over hundreds of years from the Nicene Council to Gratian the Canonist.

My reader's eyes can confute him; which cannot but witness, that I name divers, in all ages, recorded for married Bishops and Presbyters.

"This beadroll," he saith, "is idle;" because I shew not that they then used their wives when they were Bishops. A hard con-

* Refut. p. 151. † Socrat. l. v. c. 21. ‡ Histor. Sacr. ad finem.
§ Refut. p. 153. ‖ Refut. p. 151.

dition: that I must bring witnesses from their bed-sides! Is it not enough, that we shew they had wives, that they had children? No, saith my Refuter, "It must be proved, that they had these children by these wives, after Ordination." We were neither their midwives nor their gossips, to keep so strict an account.

But, what means, *Cum uxoribus dormiunt;* "They sleep with their wives?" and, *tempore Episcopatûs filios gignunt ex propriis uxoribus;* "in the time of being Bishops, beget children of their own wives?" This we have shewed out of Socrates *.

What was that, which Dionysius, the ancient B. of Corinth, before ever Paphnutius was, wrote to Pinytus †, charging him, *Ne grave servandæ castitatis onus necessariò fratribus imponat;* "That he do not necessarily impose the heavy burden of continency upon his brethren?"

What was that, for which Eustathius, B. of Sebastia, the unworthy son of Eulanius B. of Cæsarea, was censured? Was not this one of the articles ‡, *Benedictionem, &c?* "That he taught men to decline the blessing and communion of married Priests?"

Away, then, with this either ignorant or impudent facing of so evident a falsehood.

The testimony of Jerome §, the example of Urbicus, B. of Claramont, and of Genebaldus, B. of Laudune, shew what was the conceit and practice of those particular places, wherein they lived.

And yet Jerome, in the same book, can say ‖, *Quasi non hodie quoque plurimi Sacerdotes habeant matrimonia;* "As if now-a-days many Priests also were not married."

In that story of Urbicus, related by Gregor. Turonensis ¶, I can but wonder how far men may be transported by superstition; so as to make the Apostle's charge give way to a human opinion. The wife of Urbicus comes to his door, and alleges St. Paul's charge; *Meet together again, lest Satan tempt you, &c. Cur conjugem spernis, &c?* he yields to do the duty of a husband; and, now, in remorse, enjoins himself a perpetual penance. What penance do we think St. Paul was worthy of, for giving this charge which she alleged? Let my reader judge, whether of the two was the better divine. How insolent is Tradition, thus to trample upon Scripture!

But, since it pleased my Refuter to lend me this one example of Gregor. Turonensis, I am ready to give him use for it. In the second book ** of Turonensis he shall find Sidonius, a married Bishop; and his wife, a noble matron; in all likelihood living with

* Socr. ubi supr. † Euseb. l. iv. Hist. c. 22. ‡ Socrat. l. ii. c. 33.
§ Refut. p. 155. ‖ Hier. l. i. advers. Jovin.

¶ Greg. Tur. l. i. c. 44. *Cur conjugem spernis? cur, obturatis auribus, Pauli præcepta non audis? Scripsit enim,* Revertimini ad alterutrum, &c. *Ecce ego ad te revertor; nec ad extraneum, sed ad proprium vas recurro, &c.* "Why despisest thou thy wife? why dost thou shut thine ears against the precept of St. Paul? For he hath written, *Meet together again, lest, &c.*"

** Gregor. Turon. l. ii. c. 21. *Nat. Theodos. Jun. et Valent.* iii. *Imperat. uxor Papianilla, cum quâ concorditer vixit, liberósque ex eâ suscepit utriusque sexûs* Ad Apollin. Epist. 16. l. v.

him; for, *nesciente conjuge*, "without his wife's knowledge," he gave silver plate to the poor. In the fourth book* he shall find Anastasius, a married Presbyter, feoffed in some temporalties, which he would rather die than not leave to his issue. In the eighth book † he shall find Badegisilus, the cruel Bishop of the Cenomans, matched with an ill wife; who yet lived with him, as it seems, all his time; and had altercations with Bertram, Archdeacon of Paris, for his goods, deceased. In these there is strength of legal presumption, though no necessity of inference.

But what do I instance in these, or any other, when Balsamon tells us ‡ clearly, that, before the Sixth Synod it was lawful for Bishops to have wives, *Etiam post dignitatem Episcopalem;* "After their Episcopal dignity?" And his own Canon Law can tell him §, that, in the East Church, their Priests *matrimonio copulantur;* "Are joined in marriage:" which, his wariest masters expounding, would interpret by *copulato utuntur;* "Use marriage contracted."

Judge then, reader, what to think of the mettle of this man's forehead, who would bear us down, that "no one Bishop or Priest was allowed, after Orders, to have any wife."

Yea, even for the very contraction of marriage itself, after Orders, honest Espencæus ‖ can cite one Joannes Marius ¶, a Dutchman by birth, but a French historian, to whom he allows the title of *non indiligens*, who writes, that he knows, that, in the times of Pope Formosus and Ludovicus Balbus, Priests were married, *Et iis licuisse sponsam legitimam ducere modò virginem, non verò viduam;* "And that it was lawful for them to marry a wife, so she were a virgin, not a widow."

As for that base slander wherewith this venomous pen besprinkles** the now-glorious face of our renowned Archbishop and Martyr, Doctor Cranmer, whom he most lewdly charges with lasciviousness and incontinent living, with I know not what Dutch Fraw, it is worthy of no answer, than, *Increpet te Dominus.* It is true, that the holy man, wisely declining the danger and malignity of the times, made not, at the first, any public profession of his marriage: as, what needed to invite mischief? But, that he ever had any dishonest conversation with her or any other, it is no other than the accent of the mouth of blasphemy.

And if any one of our Clergy, after a legal and just divorce long since, have taken to himself that liberty, which other Reformed Churches publicly allow; as granting in some case a full release, both *à thoro* and *à vinculo;* what ground is this, for an impure wretch to cast dirt in the eyes of our Clergy, and in the teeth of our Church? Malicious Mass-Priest, cast back those emissitious eyes, to your own infamous Chair of Rome; and, if even in that thou canst discern no spectacles of abominable uncleanness, spend thy spiteful censures upon ours.

* Turon. l. iv. c. 12. † Tur. l. viii. c. 39. ‡ Balsam. in Can. Apost. 5.
§ Vid. suprà. ‖ Espenc. l. i. c. 11. ¶ Jo. Major. et Compluar. Concil.
** Refut. p. 159.

I reckoned divers examples of married Bishops and Priests out of Eusebius, Ruffinus, others; amongst the rest, Domnus, Bishop of Antioch, which succeeded Samosatenus, for which my margin cited Eusebius, in his seventh book, and nine and twentieth chapter. My Detector taxes me * for citing authors at random; as Eusebius lib. vii. cap. 29. when as there are, he saith, but six and twenty chapters: and for things, which are not found in him: as if the man had desperately sworn to write nothing but false. Trust not me, reader: trust thine own eyes. Thou shalt find that book of Eusebius †, to have one and thirty chapters; and, in the cited place, thou shalt duly find the history of Domnus. Whose patience would not this impudency move?

If I reckoned not examples enow, or such as he likes not, (as unjustly seeming litigious) there is choice enough of more; Tertullian, Prosper, Hilary, Eupsychus, Polycrates, and his seven ancestors: to which let him add four and twenty Dioceses at once in Germany, France, Spain, anno 1057, of married Clergymen, recorded by their own Gebuilerus ‡; and make up his mouth, with that honest confession of Aventine §, *Sacerdotes, illâ tempestate, publicè uxores, sicut cæteri Christiani, habebant, filios procreabant:* "Priests, in those days, publicly had wives, as other Christians had, and begat children." Which the old verse, if he would rather, expresses in almost the same terms:

Quondam presbyteri poterant uxoribus uti:

which his Mantuan hath yet spun in a finer thread; as we shall shew in this section.

What danger ‖ is there now, therefore, either of the breach of my promise to my worthy friend Master Doctor Whiting, or of my divorce, or of his victory? If the man and his modesty had not been long since parted, these idle cracks had never been.

But, whereas this mighty champion challenges me, with great insultation, in many passages of his braving discourse, to name but one Bishop or Priest of note, which, after Holy Orders, conversed conjugally with his wife, without the scandal of the Church, branding such, if any were, for infamous; and daring to pawn his cause upon this trial: I do here accept his offer: and am ready to produce him such an example, as if all the Jesuits' heads in the world stood upon his shoulders, they could not tell how to wrangle against.

I do not urge to him that Prosper of Aquitain, a Bishop and a

* Refut. p. 160. † Vid. Euseb. edit. Basil. Anno 1587.

‡ Fox Act. et Mon. in hâc. quæst.

§ Avent. Hist. Boior. l. v. Their wives called, *presbyterissæ*, ibid. &c. *honesto vocabulo*, as he there speaks.

‖ *Hodie, apud Græcos, Sacerdotes, post susceptum ordinem, ducere uxorem; sed unicam, ac virginem; à Græcis didici.* Proposit. Erasmicorum. Censur. cum Declaratione. c. de Cælibatu.

Saint, whose verses to his wife are famous, and imply their inseparable conversation:

Age jam precor mearum,
Comes irremota rerum, &c.

Nor yet the fore-named Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers; who, in his old age, if that Epistle be worthy of any credit, writing to his daughter, confesses her years so few, that, through the incapacity of her age, she might perhaps not understand the hymn or epistle *; of whom the honest Carmelite, Mantuanus, could ingenuously confess:

Non nocuit tibi progenies; non obstitit uxor,
Legitimo conjuncta thoro. Non horruit, illâ
Tempestate, Deus thalamos, cunabula, tædas †.

Nor Bishop Simplicius, of whom Sidonius gives this praise ‡, that his parents were eminent, either in *Cathedris* or *Tribunalibus;* and that his pedigree was famous, either *Episcopis* or *Præfectis:* and, for his wife, that she was of the stock of the Palladii; *qui, aut literarum, aut altarium cathedras, cum sui ordinis laude, tenuerunt;* of whom also Sidonius can say, she did *respondere Sacerdotiis utriusque familiæ;* "answer the Priesthoods of either family."

Nor Alcimus Avitus, the French Archbishop; who, writing to his sister of her parentage, hath thus §,

——————— *Stemma parentum,*
Quos licet antiquo mundus donárit honore,
Et titulis à primævo insigniverit ortu,
Plus tamen ornantur sacris insignibus illi, &c.
Nec jam atavos soror alma tibi proavósque retexam.
Vita Sacerdotum quos reddidit inclyta claros ||.

Nor Paulinus, Bishop of Nola in Campania: to whom Ausonius writes, *Tanaquil tua nesciat istud:* and *Formidatámque jugatam obicis, &c.*

These, and such like, might suffice reasonable men: but, since we have to do with those adversaries, whom St. Paul calls ἀτόπους; who, if we urge hundreds of such evident examples, turn us off with bold shifts, and will needs put us to prove those acts which seek secrecy; let him and all his complices whet their wits upon that clear and irrefragable place of Gregory Nazianzen, a man beyond all exception; who brings in his father, Gregory, whom the

* *Tu, verò, si quid minùs, per ætatem, in hymno et epistolâ intelligis.*

† "His children hurt him not; nor his wife, lawfully conjoined in wedlock. In those days, God misliked not the marriage-bed, nor the cradle, &c."

‡ Sidon. Apol. Conc. adjunct. Ep. 9. l. vii.

§ Alcim. Avit. Vien. Gal. Arch. l. ad sororem, circa An. 492.

|| "I will not, dear sister, make report of the pedigree of thy great grandfathers, &c. whom the renowned life of Priests made famous to the world."

world knows to have been Bishop of the same See, speaking thus of him *:

> Ἔπω τοσσάτον ἐκμεμέτρηκας βιὸν,
> Ὅσος διήλθε θυσιῶν ἐμοὶ χρόνος.
> Ὅσος τὴν χάριν, ὅσος, &c.

Nondum tot anni sunt tui, quot jam in sacris mihi sunt peracti victimis, &c.: that is, "The years of thy age are not so many as of my Priesthood:" words, that will convince the most importunate gainsayer, that Gregory Nazianzen was born to his worthy father, after the time of his Holy Orders. And, lest any man should suspect that this ἔπω, *nonaum*, may reach only to the birth, not to the begetting of Gregory Nazianzen; so as, perhaps, he might be born after his father's Orders, begotten before them: let him know, to make all sure and plain, that Gorgonia and Cæsarius, the sister and brother of this Gregory, were, by the same father, begotten afterwards: as is evident, both by that verse of Nazianzen, who, speaking of his mother as then childless when she begged him of God, says †,

> *Cupiebat illa masculum*
> *fœtum domi*
> *Spectare, magna ut pars*
> *cupit mortalium;*

and the clear testimony of Elias Cretensis, *Quamvis enim si nativitatem spectes, &c.* "Although," saith he ‡, "if you regard his birth, he was not the only child of his parents, forasmuch as, after him, both Gorgonia and Cæsarius were born." Thus he.

O infamous Gregories, the scum of the Clergy! O irregular father, that durst defile his sacred function with so carnal an act! O shameless son, that blushes not to proclaim his own sinful generation! Go, now, petulant Refuter; and see, whether you can either yield or answer.

As for that glorious shew of antiquity, wherewith C. F. hopes to blear his reader's eyes, gracing himself herein with the assumption of our Reverend Jewell; I need not return any other answer, than of his Beatus Rhenanus §: *Quanquam veteres omnes, &c.* "Although all the ancient, and Jerome himself, were no whit equal or indifferent to marriage: esteeming virginity and chastity very high; both because they thought the Last Day was near at hand, as remembering that sentence of St. Paul, *Tempus in collecto est* ‖; and because they saw many impediments grow from marriage, which marred the purity of Christianity, in those days, especially, when Christians lived amongst Heathens, and matched in marriage with them: surely, it is evident, that, for this cause, Jerome was in an ill name

* Greg. Naz. Car. de Vitâ suâ. edit. Morel. Paris. to. ii. p. 9.
† Ibid. de Vita suâ, &c. Iamb. ‡ Elias Cretens. In Orat. Greg. Naz. 19.
§ Arg. lib. Tert. Exhort. Cast. *Matrimonio parùm æqui fuerint, &c.*
‖ *The time is short.*

at Rome, &c." Thus he. We durst not have said so much, for ourselves. The highest antiquity is ours: the later had been ours, if it had not been upon these grounds, which were then their own; proper to the time, place, occasion.

SECT. IX.

I DESCEND to the testimony of Gratian.

Champion C. calls this, picking of straws. If picking of straws be boys'-play; and argue, that they, which use it, are foiled, and have lost all, as our Refuter merrily pipeth; let him acknowledge how beggarly the proofs are grown, of the martyrdom of their saintly Jesuits and Priests amongst us, did they not stoop to pick straws; to thrash out a miracle, when it was, for translating Father Garnet from a traitor to a martyr; yea, and that chaff, the gullery whereof themselves smile at here, is devoutly transported beyond the seas, and enshrined for a sacred relic, and proclaimed by their Korumannus for one of the great wonders of the dead. *Ridet aruspex, ubi aruspicem viderit.*

It is well, that the great compiler of the Canon Law of Rome is grown so base with Catholic Priests. He witnesses plainly, that some Bishops of Rome were the sons of Priests, not spurious, but begot in lawful wedlock: which was, according to Gratian *, every where lawful to the Clergy, before the prohibition.

C. E. bites the lip, at this authority. And, first, he tells us †, it is the *Palea*, not Gratian. But if this be chaff, there is no corn. Reader, try, by this, the egregious impudence of this fellow. Turn to the place, thou shalt find, the words to be none but Gratian's; and the notes, allowed by public authority, openly to confirm it: *Hic apertè ostendit Gratianus, se in eâ fuisse opinione, &c.* "Here Gratian openly shews, that he was in that opinion, that, heretofore, the Priests of the Latin Church might be married."

Secondly, my parenthesis displeases ‡ him; "as now-a-days." But what needs this quarrel? He must grant, if the Romish Priests have sons, they can be no other than spurious. It is his best not to press this point too far. This idle jealousy of his can argue no good. I touched not the continency of his Paulus Quintus, so much as in my thought: I only wish that his Holiness would bestow some of the offals of his nephew's great benefices, upon this Mass-Priest, for the reward of his superfluous *Oleum peccatorum.*

My third untruth §, and that a gross one, is, that I say "many Bishops of Rome followed their fathers in the Pontifical Chair:" whereas in this Chaff of Gratian, he finds but one: Sylverius, Pope; son of Sylverius, Bishop of Rome. And what if, in his chaff, he find but one; while I, in my corn-heap, can find more? Did I tie my-

* Dist. 56. *Ceno manens*, &c. † Refut. p. 161.
‡ Refut. p. 162. § Refut. pp. 163, 164, 165.

self, in this clause, only to Gratian? Was not Pope John the Eleventh, or, in some accounts, the Tenth, son to Pope Sergius? And is there no Chair Pontifical but the Roman? Was not Theodorus, Pope; son to Theodorus, Bishop of Jerusalem? Fœlix the Third, son to Bishop Valerius? Pope Adrian the Second, son to Bishop Taralus? His Platina can supply his Gratian in these.

What have I to do, with his quarrels * about Hosius, Fœlix, Agapetus, Steven? They are their own. Let him wring Gratian by the ear, till I feel.

And, surely, the poor Canonist bleeds on all hands. Bellarmin, Baronius, Possevine, and this stout beagle, have, every one, a snatch at him; and he must be content to go away with this gash, "We are not bound to follow him as an infallible writer; but may, with free liberty, reject him." Yea, how merry doth my Refuter make himself with his despised Gratian! Like a Philistine, he hath pulled out the eyes of this Sampson, and now makes sport with him. If Doway like it well, it shall not be displeasing to us.

The man, as ill as he loves marriage, will needs make a match betwixt his Gratian's Pope Steven, and his Pope Joan. *Iö Hymen!* Was ever man so mad, to make himself pastime with his own shame? Was the history of that their monstrous Papess of our making? Do not the whole stream † of their writers of Chronicles, their own Bishops, Monks, Recluses, Registras, record it openly to all posterity, without the contradiction of the next ages, yea, of any, till this last? Let them take to themselves, therefore, this fruitful successor in the Infallible Chair: she is their own: they may dispose of her, where they list: and, since my Refuter will find out a match for her out of the Chair of Exploration, why should not we dance at the wedding? Why do not we help him to a piece of an epithalamium?

Papa pater patrum,
Papissæ pandito partum:

a flower ‡ that never came out of Luther's poesy.

SECT. X.

I SEE, that, while I follow this wrangler by the foot, I am become insensibly tedious.

The residue of his long-some treatise is spent upon the Council of Constantinople, Gregory's Charge, Isidore's Rule, Hulderick, Hildebrand, Dunstan, and Anselm, and the estate of our forefathers in the English Clergy.

The discussion of all which, as not being essential to our business, except only the last, will admit more brevity of dispatch. The

* Refut. p. 166.

† Sigebert. Martin. Polon. Platin. Mart. Minorit. Oth. Fris. Flores Temp. Petrarcha, &c.

‡ Flor. Temp. Impr. ult. 1486.

vital parts of our cause being secured, there will be less danger in the remoter limbs; which yet, if our target guard not, our sword shall. In all these, it shall be best to reduce his cavils unto heads, that we may crop them with more speed and ease. Only, I must crave leave to dwell somewhile in the last.

Concerning the Council of Constantinople *, after some idle mistaken discourse of the occasion thereof, he insists upon these four points †: first, that it was not general: secondly, not the sixth: thirdly, not peremptorily ours: fourthly, not by them defaced, or torn out.

First, it is no trusting what a Roman Priest says, in choler, of a Grecian Council. The Greek Church is equally in their books with ours; and this Council, with the Synod of Dort. It is an eternal quarrel, which all the vassals of Rome have against this Council, that it equalled the Bishop of Constantinople, with the Roman: a crime, that cannot be forgiven.

The invectives of our Popish Divines, especially Pighius, Bellarmin ‡, Baronius, have made good that note of Balsamon: *Occidentales Episcopi, &c:* "The Western Bishops," saith he §, that is, the Italian or Latin, "*Ab hujus Synodi Canonibus opportunè icti*, finding themselves galled with the Canons of this Synod, have given it out not to be General." Thus he.

And why was it not General? "It had no form of a Council," saith my Refuter ‖, "No Legates of the Pope; no invitation of the Latin Bishops: neither were any of the other Patriarchs present or consenting." Every word a shameless untruth! Basilius, Bishop of Gortyna, the metropolis of Crete, which was then under the Archbishop of Rome, and the Bishop of Ravenna, saith Balsamon ¶, were there to represent the Roman Church. The Bishops of Thessalonica, Sardinia, Heraclea, Corinth, were there and then the Pope's Legates. And, for the Patriarchs; Basilius, saith the same Balsamon, Bishop of Gortyna, which was present in the name of the Roman Church, is found to have subscribed after the Four Patriarchs, and certain other Metropolitans. What can be more plain?

"But St. Bede," saith C. E **, "tells us, that Justinian the younger commanded Sergius, Bishop of Rome, to be carried to Constantinople, because he would not subscribe *huic erraticæ Synodo*." Still, mistaking and ignorance! His Surius and Turrian could have taught him, out of Theophanes, this was another, a Pseudo-Synod, which the same Justinian had, in his first government, called, in favour of the Monothelites; which was some years after the true Synod, under Constantine the Bearded ††. This man's wit wanders with his erratical Synod.

* Concil. vi. Constantin. in Trullo. † Refut. p. 168, usque ad 174.
‡ Vid. Bell. de Rom. Pont. l. ii. cap. 18. § Balsam. in Phot. Nomoc
‖ Refut. p. 174. ¶ Balsam. ibid. ** Refut. p. 171.
†† Constantinus Pogonatus.

SECT. XI.

For the number of Sixth, we need not be scrupulous: whether it were the fifth, or sixth, or both (as Balsamon calls it, πενθέκλην *) or neither. It is enough for me, that Gratian, Caranza, Espencæus, and other his own great masters, call it familiarly both Sixth, and General; in this, I cannot but be safe enough.

I grant, that, to speak precisely, the Sixth Synod under Constantine published no Canons; but, afterwards, many of the same Fathers, which had formerly met in the Sixth Synod, and others, to the number of 227, being called together by the then penitent and restored Justinian (ῥινότμητος †) gathered up, and set forth with universal consent, the Canons formerly made, and by them re-enforced.

But what need I trouble myself with any other answer to all these windy cavils of my adversary, than that, which Tharasius himself, the Patriarch of Constantinople, hath most fully given? *Quæ est hæc ignorantia, &c?* "What ignorance," saith he ‡, "is this, wherewith many men are tainted, about these Canons? For it is a scandal to doubt, whether they were the Canons of the Sixth Synod. Let these men therefore know, that the Sixth Synod was gathered in the time of Constantine, against those, which ascribe one only action and will to Christ: the Fathers then condemning those heretics, and confirming the Orthodox Faith, about the fourteenth year of Constantine, returned home. After four or five years, the same Fathers, being met under Justinian the son of Constantine, set forth the foresaid Canons. Neither let any man doubt of this: for those very same Fathers, which, in the time of Constantine, subscribed, did also, under Justinian, subsign this present paper: which thing is evident enough, by the unchangeable likeness of their own hands." So he.

Whether, therefore, the computation of Tharasius or Theophanes be followed, we have what we desired. The same acts are set forth, if not by altogether the same persons, and Gratian's judgment § is herein ours.

SECT. XII.

For the third point: to prove that this Synod is not peremptorily for us, he urgeth ‖ divers other Canons of it; which, in other things, sound against us: then, he shews the instanced Thirteenth Canon, not to be so absolutely and fully ours, as is pretended.

* Quini-sextam. † "Slit-nose." ‡ Gratian. Dist. 16. *Habeo librum.*
§ Dist. 16. ubi supr. ‖ Refut. p. 175, usque ad 182.

First, where finds he this law, that no man may allege one testimony of a Father or a Council, but he must be tied to justify all the rest? Himself would be the first, that would shrink at this condition.

This challenge is unreasonable, and might turn off all allegation. For example: if a man should allege the Nicene Council, Canon 1. against any superstitious fool, that hath made himself a corporal eunuch, might he straight, for his justification, fly upon the last Canon of that Council, unnecessarily enjoining us to stand at our Sunday's Prayers? Or, if a man should cite the Synod of Laodicea against a Deacon, though a Cardinal, sitting before a Priest *, or against the worshipping of angels †; were it meet to choke him with a return of the last Canon of that Council ‡, forbidding the Apocryphal Books; or the 37th Canon, forbidding his Holiness to take so much as a bible, in his solemnity, from the hands of Jews? If a man shall allege a testimony of Cyprian, were it fit to upbraid him with the error of re-baptization? Or, if of Augustin, with the error of the necessity of infants communicating? This is *clavum clavo.*

For me, I have undertaken no such task, to warrant them, that once said true, from ever erring. I do, therefore, herein scorn my silly Refuter's "compassion §," who is so far from crushing me in this, that he hurts none but his own fists, in beating them about his own hard head. For, if the pressing us with the authority of some of these Canons, be to justify the rest, then the 36th Canon of that Council bears him and his Rome down before it, while it sets Constantinople cheek by jole with it, maugre: a point, which rather than they will yield, they will be glad to abate us all the rest.

This we are sure of, that the alleged Canon is peremptorily, fully, cautelously ours. For this, my credit is at the stake, which my Refuter pleases himself with the hope to impair; insulting in the idle fancy of a just advantage, while he shews ‖ the Canon to come short, in some points, of our requisition and practice: for there, Bishops are excepted, and the freedom of marriage after Ordination.

Reader, compare the Canon with the words of my engagement, I undertook thou shouldest find no decree could be made more peremptory, more cautelous, more full and absolute for the lawfulness of the marriage of ecclesiastical persons.

For, first, the Fathers profess herein to cross the practice and decree of the Roman Church. Secondly, they profess the conjugal cohabitations of sacred persons to stand by the Apostolic Canons; and to be a sincere, exquisite, and orderly constitution: what could be said more? They, thirdly, ratify this liberty for ever. They, fourthly, give charge, that no man, by the cohabitation with his lawful wife, be hindered from ascending to the

* Synod. Laodic. Can. 20. † Can. 35. ‡ Can. 60. § Refut. p. 181.
‖ Refut. p. 182, usque ad 192.

highest degree of Holy Orders. Fifthly, that, in the time of their Ordination, it be not so much as required of them, to abstain from the lawful companying with their wives: "which were," say they, "to offer injury to marriage, ordained by God, and blessed by his presence; and to cross him, that said, *Those, whom God hath joined together, let no man separate;* and, *Marriage is honourable amongst all, &c.*" Sixthly, that, if any man shall presume so far, as to offer to debar any Priest, Deacon, or Subdeacon, from the conjunction and society with his lawful wife, he shall be deposed; or, if any Priest or Deacon shall voluntarily cast off his wife, upon pretence of religion; that he shall be suspended; and, if he go on, deposed.

Judge now, whether herein my protestation have erred. Not that there can be no circumstance devised, as of the extent of the persons, or time, or manner, wherein curiosity might enlarge the scope of this liberty (so I never meant:) but, if this one point "That the marriage of persons ecclesiastical is lawful" can be more fully and warily set down, let me lie open to censure: if not, hate the vanity of this idle mountebank; and confess, with Aristophanes,

Adversus ictum Sycophantæ non inesse pharmacum *.

The Parliamental Law †, in the time of King Edward, was, I grant, more full, in extending the liberty; could not be more full, in avouching the lawfulness, of our marriages.

Where I must take leave to tell my Refuter, that the comparison he presumes to make of King Edward's Parliament, with the proceedings of Jack Straw, Wat Tyler, &c. is, like himself, seditious and traitorous. And what marvel if such repiners blow out the foggy vaporous blast of seditious words, against our Highest Court of Parliament, which some of their companions have attempted to blow up with a blast of fire? This constitution was not civil only, but synodical: And may not a lawful Synod or Convocation, with the concurrence of the three states, and the sway of royal authority, make or re-establish a law agreeable to the Word of God, and the received practice of their progenitors, but every Jack-Sauce of Rome shall thus odiously dare to control and disgrace it?

One of his Capitoline Gods of Rome called England his ass ‡. So it was, while it might bear nothing but his trumpery; and go, but where his grooms would either lead or drive it: now, that it hath taken heart, and with Cardinal Campegius's sumpter cast off this base load, and hath haply overrun this servitude; they are ready, with the keeper of metamorphosed Apuleius, to seek a desperate remedy from the next tree.

* "There is no salve for the sting of a Sycophant."

† Refut. pp. 192, 193, 194. ‡ *Etiam Asinus meus recalcitrat?*

SECT. XIII.

SUCH, then, is the Canon of Constantinople: which, therefore, I said, because they cannot blemish enough, they have indignly torn out of the Councils.

And here is much vehement and braving rhetoric spent upon me *, as a shameless writer; and this passage, as the grossest lie, that ever was published by Protestant. And now I am conjured, "How blemished? How torn? What? Where? How? When?"

Because innocence is bold, the man will be bold, that he may seem innocent; but he shall well find, that facing will not serve his turn. Is he so ignorant, as not to know, that all his great masters † discard this whole Council as "spurious?" Doth he not know, that it is, if not torn, yet left out in divers of their editions of the Councils? Let him learn, if he know not, that their ancient Collection of Canons, which was called *Codex* or *Corpus Canonum*, which was in use in Leo the Fourth's time, mentioned by Gratian: Dist. 20. c. de Libellis, and printed anno 1526 at Mentz, and re-printed at Paris in octavo, anno 1609, omits it. The other Collection of Councils by Isidorus Mercator, which began to be received about Charles the Great's time, wherein, besides the forged Decretal Epistles of divers Popes, are the Canons of many Provincial Councils of Africa, France, Spain, &c. set forth by Jac. Merlin at Coleine, 1530, and which hath been usually received in the Western Church, in the times of the Schoolmen, who usually, as do also Ivo and Burchardus, allege them, likewise omits it. The two editions of the Councils by P. Crabbe likewise omit it: and, if it had not been for stark shame, so would the rest also. Doth he not know what his Anastatius and Numbertus protest ‡ of some particular Canons, and this for one? *Hæc capitula omnino refutamus;* "These chapters we do altogether reject:" and, *nullatenùs recipiantur;* "Let them by no means be received."

And, for this very particular Canon, if he know not, there is first an attempt of a double blemish to be cast upon it: the one, in that they read it so, as if the Roman Clergy professed *quòd copulentur uxoribus non suis;* "That they are joined with wives not their own;" as by way of scorn; whereas the words run, *se deinceps cum uxoribus suis non congressuros:* the other, in that some of their authors would refer *Sacrorum virorum* to *Constitutiones*, not to *Nuptias*, marring quite the sense of the Canon. This for the blemish.

For the wiping out of this very Canon, and denying it place with the rest; let him hear his own Espencæus §, telling him, that even they, which allowed this Synod, rejected by Pighius and others,

* Refut. p. 195, usque ad 198.

† Baron. An. 58. nu. 18. et Bell. l. i. de Verbo Dei, c. 2. et 2. de Ro. Pont. c. 17. l. i. de Conc. c. 7. l. i. de Cleric. c. 21. Bin. Tom. i. p. 14. &c.

‡ Dist. 16. In Notis. § Esp. l. i. de Contin.

yet *hunc Canonem duriter tractant, &c.* "Use this Canon somewhat hardly, as altogether profane; full of error, insolence, immodesty, manifest falsehood; apocryphal, and most corrupted *:" and his ingenuity is fain to plead, in conclusion, *Canonem hunc legitimum esse non gratis, sed necessariò donemus;* "That they must, not upon courtesy but of necessity, yield this Canon for legitimate, not supposititious." And what is this, in my Detector's construction, but a cashiering of this Canon out of the Councils, against the authority of Gratian, and the Greek copies? Lastly, the eyes of learned Chemnitius † are undoubted witnesses to us, what credit soever they find with this Italianate generation: *In tomis Conciliorum, prorsùs expunxerunt et omiserunt hunc Canonem:* "In the Tomes of the Councils, they have altogether wiped out and omitted this Canon:" so as, if we had those blurred copies, which he saw bleeding from the hand of the Inquisitors, there could be no fence for this charge; but that, which serves for all, impudent denials.

Neither needed my Refuter to take it so highly ‡, that I objected to them the tearing, blemishing, and defacing of this and other records against them. Ere long, the world shall see, to the foul shame of these self-condemned impostors, that, in the writings, both of ancient and later authors §, they have blotted out more than a hundred places, some of them containing above two sheets apiece, concerning this very point, which we have in hand.

This is no news, therefore: neither needed my Detector to make it so dainty.

SECT. XIV.

I CITED from Gratian the free confession of Pope Stephen the Second, acknowledging the open liberty of marriage to the Clergy of the Eastern Church: *Matrimonio copulantur;* "They are joined in marriage." A place, truly irrefragable.

My Refuter first excepts ‖ against the number; telling us, that Stephen the Second lived but three or four days, at the most; and therefore he could not be the man. What spirit of cavillation possesses this Mass-Priest? He cannot but know, that his own Sigebertus ascribes five years to this Stephen; and Hermannus, six: but five is the least. And his Binius tells him ¶, that the Stephen he speaks of, sitting but two days exclusively, "is by the most omitted in the catalogue of the Roman Bishops:" whence it is,

* *Ut totum scilicet profanum; erroris, insolentiæ, impudicitiæ plenum, manifestæ falsitatis; apocryphum, et corruptissimum.*

† Chemnit. Hist. de Cælib. Sacerd. p. 65. ‡ Refut. p. 196.

§ Erasm. Lang. in Niceph. Io. Nevizan. D. Venatorius. P. Crinitus. I. de solas. Polyd. Virg. Rolewinch Thuavus. Ignat. Sigebert. &c.

‖ Refut. p. 198, usque ad 203.

¶ Bin. Steph. ii. *A pluribus è serie Rom. Pontificum dimittitur.* So also Functius in his Chronol.

that the Chronicle names not two Stephens, betwixt the First and the Fourth.

"But this man" he saith, "called no Council:"—What is that to me? Gratian affirms it: I do not. Let him fall out, for this, with his friends.

And now, according to the old wont, after he hath tried to shift off *matrimonio copulantur*, with the sleeveless evasion of a false gloss (i. e. *utuntur*) which Cajetan * hath sufficiently confuted for us, he falls to a flat rejection of Gratian; and tells us †, out of Bellarmin, "That Canon to be perhaps of no authority, but an error of the collectors." Good God! what face have these men? that none of their received authors can be produced against them, but they are straight counterfeit; and yet the very same, where they speak for them, canonical? Their clients, if they might but know these tricks, would be ashamed of their patrons.

That the Clergy ‡, not only of the East, might *matrimonio copulari*; but of the West also might *matrimonium contrahere*, which are the words they are unwilling to know in their own Canon Law; shew sufficiently, that they not only were married of old, but might marry. But, for the Eastern Clergy, it is freely granted by all ingenuous spirits: insomuch as Espencæus tells us, that never author, either old or new, imputed this for a fault unto the Greek Church, that their Clergy was married.

What shall we say, then, to this bold Bayard, that compares § this toleration of marriage in the Greek Church, with Moses's permission of the Bill of Divorce unto the Jews? As if marriage had been only tolerated; not allowed: as if unjust divorce were a fit match for lawful wedlock. While he here talks of *duritia cordis*, well may we talk of his *duritia frontis*. It is true, every Church, every country, hath their customs and fashions; which Joannes Major pleads against Bede's censure of the English and Scottish and British observation of Easter: and may be as justly, in this case, pleaded for us. This was of old no less ours, than the Greeks'. And, if any Church will be prescribing against God, *we have no such custom, nor the Church of God.*

But what a ridiculous insinuation it is ‖, that the Greek Priests are dispensed with by supreme authority ecclesiastical! forsooth, by the Pope of Rome! Fain would I learn, when, upon what terms, at what rate, the Grecians purchased in the Court of Rome, dispensation for their marriages. I would my Refuter had the office appointed him, to shuffle over all the records of the Apostolic Chamber, till he find such a grant made *propter duritiem cordis:* then, should a great deal of good paper escape the misery of being besmeared by his pen.

What strange fantastic dreams are put upon the world! Where the Papacy cannot prevail, there, forsooth, his Holiness dispenseth! The Greek Church admitteth married Priests: the Pope dispenseth

* Cajet. Opus. Castit. † Refut. p. 203. ‡ Refut. p 204.
§ Refut. pp. 206, 207. ‖ Refut. pp. 207, 208.

with them. They deny and defy the Pope's supremacy: I trow he dispenseth with them for that too. And why not with the Church of England? We pay no Peter-pence: we run not to Rome-market, to buy trash: I hope his Holiness dispenseth with us for these peccadillos. We take liberty here, to marry, rather than to burn: why should we not hope to receive that dispensation, whereof we heard the news of late from a poor bankrupt carrier? *Ad populum phaleras.*

SECT. XV.

As for the contradiction, which his sagacity finds *, not without much scorn, in the two parliamental laws of the father and the son, King Henry the Eighth and King Edward the Sixth; whereof the one forbids, the other allows the marriage of ecclesiastics; it needed not have been any wonder to a learned Priest, which might have known Councils enough, diametrically opposite to each other. What fault was it in the recovered blind man, that he first saw men walk like trees; and, after, like men? Even the best man may correct himself.

Neither was there here any contradiction. King Henry spake with the Roman Church; whose, one half of him then was: King Edward spake with the Scriptures, and purer antiquity. King Henry never said, God disallowed these marriages: King Edward never said, they were allowed by the Romish Church.

And why may not we draw out the like absurdity out of Queen Mary's parliaments; wherein she reversed many things established by King Edward; as in this very case concerning marriage of priests? May not we hereupon ask, "What will you say to such parliaments, wherein the brother is thwarted by the sister; and that, with the consent of the most of the same parliament-men, enacting, in a few years, contrarily?"

Or, as if it were any news with Popes *rescindere acta prædecessorum;* even of those, which immediately preceded them! Who knows not the story of Pope Formosus, and Stephanus; and the many and strong contradictions of decrees, in the frequent, long, and desperate schisms of the Romish Church?

This lash is indifferently fit for all backs. Let him, that hath no cause to smart, complain.

What needed this foul mouth then to break forth † into so palpable slanders of that holy Archbishop and Martyr, Doctor Cranmer; charging him with deep dissimulation, in soothing up both these kings in their contrary decrees? when it is most manifest, that this worthy Metropolitan was the only man, which durst, for three days together, openly in parliament oppose those wickedly projected Articles of King Henry; and this, in special. Insomuch,

* Refut. p. 209, usque ad 214. † Refut. p. 212.

as he was willed out of the house, till the act might pass; which, notwithstanding he well knew King Henry, he stoutly refused. Would this man, think we, care to belie all the saints in heaven for an advantage? What will not he dare to say, that will object inconstancy to him, who sealed God's truth with his blood?

The contradictions and weaknesses, that he finds * in this Synod of Constantinople, do no whit move us. If he can allow, and commend, and cite against us the seven and thirtieth Canon of the Council, for the Worship of the Cross; or the fourscore and fifteenth, for the Holy Chrism; and yet disallow the thirteenth: why may not we, by the same law, cite and approve the thirteenth Canon against them; and yet, disavow those other?

SECT. XVI.

NEITHER was it for want †, that I mentioned only this Council of Constantinople. The more ancient Constitutions of Ancyra and Gangra, and the first and fourth of Toledo, besides the Apostolical and Nicene, might have been urged by me. It was not mine intent, with this babbler, to say more than all; but only to take a handful out of the sack's mouth, for a taste to the buyer. That fair flourish, therefore, of Councils, which he musters up against me herein, will be but *Arma armis contraria.*

Wherein, since my Refuter will needs make himself so busy ‡, let me entreat him, by the way, to compare the Council of Gangra §, with the Decree of his Pope Hildebrand. The Council says flatly, *Si quis discernit Presbyterum conjugatum, &c.* "If any man make difference of a married Priest, so as that by occasion of his marriage he ought not to offer, and doth therefore abstain from his oblation, let him be accursed." But, his Hildebrand *uxoratos Sacerdotes à divino removit officio, et laicis Missam eorum audire interdixit, novo exemplo, &c.* that is, "removed married Priests from their divine office, and forbad laymen to hear their Masses;" saith Sigebert ‖. Therefore, by the sentence of the Council, Pope Hildebrand is accursed: and accursed for that very point, which made him a Romish Saint. When my Refuter hath gnawed awhile upon this bone, he may hope to be rewarded with a crust.

And now for his Councils, to make up the number he names ¶ for the foreman of the quest, the Council of Ancyra, somewhat before the Nicene: one, who hath passed a direct verdict against him; allowing Deacons, upon their profession, to marry. The miserable evasions of his Binius ** and Baronius, in this point, argue both a mind and a cause desperate: while, without all colour of warrant, they imperiously turn down these married Deacons to a

* Refut. pp. 216, 218. † Refut. p. 220. ‡ Refut. p. 225.
§ About Anno 324. ‖ Sigeb. de Gregor. Pap. An. 1074. Idem et Math Paris. ¶ Refut. p. 225, usque ad 234. ** Vid. Bin. ibid.

lay-communion; and feign this liberty only in a forced Ordination, not in a voluntary.

As for that first Canon, which he citeth *, of the Council of Arles, That a man cannot be made Priest in the band of wedlock, unless he promise conversion, it is a gross counterfeit. And, that the world may see we use not to pass these censures without evident reason: it mentions the Arians, which were not yet hatched; it mentions Bonosus, which lived long after, in the time of Innocent I; it mentions the *Concilium Vasense*, which was yet later, in the time of Leo the First. When his authors can agree of the time, and make good the Synod, he shall receive an answer to it. In the mean time, it was either before the Council of Nice, or after it: if before, it was corrected by the Nicene; a Provincial must yield to a General: if after, it was presumptuous, in decreeing that peremptorily, which the General determinately left free.

The Council of Aransica is cited by him †, in direct terms opposite to the Ancyran. He must make them friends, ere he can bring it forth against an enemy.

As for the main stay of this cause of his, which is the two Councils of Africa ‡, lent him by his Bellarmin; it is grounded, as our learned Junius hath probably answered, upon mere corruption and mistaking; the Latin copies taking *propria* for *priora* §. The charge of the Council being only, that Deacons, Priests, Bishops, κατα τὰς ἰδιὰς ὅρας; "according to their turns of ministration, should abstain from their wives:" which no modest divine will not willingly subscribe unto. However, I am sure, if the one word be not corrupted, the other is ambiguous, and may as well signify Balsamon's ἐφήμερίας. And, if these Canons were first Latin, and after translated into the Greek; yet the Greek shews what was the first Latin, and may well correct the mistaken original.

But, to discuss the several Councils, which he only thinks fit to name, and utter by wholesale against us, were a work for a volume apart. The old word is, *Dolosus versatur in generalibus*; "There is deceit in generalities." It were easy to shew, that some of these are impertinent; others, plainly against them; others, corrupted to speak against us, as that of Mentz, and Wormes, whereof in the sequel; others, partial to the faction of Rome. So then, here, *Obruimur numero.* He thinks to carry it by number, not by weight; where, with us, one piece of gold is worth a whole bag of counters. But if, after the tyrannical impositions of his Siricius and Innocentius took place in the Church, he could name for every one of his provincial Synods a hundred, it were all one to us: we are not the worse; his cause no whit the better. This tradition, after that, in an emulation of the Montanistical vaunt of virginity,

* Refut. p. 226. † Refut. p. 227.

‡ Carthaginien. v. African. Can. 3. Sub Cœlest. Can. 37.

§ *Secundum proprios terminos, vel propria statuta.* Where they read it, *Secundum priora statuta.*

it had gotten head in the Church, ran like fire in a train. Those provinces, that held correspondence at Rome, according to the charge of Gregory *, spake as she did prompt them. What should they do, but follow their mistress? the Greek Church, and those that either had dependance upon it, or which had continued in the succession of this custom of marriage, still maintaining the lawfulness and use of it inviolable.

So, then, in sum, this he hath gained, which I am ready ever to avow; the ancientest Councils are against him; the later are against us; and God, with us, against them: of which we have learned to say †, *Væ vobis, filii desertores, ut faceretis Concilium, et non ex me;* "Woe to you, rebellious children, that you should hold your Council, and not of me."

And if his mistress of Rome have elsewhere found vassals, it follows not, that we may not be free.

Yea, it is more than manifest, by those evidences we have already produced from their own records, that, notwithstanding this cogged number of his provincial Synods, and Private Decrees (as Volusian terms them ‡,) all the time of the first 700 years, the freedom of this practice continued in many parts of the Christian World. Insomuch as, amongst the rest, the Church of Armenia, for the time of the years mentioned, upheld a tradition, not to admit of any Clergyman, but those, which descended *ex genere Sacerdotali;* "descended from Priests §." Witness the Fathers of Constantinople, in their three and thirtieth Canon: where my Detector should do well to enquire, what Balsamon's *Clerici Chrysobullati* means. Sure I am, that this example sufficiently proves the practical liberty of those Churches, in the questioned limits of the seven first centuries. To which we may add the Church of Bulgaria, out of his Gratian ‖:—the Church of Germany, out of Aventine ¶:—the Church of Ireland, out of Bernard **: (who confesses the Episcopal See of Armagh to have been furnished with a lineal descent of Bishops for eight generations, before the time of his Malachias, which were still both *uxorati* and *literati:* how those men were Bishops and yet *sine Ordinibus*, is a riddle, which, I confess, I cannot aread: perhaps, they were without Roman Orders; but, if they were not Clerks after the then Irish fashion, what needed they be *literati*, that they might be Bishops?)—the Church of our Britain, as we shall see in the process, and others.

* *Ad similitudinem Sedis Apostolicæ, eos cuncta observare constituat.* Greg. Epist. l. iii. 34.

† Gnapheus Orat. in defens. Io. Pistorii.

‡ *Privata decreta.*

§ Concil. Constant. vi. Can. 33. *Quoniam cognovimus in Armeniorum regione eos solùm in Cleri Ordinem referri, qui sunt ex genere Sacerdotali.*

‖ Dist. 28. ¶ Annal. Boiorum: suprà.

** Vita. S. Malach. Lib. Synod. Wigorn. Eccles. Canon. Concil. Hibern. sub Patricio, Auxilio Isernino. *Quicunque Clericus, ab ostiario usque ad Sacerdotem, sine tunicâ visus fuerit, &c. et uxor ejus sine velato capite ambulaverit, pariter à laicis contemnantur, &c.* Matth. Park. Def. of Pr. Mar.

These are more than enough, to let the world see this restraint, for all this pretence of provincial and partial Councils, never universally obtained.

SECT. XVII.

YET the man, having unmercifully crushed me in pieces with this empty bladder of windy and worthless authority, crows over me, thus, in conclusion *: "And, truly, to me he seemeth not to be more mad, than blind: for, otherwise, he would never have proclaimed this freedom of seven hundred years, seeing the very form of words, used by his own Sacred Council, doth so strongly withstand his fond collection: for, there it is decreed, *Qui sunt in sacris, &c.* 'We will, that the marriages of such as be in Holy Orders, from this time forward, be firm and valid;' for, in case this freedom had been common before, why did they say, *Deinceps*, 'from this time forward?'" Thus he.

Wherein I would his Superiors did but see, how kindly he buffets himself. For, if this be the force of *deinceps*, or *a modò* †, I thus argue against him: he hath pleaded before, that neither this nor any other Church ever allowed or ever practised the celebration of marriage after Ordination: now, if he turn to the Sixth Canon of this Council of Constantinople, he shall find *Decernimus, ut nulli deinceps hypodiacono, &c:* "We decree, that from henceforward no Sub-Deacon, Deacon, or Priest may marry after his Ordination;" therefore, by the force of his inference, before this time, for almost seven hundred years, this was commonly practised.

And now, to answer my Refuter's *deinceps:* if his wit had been any way matchable with his malice, he might have seen that this *deinceps* had relation to the Roman Church, not to the Greek: for, if he know not, this Synod meant to prescribe laws to his mistress; and to correct that their injurious tradition of restraint; and to enlarge this liberty through all the territories of the Universal Church. For this purpose, is the *deinceps* of the Constantinopolitan Fathers; who well knew, how much it needed in the Western Church, which had enthralled their Clergy in the bondage of that unlawful prohibition. So as the Refuter, while he plays upon my want of logic, in not descrying the dangerous necessity of this inference upon me, plainly bewrays his own want of brains, in not descrying the folly of his objection: and where he tells me ‡, like a dull jester, that "all the walls and windows, from the hall to the kitchen, may mourn to see an University-man have so little wit;" I must tell him, that all the doors of Doway may leap off their hinges, to see their champion so childishly absurd.

Now, then, to answer his idle epilogue §: if it appear that his

* Refut. p. 235. † "From this time forward."
‡ Refut. p. 236. § Refut. p. 237.

own Pope and Canonist, and the received histories of the Church, and the examples of several nations and persons acknowledge this ancient liberty, both in the Eastern and (some) Western Churches, *de facto;* and Moses and the Prophets, Christ and his Apostles, the ancient Councils with this Sixth of Constantinople, approve it *de jure:* it follows, that the necessary imposition of professed continency is but a part of that sour milk, wherewith the She-Wolf of the Seven-Hills feeds the faction of her Romulists and Rhemists; and none of that wholesome sustenance, which God and his purer Church have provided for their children.

THE

HONOUR

OF THE

MARRIED CLERGY MAINTAINED,

&c.

THE THIRD BOOK.

SECT. I.

THE marriage of Ecclesiastics, which had the common allowance of the first times, had, in some parts, but the connivance of the subsequent, and the prohibition of the last.

Those Churches, that were not parties to the faction of Rome, could not but be much moved with so peremptory a decree of a famous Council; reducing them, in this point, to the exactness of Apostolic institution; and professing to rectify that Roman deviation. No marvel, therefore, if, not long after, there ensued a collision of opposite parts, and much scuffling betwixt the abettors of antichristian servitude and evangelical liberty; whom this hedge-creeper dare term * "incontinent Grecians," "Schismatics," "Heretics." His pen is no slander. The multitude of his Synods, wherein was such reiteration of the same law, shews the opposition which it still found in the Church, and the prevailing use of the contrary practice.

The Epistle of Pope Gregory the Third to the Clergy of Bavaria, which gives that disjunct charge, "Of either living chastely, or marrying a wife whom they may not divorce," is no where, forsooth, extant, because he finds it not in his Binius, or Baronius †! As if no water had gone beside their mill.

And, here, I am threatened with the Cornelian Law for forgery;

* Refut. p. 211. † Refut. p. 243.

no less crime. To avoid the peril whereof, let my far-seen Detector turn to the Bavarian Annals of Aventine *, in the third book: there he shall find it: an Epistle, sent to Vivilus and the other Clergy of Bavaria, by the hands of Martinian, George, Dorotheus, a Bishop, Priest, Deacon, with this express disjunction, *Aut castè vivat, aut uxorem ducat, &c.*

That, which he brings † from the successor of this Gregory, Zacharias, shews what his Pope wished, when he had gotten better footing in Germany: but the success makes for us; for B. Boniface either never durst, or at least never did urge these rules to his Germans.

So, I hope, his mouth is stopt for my forged testimony of his Gregory; which could not, in his conceit be other, because he never saw it peep forth "before this, in other men's books." I wis nothing ever looked forth of the press, that escaped that bookish eye!

Witness the next passage, which if his Superiors could have had the leisure to have viewed, they had blushed at their champion. This charge of Gregory, I said, was "according to that rule of Clerks, cited from Isidore, and renewed in the Council of Mentz;" but, by our juggling adversaries, clipped in the recital. Here, the man cries out, as before of forgery, so now of ignorance ‡; telling his readers, that I have only taken this upon trust from another's note-book. Reader, by this judge of the spirit of my Detractor. It is true; Isidore wrote no book of this title: but, in the second book of his Ecclesiastical Offices, he makes the title of his second chapter, *De Regulis Clericorum;* "Of the Rules of Clerks." From this chapter, I cite a confessed passage, and am thus censured; whereas, the Council of Mentz cites it by this very style, *Sicut in Regulâ Clericorum dictum est;* "As it is said in the Rule of Clerks." Is it simplicity, that he knows not this title of Isidore? or maliciousness, that he conceals it? One of them is unavoidable. It is clear then, to his shame, if he have any, that the testimony is aright cited.

And is it less clear, that it is maimed, and cut off by the hams, in their Moguntine Council §? Compare the places, the fraud shall be manifest. That Council, in the tenth chapter, professes to transcribe verbatim the words of Isidore in the fore-cited tract: and, where Isidore saith, *Castimoniam inviolati corporis perpetuò conservare studeant, aut certè unius matrimonii vinculo fœderentur;* "Let them live chaste, or marry but one;" their good Clerks have utterly left out the latter clause, and make Isidore charge his Clerks with perpetual continency; "Let them live chaste." He, that denies this, let him deny that there is a sun in the heaven, or light in that sun. What need I say more? Let the books speak.

Here, my Refuter doth so shuffle and cut, that any man may see he speaks against his own heart. For, to omit his strained mis-inter-

* Avent. Boiorum Annot. l. iii. † Refut. p. 244.
‡ Refut. p. 245. § Conc. Mogunt. i.

pretation of Isidore since we now contend not of the sense but of the citation, how poorly doth he salve up the credit of his Moguntine Fathers, while he saith *, "Isidore spake in general, the Fathers in that Council more strictly:" when he, that hath but one half of an eye, may see, that both speak in one latitude of the same persons! Those Fathers, giving the same title to that chapter, and professing to follow the letters and syllables of Isidore; both name only *Clericos* in that rule, without distinction.

Away, then, with this graceless facing of wilful frauds in your faithless secretaries; which have also fetched two Canons out of Carthage to Wormes: and learn to be ashamed of your gross falsifications, and injurious expurgations: else, doubtless, the world will be ashamed of you.

SECT. II.

I DID but name Huldericus's Epistle in mine, as a witness; not as the foundation of my cause. My Refuter spends but one and thirty whole pages upon him †: how, else, should he have made a volume?

In all this, what says he? Little, in many words; and the same words thrice over, for failing.

And, first, he wonders at my extreme prodigality of credit, and searedness of conscience, in citing an Epistle so convicted by Bellarmin, Baronius, Eckius, Faber, Fitz-Simons the Jesuit, and others.

Why doth he not wonder, that the moon will keep her pace in the sky, while so many dogs bark at her below? When these Proctors of Rome have said their worst, there is more true authority in the very face of this Letter, and better arguments in the body of it, than in a hundred Decretal Epistles which he adoreth. Let the world wonder rather at his shamelessness, who, relating the occasion of this fable, as he terms it, feigns it to be only a Lutheran fiction, to cover their incestuous marriages: whereas, their own Cardinal, Æneas Sylvius, almost two hundred years ago, mentions it, and reports the argument of it: whereas, it is yet extant, as Illyricus, in the libraries of Germany: whereas, Hedio found an ancient copy of it in Holland: and our John Bale, Archbishop Parker, B. Jewell, Jo. Fox, had a copy of it, remarkable for reverend antiquity, in aged parchment, here in England; which I hope to have the means to produce: whereas, lastly, the very style importeth age. As well may he question all the records of their Vatican, all report of histories, all histories of times. He, that would doubt whether such an Epistle were written, may as well doubt, whether Pope Zachary wrote to B. Boniface, in Germany, a direction when to eat bacon; may doubt, whether Paul the Fifth wrote to his Eng-

* Refut. pp. 246 and 249. † Refut. pp. 252, to 282.

lish Catholics, to persuade them not to swear they would be good subjects; may doubt, whether spider-catcher, corner-creeper C. E., pseudo-catholic Priest, wrote a scurrilous letter of above two quire of paper, in a twelve-years'-answer to three leaves of J. H. It is not more sure, that there is a Rome; or that Gregory and Nicholas sat there; than that such an Epistle was written thither, above seven hundred years ago. It was extant of old, before ever those Lutheran quarrels were hatched. Let him therefore go fish for frogs in the pond of his Gregory, while he derives thence the vain pleas of improbability.

If there were differences in relating the circumstances of that story (as, I know none) must it needs thereupon be false? Which of their histories is not liable to variety of report? To begin with the first: the succession of Linus, and Cletus, and Clemens, is diversely reported: is there no truth in it? To end with the last: the title of Paul the Fifth to the Chair of Peter in the lawfulness of his election, is diversely reported: hath he, therefore, no true claim to his seat? But who ever placed Gregory's pond in Sicily? This is one of the fittings of his Fitz-Simons. If other authors have mentioned this narration, then all the strength of this history lieth not on Hulderick: if none besides him, his words vary not. These are but tricks to outface truth.

The Epistle, in spite of contradiction, is so ancient: and what care we then for names? Whether it were St. Udalrick, or Hulderick, or Volusianus, we labour not much. Let it be the task of idle critics, to dispute who was Hecuba's mother, and what was her age. No less vain is my Refuter, that spends many waste words about his St. Udalrick; in shewing the difference of time, betwixt him and Pope Nicholas: the one dying anno 869; the other being born 890: and proving, out of his obscure Sorbonist, Monchiacenus, that there were five Bishops of Auspurge, betwixt the times of the one and the other: whereby a simple reader might easily be deluded; and drawn to think, there is nothing but impossibility and untruth in our report: whereas, there is nothing in all this peremptory and colourable flourish of his, but mere cogging or misprision: for both Illyricus apart, and the Centurists, and Chemnitius (all Germans, that should be best acquainted with the state of their own) have long since told him, that his St. Udalrick was not the man whom they held the author of this Epistle, but Hulderick, another; not much different in name, but differing in time above seventy years. *Ne nominis æquivocatio lectorem turbet;* and "lest the equivocation of the name," saith Chemnitius*, "should trouble the reader; there is another Udalrick of Augusta, whom Aventine writes to have died, anno 973: but this Hulderick, Æneas Sylvius writes to have died, anno 900; and in the year of his age, 83." Thus he; from the authority of two, their famousest historians; from whose account Onuphrius differs not much.

But, that my Refuter may hereafter save the labour of scanning

* Chem. Hist. de Cælibatu.

their discordant computations, whether it were either or neither of them, it is not worth to us one hair of his crown: since, with our faithful and learned Fox *, we rather, from the authority of ancient English copies, ascribe it to Volusianus; whose second Epistle also, in the same style, to the same purpose, is extant from the same records, not inferior to the former.

What matters it for the name, when it appears that the Epistle itself is truly ancient, ponderous, reverend, theological, convictive; and such, as the best Romans' heads cannot, after seven hundred years, shape a just answer unto? Even in some canonical books, though there be difference in the names of the penmen, there is full assent to their divine authority: and why is it not so in human?

Thus, then, we have easily blown away these light bubbles of discourse, which our adversary hath raised out of the nutshell of his computation; from the age, person, writings of his St. Udalrick; and return his *impuram nescio cujus nebulonis Epistolam*, with his *ferrei oris* and *plumbei cordis*, back whence it came; to the writer, cited by my adversary, not named; but, by better due to the next hand, whereto I am no whit beholding for leaving it unenglished. In that, C. E. spared not me, but himself. Who is *nescio quis*; but he, that leapeth into the press without a name? Who *nebulo*; rather than he, that masketh and marcheth *sub nebulâ*; hoping to pass in the conflict for a doughty knight or champion Sconosciuto, not daring to lift up his beaver? Who writes *impuram Epistolam*; but he, that hath scribbled a voluminous Epistle, to cry down pure and honourable marriage, for the enhancing of impure celibate? not that, *in thesi*, celibate is impure; but *in hypothesi*, theirs, forced and hypocritical.

SECT. III.

As for the difference, that he finds in our number of Pope Nicholas; whether First, or Second, or Third; we may thank his Gratian; whose fashion it is, as likewise Sigebert's, to name the Popes, without the note of their number. We are sure it was not Nicholas *Nemo*, which wrote to Odo, Bishop of Vienna; reproving him for giving leave to Alvericus, a Deacon, to marry: thereupon sending his contrary decree to the German Churches; which it seems, or the like imposition, gave occasion to this noble Epistle.

But, can there be any game amongst our English Popish Pamphleteers, where the fox is not in chase? Where is the shame of this Roman Priest, while he so manifestly belies our holy, reverend, worthy Master Fox; whom this Scoganly pen dare say plays the goose, in the inconstancy of his relation of this Nicholas; first reporting him the First, then the Second: when it is most manifest in the during Monuments of that industrious and excellent author, that

* Act. et Mon. p. 1055.

he still insists upon Nicholas the Second; rejecting, by many arguments, the opinion of them, which have referred it to the First? Such truth there is in shorne crowns. John Huss was a goose, by name; and now, John Fox is a goose, by reproach. Two such geese are more worth, than all the fawning curs of the Roman Capitol.

And, how much more wit than fidelity is there in my Detector; while he would prove that Pope Gregory had then no pond, because there are now no ponds at Rome? As if Rome were now, in any thing, as it was: as if twelve hundred years had made no alteration: as if the streets of Troy were not now champaign *: as if his Lipsius could now find Rome in Rome: as if, lastly, that man were uncapable of a large pond, whose Sea is universal.

As for the number of children's heads, I can say no more for it, than he can against it. This history shall be more worth to us, than his denial. But this I dare say, that I know persons, both of credit and honour, that saw betwixt fifty and threescore, cast up out of the little mote of an abbey where I now live †. Let who list cast up the proportion.

After the refusal of this worthy Epistle, according to his fashion he tries to disgrace it with us; telling us, that therein the Bishop of Rome is styled Supreme Head and Governor of the whole Church. If it were thus, so much more powerful is the testimony against them, by how much more the witness was theirs. There must needs be much cause, when he, that so humbly over-titles the person, resists the doctrine so vehemently. But, the truth is, that the Epistle styles Pope Nicholas no otherwise in the superscription, than *Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Provisorem:* "Overseer of the Holy Roman Church." And, in the body of the Letter, *Summæ Sedis Pontificem;* "Bishop of the Chief See; to whom the examination of the common affairs of the Church doth appertain;" which is far other, than, in the now Roman sense, the Supreme Head of the Church.

Secondly, he tells us, that this Epistle both grants and allows a vow of continency: *Nullum excipit, nisi professorem continentiæ;* "He excepts none, but a professor of continence:" wherein we are no other than friends: we yield no less; where there is good evidence of the gift and calling of God. But, while our Volusian grants the professor of continency bound, and pleads the Clergy to be free; how plainly doth he shew us, that there was no such vow, then required of, no such made by the Clergy!

But what needs the man to be so furiously angry ‡ with the good old Epistler, for saying, that the Apostle's charge, *Let every one have his own wife*, is general to all; reaching to the Clergy, as well as the Laity; excepting none, but those, which have the gift of continency? What logic, the want whereof he sometimes causelessly

* *Nunc seges est ubi Troia fuit.*
† Vid. quæ supra, l. i. sect. 12. Histor. Radulphi Bourn, &c.
‡ Refut. p. 272.

objecteth to me, ever taught him, that ἕκαστος, *unusquisque*, *every one*, was any other than universal? Or what other sense can be put upon the words of the Apostle? Could I as truly upbraid Sir Refuter with reading the logic lesson, as he doth me with the rhetoric, surely I should not now be put to the pains to teach this novice, that ἕκαστος, *unusquisque*, is a term of collective universality, and must be extended to all; where kind is excepted tacitly, *ex naturâ rei*, as this case must needs be acknowledged to be; foreprizing none, but such as have the gift of continency; which St. Paul toucheth upon in that chapter.

Judge then, reader, whether the Catholic Bishop that wrote this, or the Mis-Catholic Mass-Priest that reproves it, be more worthy of Bedlam.

SECT. IV.

Lastly, yet, as if, in the loose, he would shake hands and be friends with him, whom he had so long defied, he thus closes up *: "Then, if Priests have this gift, and have prefixed this course to themselves in the Lord, they shall not need to marry: and this is the case of all Clergymen, who vow chastity." Thus he.

Believe him, readers, if ye can. All the Romish Clergy, all votaries have the gift of continency. Witness our foresaid Volusianus, in the same period: *Multos ejusdem consilii assentatores, hominibus non Deo pro falsâ specie continentiæ placere volentes, graviora vides committere; patrum, scilicet, uxores subagitare, masculorum ac pecudum amplexus non abhorrere.* I will not English it, for shame. Would God the world did not too well find, still, these proofs of Romish chastity!

Nunc etiam Romæ quidlibet audet Amor †.

But, as one, that thinks no man can be his friend, except also he be our enemy; like a true make-bait, he will tell us a tale in our ear, that shall set a perpetual jar betwixt us and our Hulderick.

"I wis," says my Refuter ‡, "your Udalrick is not the man you take him for: for thus he there writes to the Pope: 'Wherefore, O Reverend Father, it shall be your part to cause and oversee, that whosoever, either with hand or mouth, hath made a vow of continency, (as all Clergymen in Holy Orders have) and, afterwards, would forsake the same; should be either compelled to keep his vow, or else by lawful authority should be deposed from his Order.'" So he.

But we are not so light of belief, to lose a friend, thus easily. Know then, reader, that the parenthesis §, which is the harshest

* Refut. p. 273. † Propert. ‡ Refut. p. 274.
§ ("As all Clergymen in Holy Orders have.")

piece of this clause, is foisted into the text, and forged by this Caviller: the quite contrary whereof is affirmed in the former period of our Udalrick; where thus he writes: *Non parùm quippe, &c.* "From this holy discretion thou hast not a little swerved, when as thou wouldst have those Clergymen, whom thou oughtest only to advise to abstinence from marriage, compelled unto it by a certain imperious violence. For is not this justly, in the judgment of all wise men, to be accounted violence, when as, against the Evangelical Institution and the charge of the Holy Ghost, any man is constrained to the execution of private decrees? The Lord, in the Old Law, appointed marriage to his Priest, which he is never read afterwards to have forbidden." So he.

Let my Refuter then reconcile his false parenthesis with the true text; which he can never do, since it directly crosseth the whole scope of Hulderick's Epistle: and then he shall see us easily reconcile Hulderick's proposition with ours.

But, not so long to delay my reader's satisfaction, the truth is, the author pleads for an indifferent immunity of Clergymen from the necessity of this vow: else, the Epistle were contradictory to itself: for, if he suppose that all the Clergy had vowed, and all that had vowed should be compelled to keep their vow, how could he plead that the Clergy should not be compelled to continence? The drift of Hulderick or Volusian, then, is, that it may be equally lawful, equally free for Priests, either to vow or not to vow continency: which granted, if any one, having liberty not to have vowed or observed it, shall notwithstanding "prefix this course to himself in the Lord*," out of a long-settled experience and assurance of this calling and gift of God; and now, when he hath thus engaged himself to the expectation of the Church, *voluerit apostatare*, "shall be froward wantonly to abandon this vow," willingly neglecting all good means for the continued observation thereof; such a one shall be liable either to compulsion or deposition: as now, if any one of ours should, in the midst of freedom, bind himself by a voluntary vow; it were pity and shame, that he should play fast and loose, at pleasure, with impunity.

What wool then is here worthy of this cry? or, wherein hath our author offended us? while we neither make this vow; nor can, therefore, ever break it; nor ever allowed the breakers of so-made vows, guiltless?

One quarrel yet, he cannot remit† to Master Fox, and me; that, for this fore-named Hulderick, we cite Æneas Sylvius, in his Germania; a book, that never was.

This great *helluo librorum* hath wearied all libraries; and consulted with his Tritemius and Possevine: neither of them mention any such work of Æneas Sylvius: whereas, if he had but taken the book next the door, Gesner's Bibliotheca, he had found, if at least he could have seen the wood for trees, Sylvius's Germania; which, for failing, he might have heard of in a double edition: the one,

* *Præfixit hoc sibi in Domino.* Ibid. † Refut. p. 276.

larger; the other, more contracted. The first, Gesner expresses thus: *Extat ejusdem 'Germania,' quâ continentur Gravamina Nationis Germanicæ, et Confutatio eorundem, cum Replicâ:* "There is extant the same author's 'Germania,' wherein are contained the Grievances of the German-Nation, and a Confutation of the same, with a Reply." The latter is, *Æneæ Sylvii 'Germania' excerpta, &c.* "The 'Germania' of Æneas Sylvius, gathered out of that book, wherein the Grievances of the German-Nation objected to the See of Rome, by Martin Mere, a Lawyer of Mentz, are refelled."

See now, reader, whether my Refuter can blush. In the one of these, which, after denial, he confesseth to have seen, he finds somewhat, that likes him not. Sylvius, speaking of Auspurge, *Sanctus Udalricus huic præsidet*, saith he *, *qui Papam arguit de concubinis:* "Udalrick is the Saint of that city, who reproved the Pope concerning concubines." The bone lies before him; let him pick out the marrow as he can: which because he finds hard to break, he casts it from him in a chafe; and tells us, for the last refuge, he hath seen a printed copy, and two manuscripts, without these words; *In verbo Sacerdotis.* And so just have we found him of his word, all this while; that he were hard-hearted, that would not believe him.

SECT. V.

But, still, I am taken tardy in my time; or, rather, do over-take. I reckon this liberty to have continued in Germany after Hulderick, for some 200 years; "Whereas, betwixt St. Udalrick and Gregory the Seventh, were but 112 years †."

But, still, his Saint deceives him; and, if I should have erred, his own chronologers should have deceived me. For his Onuphrius, in his Ecclesiastical Chronicle, makes our Hulderick Bishop of Auspurge, in the beginning of Pope Nicholas, anno 859. And his Sigebert, and other chroniclers, cast Gregory the Seventh's opposition to Priests' marriage, upon the year 1074. Where now is my error? where is my over-reaching? Count it, reader; and see, whether I cannot make my word good, and give him fifteen years into the bargain: and now judge whether of us may say, *Non sat commodè divisa sunt temporibus tibi, Dave, hæc;* and whether of us it is, from whom nothing cometh, savouring of any learning or truth: and, if thou thinkest it fit, blush for him.

The like, I fear, willing error ‡, upon the same ground, is the mis-calculation of the times of Leo the Ninth, and Nicholas the Second; betwixt whose times and Udalrick, he makes but fifty years: abating one other half of the hundred, to expose me to the laughter of his credulous clients; which may now say, "Lo the man, which, in a reckoning of 200 years, did out-lash but 150:"

* In suâ Germ. Illyr. Catal. Test. l. xix. Æneas. † Refut. p. 280.
‡ Refut. p. 281.

when as, both their Sigebert, and Hermannus Contractus, (and who not?) make Leo the Ninth, Pope an. 1049; and Nicholas the Second, some ten years after him. The very elder whereof, if we reckon to Hulderick, an. 859. will be in no less than 190 years' distance. The man wanted either counters, or wit, or honesty. Truth, I am sure he wants.

SECT. VI.

ANTICHRIST, which was conceived in the primitive times, saw the light, in Boniface the Third; and was grown to his stature and ἀκμή, in Gregory the Seventh. So as I might well say, that the body of antichristianism, together with the prohibition of marriage, began to be complete in that Hildebrand. The times accord better, than our Papists would have them. After a thousand years, Satan was loosed: at that very time, did this Hildebrand, otherwise Gregory, by the instigation of the Devil, as himself confessed at his death, (witness Cardinal Benno, and Sigebert) trouble the Church: belike, with the violent obtrusion of this *Doctrine of Devils* (prohibition of marriage) and insolent detrusion of imperial authority.

It is, then, but a Sardonian laughter, that my Refuter takes up * at our Complete Antichrist; whose supparasitation may, one day, cost him tears and gnashing.

But, Good God! what Saints hath the Roman Church! Hildebrand is one of their Calendar: the legend of whose Holiness shall anon make any man, save C. E., ashamed.

Since it will be no better, *perge mentiri.* I am now charged † with a fair contradiction; while I am accused to say, that the liberty of Priests' marriages was universal, for a thousand years; and yet had before granted, that, in Stephen the Second's time, which was two hundred and forty years before, the Western Clergy was restrained. In all which he persuades his friends, that I would fain lie grossly, if my memory would let me. Reader, do but review my words. These they are: "After him," that is, Hulderick, "so strongly did he plead and so happily," that, "for two hundred years more, this freedom still blessed those parts." I speak of Germany; he, of Italy: I speak of those parts; he, of all. Is not this a logical and faithful refutation?

Yet more: this bold and false hand dares write ‡, that Leo the Ninth and Nicholas the Second "never meddled with the prohibition of these marriages: only, the one made a decree against harlots; the other, against concubines:" neither of which, he hopes, we will apply to ourselves. We are so used to these impudent assertions, that now we cease to wonder at them.

Let him tell me, what was that Epistle, which Leo the Ninth

* Refut. p. 283. † Refut. p. 284. ‡ Refut. p. 285.

wrote to Peter the Hermit? whose very title is * *Incontinentiam Clericorum detestatur, et puniendam describit:* "He detests the incontinency of Clerks, and writes to have it punished." The Epistle is bitter, like my libeller's. And, lest he should say we guiltily take to ourselves the imputation of incontinency, it is bent against *quadrimodam carnalis contagionis pollutionem*, "a fourfold pollution of Clergymen;" whereof one he will not sure deny to be marriage.

Let him tell me, what was done under Leo, in the Council of Mentz, about the year 1049, of which, Adam Bremensis, who was there present, writes † *Simoniaca hæresis et nefanda Sacerdotum conjugia holographâ Synodi manu perpetuò damnata est:* that is, "The heresy of Simony, and the wicked marriages of Priests, by the consent of the Synod was condemned." Is this nothing done by his Leo; the *Leo rugiens* of that time?

As for his Nicholas the Second ‡; good man, he did nothing, neither! Only he stained women, as honest as himself, with the name of concubines: and men, more holy than himself, with the name of Nicolaitans; whom he must needs love for the name's-sake: and an estate of life, as holy as his own, with the name of "filthy copulation." Let his Pope's shameful decrees, and his shameless lies, go both together for company, whence they came.

SECT. VII.

YET, still the further we go, the worse. My Refuter surpasses himself, in the prizes that he plays for his Pope Gregory the Seventh; who first, he saith §, did not ruin this liberty of marriages.

Let Vincentius, and Radulphus de Diceto, and Sigebert ‖ speak for us both: *Uxoratos Sacerdotes à divino, &c.*: "He removed married Priests from their function, and forbad the people to hear their Masses: a new example; and, as many thought, inconsiderately prejudicial against the judgment of the Hol Fathers, &c." But he fully prevailed not: saith my Refuter. What thank is that to him? he did his best; and kindled those coals, that could never yet be quenched. He led the way to his Urban the Second, and Paschall the Second. They followed him, and prevailed. The broils were his, if not the victory.

Gratum opus scortatoribus: saith Aventine; "Aventine," saith my Refuter ¶, "a late gospelling brother." For us, we are glad of the fraternity of so worthy an author, whom Beatus Rhenanus gratulates to his Germany; and calls *Eruditissimum Aventinum;*

* Ap. Conc. Epist. Leon. ix. Binius. † Adam. Brem. l. iii. c. 31. Bin. Not. in Synod. Mogunt. ‡ Refut. p. 286. § Refut. p. 287.

‖ Chron. Sigebert. Ann. 1074. Polydor. Virg. *Exemplo, post homines natos, importunissimo. Ex quâ re tam grave oritur scandalum, ut, nullius hæresis tempore, sancta Ecclesia graviore schismate scissa sit.* Sigeb. ibid.

¶ Refut. p. 288.

" Most learned Aventine;" and *Variarum cognitione disciplinarum præstantem;* " Excelling in the knowledge of all variety of learning:" and Erasmus. *Hominem studio indefatigabili, ac reconditæ lectionis;* " A man of unwearіable pains, and deep reading." Lastly, whom his just epitaph styles, *Rerum antiquarum indagatorem sagacissimum;* " A most diligent and accurate searcher of antiquities."

But, the truth is, no man, by his history, can tell his religion. The Canons of Augusta praise him, for the light he gives to the institutions of their monasteries. And, when he speaks of the shrines of Berg, Valentia, and Halle, I am sure he mentions them with too Popish devotion; and when of Jo. Huss and Jerome of Prague, he taxes them with *crimen irreligiositatis.* Yet this man, born anno 1466, when he but speaks a famous truth of Hildebrand and the German Clergy, he is become "a late gospelling brother." Still, let us have brethren, that care more for their honesty, than their faction.

Neither yet, to give the Devil his due *, do we think so ill of those enemies of married chastity, that they did purposely enact laws of unmarried looseness; but, that all abominable filthiness did follow upon the restraint of lawful remedies, who sees not? Sigebert himself, their own monk, freely acknowledges it †. John Haywood, our old epigrammatist, told Queen Mary, her Clergy was saucy: if they had not wives, they would have lemans. Where there is not the gift of holy continency, how could it be otherwise? Where the water is dammed up, and yet the stream runs full, how can it choose but rise over the banks? There is purity, therefore, out of wedlock; but, not out of continence.

And, what needed my Detector to travel so far as England ‡, for an example of incontinency, in a King Henry, or any wife of his, whether falsely or truly objected: when he might have looked nearer the centre of their Church; and have found his own Pope John, in the very time now questioned for this prohibition, killed by the Devil in the act of adultery with another man's wife§? This end of the wallet hangs behind him.

SECT. VIII.

HILDEBRAND, as I learned of Aventine, is as much as *tilio amoris;* " The brand of Love." But, how little he differed in name or na-

* Refut. p. 289.

† *Porro continentiam paucis tenentibus, aliquibus eam modò causâ quæstûs ac jactantiæ simulantibus, multis incontinentiam perjurio aut multiplici adulterio cumulantibus, &c.* Sigeb. An. 1074.

‡ Refut. p. 291.

§ *Io. autem Papa se cum uxore cujusdam oblectans, à Diabolo in tempore percutitur.* Sigeb. An. 963.

ture from Hellebrand, *titio infernalis*; "Brand of Hell;" as Chemnitius calls him, his history shews too well.

And, is it possible, that any man should rise up *, after so many hundred years, to canonize St. Hildebrand, even in that, for which he condemned himself?

My reader must know the man a little, from the witness of his own Conclave; his Cardinal Benno, Arch-priest of the Roman Church, then living. Others, besides, tell of his beginnings in wicked necromancy, and murderous underminings, and tyrannical swaying of the Keys, ere he had them. Benno tells how he got them; how he used them, gotten: he got them by fraud, money, violence; used them, with tyranny.

There was a knot and a succession of necromancers, in those days. Gerbertus, which was Silvester the Second, was the master of the school. His chief scholars in the black art, were Theophylactus, afterwards changed into Pope Benedict; and Laurentius; and Gratianus. These were the tutors of Hildebrand's younger times, of whom he learned both magic and policy.

It is a world to see what work these magicians made, like the ill spirits they raised, in Church and Commonwealth; opposing Emperors; setting up what Popes they pleased; poisoning whom they disliked.

At last, it came to Hildebrand's turn to take the Chair. "To which purpose †, he separated first the Bishops from the Cardinals averse from him. When he had done, he compelled them, by terror and force, to swear unto his part: which done, he was elected, in spite of the Canons, only by lay persons, by soldiers. He expelled the Cardinals; rashly excommunicated the Emperor, of his own head, without any canonical accusation, without subscription of any Cardinal; hired a bloody villain to murder the emperor; consulted with the oracle of his breaden God, which, because it answered not, he cast it into the fire. He exercised most horrible cruelties upon many; hanging up men, at his pleasure, unconvicted." In a word, *Quantis hæresibus mundum corruperit, &c!* saith Benno, in his conclusion, "His heresies, his perjuries, can scarce be described by many pens." *Clamat tamen altiùs, &c.* "But the Christian blood, shed by his instigation and command," saith he, "cries yet louder to God: yea, the blood of the Church, which the sword of his tongue, in a miserable prodition, hath shed, cries out against him; for which things, the Church did most justly depart from all communion with him." Thus Benno: who yet, to make amends, tells us ‡, that Hildebrand, upon his death-bed, repented of these lewd courses; and sent to the Emperor and the

* Refut. p. 293. † Benno Cardin. Vita Hildebr.

‡ So our Rogerus Cestrens. l. vii. *Papa Hildebrandus, laborans in extremis, vocavit ad se Cardinalem, quem plùs dilexerat; et confessus est, se suscitasse odium et schisma inter Imperatorem et alios Christianos, unde dissoluit vincula hominum et obiit.*

Church, to cry them mercy: confessing, as Sigebert reports, that he had, by the suasion of the Devil, raised these wicked tumults.

Yet, this is the man, whom Bellarmin will justify by seven and twenty authors; and C. E. can add* two more to the heap; yea, in those very things, for which he condemned himself.

Reader, if one of his evil spirits should have stept into Peter's Chair, do ye think he could have wanted Proctors? But, how good an account we were like to have of seven and twenty authors, if it would requite the cost to examine them, appears, in that Lambertus Schafnaburgensis, which is cited for the man that magnifies the miracles of this Gregory, says not one such word of him; but speaks, indeed, the like of one Anno, Archbishop of Coleine, who lived and died in the time of Gregory†.

As for Gregory's miracles, Benno the Cardinal tells us what they were: that he raised devils familiarly; that he shaked sparks of fire out of his sleeve by his magic: a trick, that well beseemed a Hellebrand, who set all the world on fire by his wicked impetuosity. We will not envy Rome this Saint: let them enjoy him: let them celebrate him; and cry down Henry the Emperor, and all that opposed him. Still may such as these be the tutelar gods of that holy city. For us, it is comfort enough to us, that our marriages had such a persecutor.

That the Churches did hereupon ring of him for Antichrist, Aventine is my author‡. *Pro concione, &c:* "In their sermons," saith he, "they did curse Hildebrand: they cried out on him, as a man transported with hatred and ambition." *Antichristum esse prædicant:* "They declared him to be Antichrist. They said, that, under the colourable title of Christ, he did the service of Antichrist§: that he sits in Babylon, in the temple of God; and is advanced above all that is called God." So he.

And, little better is that, which his Schafnaburgensis, so much extolled by C. E., recordeth‖: *Adversus hoc decretum infremuit tota factio Clericorum, &c.* "Against this decree," saith he, "all the whole faction of Clergymen fretted and mutinied: accusing him, as a heretic, and a man of perverse opinion; who, forgetting the word of Christ, which said, *All men cannot receive this*, did, by a violent exaction, compel men to live in the fashion of angels."

To which if I should add the sentence of the Synod of Wormes, and that of Brixia, my reader would easily see, that it is not the applause of some devoted pen, that can free him from these foul imputations of deserved infamy.

That untruth then cleared, another belike hangs upon the score. My Refuter charges me¶ with falsehood, in saying, that Gregory the Seventh was deposed by the French and German Bishops. "Only the Germans," he saith, "were actors in that tragedy." But, if not at Wormes, yet let him tell me what was done at Brixia, and by whom: *Quamobrem Italiæ, Germaniæ, Galliæ Pon-*

* Refut. p. 295, usque ad 306.
† Lamb. Schafnab. Hist. Rerum German.
‡ Refut. p. 306, usque ad 309.
§ *Antichristi negotium agitat.*
‖ Lamb. Schafnaburg. l. de Rebus German.
¶ Refut. p. 307.

tifices, &c. "Wherefore," saith Aventinus, "the Bishops of Italy, Germany, and France, the seventh of the calends of July, met at Brixia in Bavaria, and sentenced Hildebrand to have spoken and done against Christian piety, &c. and condemned him of heresy, impiety, sacrilege, &c."

And, that my Refuter may find himself answered, at once, to the last of his cavils, wherein he pleads * that this deposition was not so much as pretended for the inhibition of these marriages, but for other causes, let him see the copy of the judgment passed against him in the said Council: wherein, after the accusation of his simoniacal † climbing into the Chair, the vice which he pretended most to persecute in others; his forcible possession; his heresy; his machinations against the emperor; his perverting of the laws both of God and men; his false doctrines, sacrileges, perjuries, lies, murders, by him suborned and commended; his tyranny; his setting of discord betwixt brethren, friends, cousins: it follows, *Inter conjuges divortia facit: suavis homo Sacerdotes, qui uxores habent legitimas, sacrificos esse pernegat: interim, tamen, scortatores, adulteros, incestuosos aris admovet, &c.* "He causes divorces betwixt man and wife: the fine man denies those Priests, which have lawful wives, to be Priests at all: in the mean time, he admits to the altar whoremongers, adulterers, incestuous persons, &c." *Nos ergo:* "We, therefore, by the authority of Almighty God, pronounce him deposed from his Popedom."

Thus Aventine specifies the Decree; which alone, without commentary, without enforcement, answers all the frivolous exceptions of my wordy adversary.

So as now, to return his epilogue, he hath sent back my ten pretended lies ‡, with the unreasonable and inverted usury of well-near a hundred. *Pauperis est numerare.*

SECT. IX.

FROM foreign parts, I return at last to our own. So, I fear, hath C. E. done, long since; lurking somewhere in England, for no good. These fugitives love not home more, than their home hath cause to hate them.

His cavils, of the wondrous contradiction betwixt my margin and my text §, are too childish to be honoured with an answer. My text was: "The bickerings of our English Clergy with their Dunstans, about this time, are memorable."

My margin cites Henry of Huntingdon, affirming Anselm to be the first, that forbad marriage.

"Betwixt these two," saith my Refuter, "was a hundred years' difference." I grant it: but, had my words been thus, if my Refuter were not disposed to seek a knot in a rush, he had easily known, that, in a general survey of all ages, the phrase "about that

* Refut. pp. 310, 311. † The virtues of C. E's. Saint.
‡ Refut. p. 316. § Refut. p. 317.

time" admits much latitude; and will easily stretch, without any strain, to one whole century of years. Had the quotation been as he pleadeth, this answer were sufficient: but, my words need no such reconciliation. I stand to the censure; and disclaim the mercy of any reader: for that citation of Anselm hath plain reference to the following words; "Our histories testify, how late, how repiningly," our Clergy "stooped under this yoke." It is for this, that my margin points to Henry Huntingdon and Fabian, reporting Anselm the first man, that prohibited these marriages *.

What contradiction now can his acuteness detect in these two? The English Clergy had bickerings with their Dunstans; and stooped late and repiningly to this yoke under Anselm. See, reader, and admire the equal truth and logic of a Catholic Priest; and judge, how well he bestoweth his pages!

SECT. X.

It is true †, Dunstan was the man, who first, with his other two cousins and partners in canonization ‡, opposed any appendance of the married Clergy. He wrought it with good King Edgar, by dreams, and visions, and miracles. He, who, when the Devil came to tempt him to lust, caught him by the nose with a hot pair of tongs, and made him roar out for mercy §, supposed that every Clergyman had the same irons in the fire; and therefore blew the coals to that good King, of the dislike of these Clerical marriages; and, with the same breath, enkindled the zeal of Monkery. The Church, wherein I am now interested; and wherein I do, by the providence of God and the bounty of my gracious master, succeed their St. Oswald's Priors; yields me sufficient records hereof: which, because they are both worthy of public light, and give no small light to the business in hand, I have thought good here to insert.

Nomina Fundatorum Ecclesiæ Wigorniensis. Tempore Ethelredi Regis, &c.—constituta est Sedes Episcopalis Wigorn. Bosel Episcopus primus.—Septimus decimus, Sanctus Oswaldus; tempore cujus Edgarus Rex dedit &c.—Mediante verò Beato Oswaldo, à Clericis in Monachos translata est Sedes Pontificalis honoris: "The names of the Founders of the Church of Worcester. In the time of King Ethelred, &c.—was Worcester made an Episcopal See. Bosel was the first Bishop.—The 17th was St. Oswald; in whose time King Edgar gave, &c.—And, by the mediation of St. Oswald, was this Cathedral Church translated from married Clerks unto Monks."

* If the reader turn to vol. vii. p. 155, (note ‖) he will find that I have fallen into the same error as the author's adversary, in connecting the note with what precedes, rather than with what follows: and, as there is no mark in the original edition to denote to which clause it refers, this is another instance, among a multitude, which justifies the representation given in the note at p. 75 of this volume. EDITOR.

† Refut. p. 318. ‡ Oswald and Ethelwold.

§ Gul. Malmesb. In Legend, &c.

Then follows the charter of King Edgar founding the Monks, with this title, *Carta Regis Eadgari, de Oswaldeslaw.*

ALTITONANTIS Dei largiflua clementiâ, qui est Rex Regum et Dominus Dominantium, Ego, Eadgarus Anglorum Basileus; omnium regum insularum oceani, quæ Britanniam circumjacent, cunctarúmque nationum quæ infra eam includuntur, Imperator et Dominus; gratias ago ipsi Deo Omnipotenti Regi meo, qui meum imperium sic ampliavit, et exaltavit super regnum patrum meorum.—

Quapropter et ego, Christi gloriam et laudem in regno meo exaltare, et ejus servitium amplificare devotus disposui; et, per meos fideles fautores, Dunstanum videlicet Archiepiscopum, et Athelwoldum ac Oswaldum Episcopos, quos mihi patres spirituales et consiliarios elegi, magnâ ex parte secundum quod disposui perfeci.—

Et, ipsis supradictis meis cooperatoribus strenuè annitentibus, jam XL. et VII. Monasteria cum Monachis et Sanctimonialibus constitui: et, si Christus vitam mihi tam diu concesserit, usque ad quinquagessimum remissionis numerum meæ devotæ Deo munificentiæ oblationem protendere decrevi. Unde, nunc in præsenti, Monasterium, quod prædictus reverendus Episcopus Oswaldus in Sede Episcopali Wereceastre, in honorem Sanctæ Dei Genitricis Mariæ amplificavit; et, eliminatis Clericorum neniis et spurcis lasciviis, religiosis Dei servis, Monachis, meo consensu et favore, suffultus locavit; Ego ipsis Monasticæ Religionis viris, regali authoritate, confirmo, et consilio et astipulatione principum et optimatum meorum corroboro et consigno: ita ut, jam amplius, non sit fas neque jus Clericis, reclamandi quicquam inde; quippe qui magis elegerunt, cum sui Ordinis periculo et Ecclesiastici Beneficii dispendi, suis uxoribus adhærere, quàm Deo castè et canonicè servire. Et, ideo, cuncta, quæ illi de Ecclesiâ possederant, cum ipsâ Ecclesiâ, sive ecclesiastica sive secularia, tam mobilia quàm immobilia, ipsis Dei servis Monachis, ab hâc die perpetualiter, regiæ munificentiæ jure, deinceps possidenda trado et consigno; ita firmiter, ut nulli Principum nec etiam ulli Episcopo succedenti fas sit, aut licitum quicquam inde subtrahere aut pervadere, aut ab eorum potestate surripere, et in Clericorum jus iterùm traducere, quamdiu Fides Christiana in Angliâ perduraverit. Sed et dimidium centuriatum, &c.—

In the end dated thus: *Facta sunt hæc Anno Dominicæ Nativitatis, D.CCCC.LXIV: Indictione VIII: regni Eadgari, Anglorum Regis, VI: in regiâ urbe, quæ, ab incolis, Glouceastre nominatur: in Natale Domini.* In English thus.

"BY the bountiful mercy of Almighty God, which is King of Kings and Lord of Lords. I, Edgar King of England; and of all the kings of the islands of the ocean lying about Britain, and of all the nations that are included within it, Emperor and Lord; do give thanks to Almighty God my King, which hath enlarged my empire, and exalted it above the kingdom of my fathers.—

"Wherefore I also, having devoted myself to exalt the glory

and praise of Christ in my kingdom, and to enlarge his service, have intended; and, by my faithful well-willers, Dunstan Archbishop, Athelwold and Oswald Bishops, whom I have chosen for my spiritual fathers and counsellors, I have for the greatest part already performed what I intended, &c.—

"And, by the diligent endeavours of my foresaid helpers, I have now constituted and made seven and forty Monasteries with Monks and Nuns: and, if Christ shall give me to live so long, I have decreed to draw forth the oblation of this my devout munificence unto God to the full number of fifty, which is the number of my remission *. Whereupon, now for the present, I do, by my Royal Authority, confirm to persons of Monastical Religion, and by the consent and astipulation of my princes and peers do establish and consign to them, that Monastery, which the foresaid reverend Bishop Oswald, to the honour of the Blessed Mother of God, hath amplified in the Episcopal See of Wereceastre; and, expelling the wanton and filthy lasciviousness of Clerks, hath, by my consent and favour, bestowed it upon the religious servants of God, the Monks: so as, from henceforth, it shall not be lawful for the said Clerks, to challenge any thing therein; as those, which have rather chosen, with the danger of their Order and the loss of their Ecclesiastical Benefice †, to stick unto their wives, than chastely and canonically to serve God. And, therefore, all, that ever they possessed of the said Church, whether ecclesiastical or secular, moveable or unmoveable, together with the Church itself, I do, from this day forward for ever, give and consign to the said Monks, to be possessed of them, in the right of my royal munificence; so firmly, that it shall not be lawful for any Prince or any Bishop succeeding, to subtract ought from them, or to withdraw any of the premises from their power, and to deliver it back again to the right and possession of Clerks, so long as the Christian Faith shall remain in England, &c.—

"*Facta sunt hæc, &c.* These things were done in the year of Christ's Nativity, D.CCCC.LXIV: Indiction VIII: in the VIth year of the reign of Edgar, King of England: in the royal city, which, by the inhabitants, is named Glouceastre: in the feast of the Nativity of our Lord, &c."—

That Dunstan did this, none ever doubted.

But, withal, it is considerable, who himself was; an Abbot: and, therefore, partial to the Cloisters.

And who put him into this commission? Pope John, the Thirteenth; a monster of men, yea, of popes: one, who, as was articled against him in a General Council, had committed incest with two of his own sisters; who called to the Devil for his help, at dice; who deflowered virgins; who lay with Stephana, his father's con-

* So as it appears, this number was set to King Edgar, by Dunstan, for his penance.

† That is, their Prebend.

cubine; who drank to the Devil; besides many other horrible criminations: a man, fit to set a Saint on work, against lawful marriages!

And, thirdly, what the state of the times were; wherein liberty was degenerate into strange licentiousness. Even change of wives, if we may believe histories, was then no wonder: for the correcting whereof, the Reformers, according to the philosopher's advice, laboured towards the other extreme; as those, which, to straighten a stick, bow it as much the contrary way.

And, lastly, how far this act and endeavour extended. For Dunstan sought not to thrust married men out of the Clergy, but to thrust married Clergymen out of Cathedral Churches *, which required a quotidian attendance. Which is evident; both, by the sentence of Dunstan, *Aut Canonicè vivendum, aut ab Ecclesiâ exeundum;* "Either that they must live Canonically, or get out of the Church;" that is *ex Ecclesiis majoribus*, "from the greater Churches," as historians relate it: and, by the sentence of the Rood for Dunstan; *Mutaretis non benè.* How much difference there was in these two, appears in the decree of Bishop Lanfranc, Anselm's predecessor; which, tolerating married Seculars, drives directly against married Canons.

Little needed my Refuter then, but that he must have something to say, to fall upon † our right reverend and learned Bishop of Hereford, whose worthy labours have justly endeared him to all posterity, for that true comparison he makes, betwixt these three Saints of theirs and Anselm. They, by action; he, by Synodical Decree; persecuted the Clergy. They bent their endeavours against Cathedral Clerks; he, against Priests. Their project was particular; his, universal.

That a peremptory sentence passed generally against the marriage of ecclesiastics, in a public Synod under Dunstan, he refers us ‡ to Binius: which, at random, talks of *Concilium Anglicanum*, without all particulars of place or persons; and refers us to Surius, as if he had bidden us ask his fellow if he lie. Why did he not send us to Father Parsons, or his Gabriel Gifford? Sure, it was in some obscure hole of the Peak, or some blind dormitory of a convent: neither can we say of it, with the Apostle, *These things were not done in a corner.* The Canons, whereunto the fore-alleged charter and the sentence of Dunstan have reference, were no other than Romish; which these Monkish Prelates had persuaded King Edgar to receive; and, in part, to urge upon his married Prebendaries. The success of his Synod at Reading or Winchester, he knows well enough.

And is he ashamed of the miraculous sentence of his Holy-Rood (which Jornalensis reports) who there openly spake for the Monks against the Clergy, *(Absit ut hoc fiat!)* that he passes over § to that of Calne, where the falling of an over-charged floor, crushed

* *Expulit malos Presbyteros: introduxit pejores Monachos.* Polyd.
† Refut. p. 321. ‡ Refut. p. 319. § Refut. p. 321.

the marriage of Clergymen? Idle Monks! who, for their own turn, set such a superstitious gloss upon that accident! which, as Henry Hunting ton more probably interprets it *, was *Signum Excelsi Dei, quòd, proditione et interfectione regis sui, ab amore Dei casuri essent, et à diversis gentibus dignâ contritione conterendi:* "A sign from the High God, that by their treason and murder of their king," who was slain the year after, "they should fall from the favour of God, and be worthily crushed by other nations." Thus he.

Such was the event. For the construction of it, the reader may choose, whether he will believe an Archdeacon of Huntingdon, or a Monk of Malmesbury †. I wis these rotten joists are foundation enough whereon to build the prohibition of our marriages.

SECT. XI.

UNDER these late Romish Saints, Dunstan and Anselm, I might safely say our English Clergy found the first machinations against their marriage; and, at last, stooped perforce to this yoke of constrained continency.

Neither doth my wit, or my logic fail me in this collection ‡. If these were the men, that made the first opposition to the marriage of Clergymen in England, then it formerly obtained here, without contradiction. The bare word of my Refuter is a hot shot, to batter this necessary illation; and to assure the reader, that the forced celibate of the English Clergy is of greater antiquity than these his Saints.

To which he adds, in an ignorant begging of the question, "A thing so filthy, after a solemn vow to God, to take a wife, as it never appeared without the brand of infamy:" as if our predecessors in the English Clergy had been ever charged with a vow: as if the solemnity of this vow had never had beginning! Chimerical fancies, fit for a shorne head §! When as his master Harding could not produce so much as a probability of any vow, anciently required, or undertaken; whether by beck or Dieu-gard: when as the ancient Saxon Pontifical makes not the least mention of any such profession: yea, when Girardus, who was the second Bishop of York after the Conquest, writes flatly to Anselm concerning his own Canons, *Professiones verò mihi penitùs abnegant Canonici, &c.* "My Canons," saith he ||, "utterly deny to give me profession of continency, which, without this profession, have been disorderly advanced to Holy Orders." *Cùm verò ad Ordines aliquos invito, durâ cervice renituntur, ne in Ordinando castitatem profiteantur;* "And when I do invite any to take Orders, they do resist me very stubbornly, that they will make no profession of chastity in their Ordi-

* H. Hunt. l. v. † Gul. Malmes. ‡ Refut. p. 332.

§ D. Martin's arg. is, Priests' crowns signify their vow. No other proof can be brought worth talking of, but from the barber's shop.

|| Antiquit. Britan. Def. of Pr. Marr. p. 282.

nation." Thus he. Shewing us plainly, that the Clergy, in those times, challenged no other than the liberty of their predecessors. But, well may he face us down in this more obscure, though certain, truth; when he dares to say, that Greece itself never tolerated this estate in their Clergy: till, by bad life, it fell to schism; and, from schism, to open heresy: while their own Canon Law, besides all histories, gives him the lie; and what Espencæus * hath ingenuously spoken concerning this point, we have formerly shewed. If he did not presume upon readers, that never saw books, he durst not be thus impudent.

This argument, therefore, shall ever stand good, and shall scornfully trample upon all his vain cavils: Ethelwold was the first, which, by the command of King Edgar, expelled married Priests out of the old erection of Winchester †, Anno 963. Dunstan and Oswald, together with him, were the men, who, two years after, first expelled married Clergymen out of the greater houses of Merceland. As, 1177, in the days of King Henry the Second, the secular Prebendaries of Waltham were first turned out, to give way to their irregulars. Therefore, until these times, these places were uninterruptedly possessed by married Clergymen.

If now he shall except, that this possession of theirs was not of long continuance, but upon usurpation, whereby the married incumbents had injuriously encroached upon the right of Monks; our Monks of Worcester shall herein fully convince him: who write, under their Oswaldus Archiepiscopus ‡, *Per me fundatus fuit ex Clericis Monachatus;* that is, "By me were Monks first founded out of Clerks:" which was also the fashion of all other erections of this nature; so as it is manifest, that, originally, these Churches were founded in married Clergymen; afterwards, wrongfully translated from them to Monks. And, if the first possessors had been Monks §, how could Monks have been there first founded by Oswald; when as Ethelred had, long before, both founded and furnished it? and how out of Clerks, if Monks had been there before? Let my Refuter shew me but a verse of equal antiquity in a contrary rhyme,

Per me fundatus fuit ex
Monachis Clericatus,

and I yield him my argument: otherwise, let the world judge, if he be not shamelessly obstinate in not yielding.

* *Latinorum nemo, vel veterum vel recentiorum, inter Græcorum errores, aut hæreses, aut schismata, hanc conjugalis usûs retentionem supputavit; non Hugo Eterianus; non Tho. Aquinas; non Guido Carmelita, ad 26 licet hic numeraverit; non alius, qui vel obiter vel peculiariter de iis egerit.* Espenc. lib. i. cap. 4.

† *Apud Winton. et Monachos, loco Clericorum, primus instituit.* De Edgaro. Rogerus Cestrens. lib. vi.

‡ Oswald, Archbishop of York.

§ *A Clericis in Monachos translata est sedes Pontif. hon.* vid. supr.

SECT. XII.

But, to strike it dead, my adversary will prove the English Clergy ever to have been continent *. Reader, look now for demonstrations.

His first proof is, that in all the pursuit of this business, we never read of any, that did stand upon the former custom of the Church †." A proper argument, *ab authoritate negativè*. And, what other arguments doth my Detector find used by the then-persecuted Clergy? Histories record them not: therefore, doubtless, they said nothing for themselves; and, if they urged other proofs, which are not now descended to us by any relation, why not this for one? Who can but hiss out so silly sophistry? But, to stop that clamorous mouth, in this poor cavil; doth not his own Monk of Malmsbury ‡ tell him, that the Clergy urged this plea for themselves, *Ingens esse et miserabile dedecus, ut novus advena veteres colonos migrare compellerit, &c?* "That it was a great and miserable shame, that these upstarts, the Monks, should thrust out the ancient possessors of those places: that this was neither pleasing to God, which had given them that long-continued habitation; nor yet to any good man, who might justly fear the same hard measure, which was offered to them." Thus they: whose plea and complaint seemed so just, that Alfgina the Queen, Prince Alfere, and others of the nobility overthrew many of those new-founded Monasteries; and reinstalled the Priests, in their former right.

His next proof, is, from the Letters of Pope Gregory §, which he wrote to Austin the Monk, here in England. *Risum teneatis?* Did ever any man doubt, but that Pope Gregory was desirous to establish Romish laws and orders, amongst the English? Where yet his Legate found many, as good Christians as himself, under another rule, conform to the Greek Church. But how follows this? This Pope was willing to in-Romanize the English: therefore the staff stands in the corner. And yet even Pope Gregory allowed marriage to those of the English Clergy ‖, which were not within the higher Orders; appointing them to receive their stipends apart: a favour, which he saw necessarily to be yielded to our nation, while he abridged others.

From Gregory, he descends ¶ to Beda: a man doubtless venerable for his learning and virtue; but, as it is in his epitaph, *Monachorum nobile sidus;* "The noble star of Monks." Whether a neighbour, at least, to Italy, by birth, as they contend; I am sure a disciple of Abbot Benedict: and so great a fautor of the Roman Faction, that he censures St. Aidanus and Golmannus, for adhering to those Greek forms, which the Churches of this island had anciently followed; whose part Joannes Major justly takes against him.

* Refut. p. 324. † *Non est scriptum, ergo non est factum, &c.*
‡ Gul. Malmes. de Gest. Angl. l. ii. c. 9. § Refut. p. 325.
‖ Greg. Resp. ad Quæst. 2. Aug. ¶ Refut. p. 326.

This Beda, in a general speculation, speaks his conceit of the voluntary continency, which he holds requisite in the Priesthood; says nothing of the particular custom of the English Clergy; rather, in divers passages, insinuating the contrary. Amongst the rest, he tells us *, that, in the Synod, holden by Archbishop Theodorus and the other Bishops at Hereford, in the third year of King Egfride, which was about Anno 673, their tenth and last Canon was *pro conjugiis; ut nulli liceat, nisi legitimum habere connubium:* "For marriages; that no man should marry unlawfully; no man should commit incest; no man should leave his own wife, unless, as the Gospel teacheth, for fornication only, &c." I know, my Refuter will plead the universality of this Canon; and will contend, that a law generally made for all Christians, is not without injury restrained to ecclesiastics. But, let my reader well consider, both the prologue and epilogue of that Synod, he shall see, that they, who are required to keep these laws, are *Consacerdotes omnes;* and, that whosoever shall violate them, *Noverit se ab omni officio sacerdotali et nostrâ societate separatum;* "Must know himself separate from all sacerdotal office and society:" so as it will necessarily follow, that this law did, at least, concern the Clergy with others, though not apart. Neither is there any other of those Canons, which concerns not the Clergy only: except the first, concerning the observation of Easter; which principally also belonged to them. Whereto it makes not a little, that in the Book of Saxon Canons, set out for the governing of the Secular Priests, the rule is †, "Let them also do their endeavour, that they hold with perpetual diligence their chastity, in an unspotted body; or else let them be coupled with the bond of one matrimony:" words, wherein our Clergy meant to regulate themselves, as it seems, by the holy prescript of Isidore, whereof we have spoken. Lastly, my adversary cannot deny, that this Synod gives order for many accidental matters concerning the Clergy: for their fixed station; for their maintenance, &c. but, except in this Canon, there is no one word of their state of life: neither is there, in all those Canons, one syllable of this pretended celibate, as that, which the contrary received custom of our Church would never have endured. My Refuter dares not say, that these marriages were so quite out of use, that it was needless to ordain ought against them: he knows that his Dunstan found here this course so inveterate, that the very age and deep rooting of it hindered his designs.

SECT. XIII.

From Bede, he comes down ‡ to his three premised Saints, Dunstan, Oswald, and Ethelwold: and, to make sure work, cites an ob-

* Bed. Eccles. Hist. Ang. l. iv.

† I forbear the Saxon words, for lack of their characters. The reader shall find them cited in Saxon, by Mat. Parker. Def. of Pr. Mar.

‡ Refut. p. 328.

scure scholar of Ethelwold *, for an authentic witness against eight honest Priests, and the lawfulness of all Priests' marriages.

And, lastly, he makes up the mouth of his discourse † with the full decree of Archbishop Anselm Richard, in the Synods of London; and why not King Henry's Six Articles? and why not the Council of Trent? *Sic conclusum est contra hæreticos.*

Now, because his heart told him, how light these proofs were, he lays in the scales with them certain grave Ponderations; which, all put together, will prove almost as weighty as the feather he wrote withal.

The First is, that "there cannot be a greater national proof, than to have the Bishops and the King and his Nobility, to define and deliver this point with joint consent ‡."

Take this, reader, of King Edward the Sixth; and his Parliament and Convocation, and all is well. King Edgar's Utopical decree was hatched in a Monk's cowl. And, to his two King Henrys, he might have added Philip and Mary. And why might not we oppose King Edmund, to Edgar? and Osulphus his Bishop, to Dunstan? and the Clergy before Anselm, to the Clergy after him? This match were made with some indifferency.

But, how idly hath my Refuter mislaid the comparison betwixt Henry of Huntingdon and Fabian, on our part; and all the Clergy and Laity, of theirs! Since those two authors, if we had no more, report only, *de facto*, that Priests' marriages were not before forbidden; and the cited Clergy and Laity do now, thus late-ward, discuss *de jure*. Neither have the Clergy and Laity, by him alleged, ever contradicted that, which Huntingdon and Fabian have, out of the course of all story, affirmed.

Unto which, let me add Polydore Virgil §, seconding this their assertion; who plainly tells us, that, for 970 years, the restraint of marriage was never in use amongst the English Clergy. Search not for this, Reader, in the later editions, lest thou complain of lost labour. Poor Polydore may cry out of his grave, with that other Polydore in Virgil,

Fas omne abrumpit: Polydorum obtruncat—

Let him, then, (to answer this vain challenge) produce but any one author of equal authority to any of these, which doth avouch the contrary to that, which these three have thus confidently delivered, and I shall confess myself herein sufficiently answered.

In the mean time, let him and the world know, that all the ancient Clergy and Laity of this island, was for this liberty, altogether ours. Whereto if he yield not, let him name the man, before his Dunstan, that ever, in this isle, opened his mouth against it.

Till then, the reader cannot but see, that, whereas our proof is,

* Vulstan. in Vitâ Ethelwoldi. † Pp. 329, 330, 331 ‡ Refut. p. 332.
§ Polyd. Hist. Ang. l. vi. Anno 970. De Inventorib. l. v.

Ex ore duorum aut trium, his side is mute; that, for our Something, he can shew Nothing at all; and that our Huntingdon, Fabian, and Polydore, are better than C. E. and his man in the moon.

SECT. XIV.

His Second Ponderation, of "the sanctity of the persons *," is no truer *avoir-de-pois*.

That B. Dunstan was a holy man, we may easily grant; but taken from the Convent of Glastenbury. Neither would the nobility of his time be so liberal as to yield this; who accused him to the King †, *De libidinibus et præstigiis*; "For" (two remarkable qualities in his saintship) "lechery and sorcery;" whereupon, he was cast out from the Court: and, that he was received again, he might thank the King's horse, whose sudden stop on the verge of a steep down-fall, restored Dunstan to the good opinion of the superstitious prince; who yet was so far from being guilty of this deliverance, that he did not so much as know of the danger: an acquittal, at least as causeless as the accusation.

That Bishop Anselm was devout and learned, we willingly grant; but, withal, an Italian, and taken from a Norman Convent. He was holy: but how impetuously addicted to his own will, and how refractory to authority, I would rather histories should speak than myself ‡.

Neither is it any wonder, if both these Prelates, how holy soever, savoured somewhat too strong of the Cloisters and of Rome. Something must be yielded to times and places: we will not think but a well-meant zeal carried them into these resolutions; but a zeal misguided with the sway of the times. The name of Saints, the truth of their sanctity, did not privilege them from errors. We know how to sever their chaff from their wheat: and to send one of them, to the winds; the other, to the granary.

As for the married Clergy, that "they were ever accounted the scum and refuse of their Order §," it is but the scurrilous scummy blur of an intemperate pen. What was Spiridion? what was Hilary? what were both Gregorys? what was Sidonius? what was Tertullian, Prosper, Simplicius, Eupsychius? In a word, what were all those, whom his Damasus recounteth? what was the father of the Archdeacon of Huntingdon; whom, within two leaves, he recordeth, from his epitaph ‖, for the Star of the Clergy? This

* Refut. p. 335.

† To King Athelstan, who first brought him from his cell.

‡ The Clergy of England did so well approve these Monkish Archbishops, that, after Anselm and Rodulph, the Bishops of the land became suitors to the King, that they might never have any Archbishop of Canterbury chosen from the Monkish profession. Sax. Chron. Ann. 1123. § Refut. p. 338.

‖ *Stella cadit Cleri: splendor marcet Nicolai.*
Stella cadens Cleri, splendeat arce Dei. Huntingd. l. vii.

scum is better than their broth: which, though it send forth a fume, seemingly delicious; yet, many times, being nearer tasted, proveth but cock-crown pottage.

These Saints he ignorantly balanceth again, with our Huntingdon and Fabian: as if their present decree did contradict the history of things passed: as if we had no more histories on our side, because my margin cited them not.

In the mean time, he finds this testimony of Huntingdon so too much, that he would fain strip us of it; denying peremptorily, that Huntingdon affirms Anselm to be the first, that forbad marriage to the Clergy.

Reader, instead of all other ponderations weigh the words, *Eodem anno, ad festum S. Michaelis, tenuit Anselmus Archiepiscopus Concilium, apud Londoniam; in quo, prohibuit uxores Sacerdotibus Anglorum, antea non prohibitas* *: i. e. "The same year, on the feast of S. Michael, Archbishop Anselm held a Synod at London; wherein, he forbad wives to the Priests of England, before not forbidden;" and tell me whether my Detector be true.

The words are too plain: he will wrangle yet with the sense; and tells us, that the word "before" may signify, perhaps, "immediately before," in the reign of the Williams; and not all succession of times. It were well, if he could escape so. But this starting hole will not hide him: for, not to send him to school to learn the difference betwixt *antea*, and *dudum* or *pridem*, the same author, in the following words, shews us the censures and conceits that passed upon this act, as an absolute and unheard-of novelty: like as in Germany, the historians brand this same act in Hildebrand, with a *novo exemplo*, and *inconsiderato præjudicio*. And, for the times preceding, Polydore Virgil gives the very same witness. Neither let him fly for succour to his Dunstan, who never can be proved to have prohibited the marriage of Priests, though he disliked that Monasteries and Cathedral Churches should be possessed by married Clerks.

Lastly, where the testimony is displeasing, the witness himself must be disgraced. Curiosity led my Detector to search † who this H. Huntingdon might be. With one enquiry, he might find him to be a Canon Regular of Austin's Order; and, for dignity, an Archdeacon: a person, past exception. But, for his parentage, he went no further than to the next leaf, to find that he was the son of a noted, and, in those days, eminent Clergyman. His epitaph, at Lincoln ‡, shews him to have been the Star of the Clergy; no whit dimmed in his acknowledged light, or hindered in his influence, by his conjunction in lawful wedlock. What better instance could my Refuter have given against himself? If he think to insinuate that his birth made him partial; the reader will easily consider, that, if such parentage had been then accounted shameful, the historian would have had the wit to have suppressed it:

* Henr. Huntingd. edit. Savil. p. 378. † Refut. p. 343. ‡ Vid. supra.

and, withal, that he durst not, writing in the times when this thing was so familiarly and universally known, have offered such a proposition to the light, out of a vain partiality, to incur the controlment of all eyes.

SECT. XV.

As for our Fabian, if C. E. find him a merchant *, I find him to have been Sheriff of the Honourable City of London: a man, whose credit would scorn to be poised with a hundred nameless fugitives, parasitical petty-chapmen of the late small-wares of Rome. Neither can the name of a citizen disparage him to any wise judge. How many have our times yielded of that rank, whom both academical education, and experience, and travel, and study have wrought to an eminent perfection in all arts, especially in mathematics and history! Such was Fabian: whose fidelity, besides his other worths, was never, that I find, taxed, but by this insolent pen, that hath learned to forbear no man. He was too old, for us to bribe; and too credible, for C. E. to disgrace. If he would have lent Rome but this one lie, no man had been more authentical: now, his truth makes him Fabulous Fabian.

That one fault hath marred our Archdeacon of Huntingdon also.

The story, which he tells † of the Cardinal of Crema, the Pope's Legate, taken in bed, after his busy endeavours against the married Clergy, the same day, with a harlot, hath undone his reputation. Why will C. E. stir this sink? No man provoked him. If he did not long to blazon the shame of his friends, he would rather have smothered this foul occurrence: but, since he will be meddling, *Res apertissima negari non potuit, celari non debuit*, saith Huntingdon: "The thing was most openly known; it could not be denied; it might not be concealed." Yet, now comes an upstart-novice, and dares tell us, from Baronius, that this was a mere fable; how public and notorious soever Huntingdon makes it. With these men, this rule is universal: "Whatsoever may tend to the dishonour of the Church of Rome, is false and fabulous."

Indeed, I remember what their gloss said of old ‡: *Clericus, amplectens mulierem, præsumitur benè agere; si, ergo, Clericus amplectitur mulierem, interpretabitur quòd, causâ benedicendi eam, hoc faciat:* that is; "A Clergyman, embracing a woman, must be presumed to do well; if, therefore, a Clerk take a woman by the middle, it must be interpreted that he doth it, to give her his blessing §."

Perhaps, the good Legate was but bestowing his ghostly blessing

* Refut. p. 333. † Refut. p. 348. ‡ Dist. 96. *In Script.*

§ So the Chronicle tells us of Adelme, Abbot of Malmesbury; who, when he was stirred to the vice of the flesh, had wont to despite the Devil and torment himself, with holding a fair young virgin in his bed, so long as he might say over the whole Psalter. Vid. Park. Def.

on so needful a subject: but, that he was found in bed with her, if C. E. were not as shameless as that Cardinal or his bed-fellow, he durst not deny. For what impudency is this, to cast this relation only upon H. Huntingdon, when so many uncontrollable pens have recorded it to the world! men of their own stamp, for religion, for devotion: Matthew Paris; Ranulfus Cestrensis; Roger Hoveden; Polydore Virgil *; Fabian: Matthæus Westmonasteriensis, otherwise called Florilegus; *Dictus Joannes, qui in Concilio*, &c. saith he; "The said John, which, in the open Council, had grievously condemned all the Concubinary † Priests, was taken himself in the same crime." Now let my reader judge, whether this Priest's truth or that Cardinal's honesty were greater.

SECT. XVI.

His Third Ponderation is the same with the first. Every thing ekes. His St. Dunstan and Anselm, Gregory and Bede, are again laid in our dish: we cannot feed on these over-oft-sod coleworts.

I am challenged here, to produce any Priest or Deacon, that lived in wedlock before the times of Dunstan.

The man presumes upon the suppression of records. For one, I name him hundreds.

Who were they, that Dunstan and his fellow-Saints found seated in the Cathedral Churches of this land? whom did they eject? Were they not married Priests? What did the ejected Clergy plead, but ancient possession?

After that; in the Synod, which Archbishop Lanfranc held at Winchester ‡ (which I wonder my Detector would over-see: this neglect is not for nothing:) was it not decreed, that the Canons should not have wives; but that the Priests, which dwelt in towns and villages, should not be compelled to put away their wives; though caution is put in for the future? What doth this imply, but that, in those ancient times, the English Clergy were inoffensively married?

To which add that old record from an ancient Martyrology of the Church of Canterbury §: *Lanfrancus, Archiepiscopus, reddidit Ecclesiæ Sancti Andreæ*, &c. "Lanfranc, Archbishop, hath restored to St. Andrew's Church, the Monastery of St. Mary; with the lands and houses, which Livingus, Priest, and his wife had in London, &c."

* Polydore, suppressing the name, teileth the history.

† Viz. the Married: so did the enemies of marriage disgracefully term the Married Clergy; and so are the words of the Legate to be understood, *de latere meretricis*. He, then, railing against marriage (not whoredom properly) was deprehended in whoredom.

‡ Ex Act. Concil. Wint. sub. Lanfr. § Martyrol. Cant.

And, before him *, or Dunstan either, in King Edmund's time, Bishop Osulphus with Athelm and Ulrick, Laicks, thrust out the Monks of Evesham, and placed Canons (married Priests) in their room.

Lastly, Jornalensis records it as King Ina's law, long before these times; *Si Episcopi filiolus sit, sit dimidium hoc, &c:* "If he be the son of a Bishop, &c:" as supposing this no other than ordinary, in those times.

Now let my Refuter comfort himself and his Catholics, with the weak defence of heresy, and the strong bulwarks of Roman truth; who, in the mean time, must be put in mind, that he puts on me the burden, which should lie upon his own shoulders. I have produced histories, which affirm peremptorily, that the English Clergy were never forbidden to marry until Anselm's time: it is now his task, to disprove this assertion of theirs, by equal authority to the contrary; which till he have done, the day is ours.

SECT. XVII.

His Fourth Ponderation, is "the difficulty of this grant in King Edward's Parliament †."

And is it possible the man should not see the greater difficulty, that was found in the enforcement of this glorious celibate? How Alfere and the nobles dispossessed the Monks of Dunstan; justly restoring the married Priests to their ancient right: how Lanfranc durst not speak it out; Anselm did, but prevailed little: let Girardus, then Archbishop of York, witness ‡. After whom, Roger, Archbishop of that See, as Neubrigensis records §, thrust out Anselm's Monks ‖, and stood for the liberty of marriage: insomuch as, in the succession of times, even by royal leave also, marriage of spiritual persons yet continued. Neither could Anselm's successors, Radulphus, Gulielmus de Turbine, and the rest, notwithstanding all their Canons and practices, prevail against it. How plain is that of the Saxon Chronicle ¶! "Thus did the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops, which were in England: and yet all these decrees and biddings stood not: all held their wives, by the King's leave, even as they did. Insomuch as Archbishop William referred it to the King. The King decreed, that the Priests should continue with their wives still."

Neither were any thing more easy, than to give store of instances, in this kind.

* Fox. Act. et Mon. † Refut. p. 347.

‡ Vid. suprà, Epist. ad Ansel. § Neubr. l. iii. c. 5.

‖ Pope Paschal's, writing to Anselm, saith, that there was at this time so great a number of Priests' sons in England, that the greater part of the Clergy consisted of them.

¶ Chron. Saxon. Anno 1129.

What need I give more than that of Galfride B. of Ely *, who was avouched before the Pope himself to have married a wife? which "evangelical excuse," *uxorem duxit*, was made for his not appearing at Rome with the rest †? of Richard, Bishop of Chichester; Robert, Bishop of Lincoln; married men, after these decrees?

Yea, good evidences of ancient charts are ready in our hands, to shew the use and legal allowance of these marriages, for no less than two hundred years after.

As for those idle words, which his sauciness throws after our reverend Martyr, Archbishop Cranmer, (whom he falsely affirms to have been the first married Archbishop of this kingdom, when as Archbishop Boniface sat married in that See, three hundred years before him ‡) and King Edward's Parliament, we answer them, with silence and scorn. Let losers have leave to talk.

The approbation, and better expedience of single life, in capable subjects, we do willingly subscribe unto. The lawfulness, yea, necessity of marriage, where the gift of continence is denied, our Saviour and his Chosen Vessel justify, with us. So as I still conclude, "He, that made marriage, saith it is *honourable*: what care we for the dishonour of those, that corrupt it?"

SECT. XVIII.

His Last Ponderation § is leaden indeed: "That, from the bickerings of our English Clergy with their Dunstans, it will not follow, that continency was not ancient; but was repiningly, lately, unjustly imposed. By this reason, he will prove there was never thief or malefactor in our country, before the time of King James; since all judges have yearly bickerings with such people." Thus he. But did ever such "loose ‖" besom sweep the press before?

Reader, vouchsafe, yet once more, to cast thine eye upon the close of my Epistle. Doth my argument run thus wildly as he makes it? The English Clergy had bickerings with their Dunstans, therefore continency was repiningly and unjustly imposed! Canst thou think I have met with a sober adversary?

My words are, that our histories "teach us how late, how repiningly, how unjustly" our English Clergy "stooped under this yoke." And what can his sophistry make of this?

Are ye not ashamed, ye Superiors of Doway, are ye not ashamed of such a champion; fitter for a troop of pignies to trail a reed in their bickerings with cranes, than to be committed with any reasonable or scholar-like antagonist? In the bickerings with his Dun-

* Chron. Jornal. † *Habet excusationem evangelicam* resp. est ab Epis. Arelat. Alexandro Papæ. ‡ Anno 1250. § Refut. p. 351. ‖ C. E. writes in the margin, "Master Hall's loose manner of disputing."

stans, the patients pleaded prescription; as we have shewed out of Malmesbury: and taxed his Saints with novelty. In my bickerings with him, I plead Antiquity, Scripture, Reason; and tax him, most justly, with impudence and absurdity. How well is that man, that is matched but with an honest adversary!

THE CONCLUSION.

THE Conclusion follows *: a fit cover for such a dish! The reader was not weary enough, but he must be tired out with a tedious recapitulation.

Wherein my Refuter recollects all his dispersed folly, that it may shew the fairer: telling his Protestant friend, what I have bragged, what I have undertaken, what I have not performed; how I have falsified, how I have mistaken: what himself hath in all passages performed against me; how he hath answered, how he hath conquered.

The best is, the Conclusion can shew no more, than the Premises. By them, let me be judged.

Those have made good to my reader, that C. E. hath accused much, and proved nothing; vaunted much, and done nothing; railed much, and hurt nothing; laboured much, and gained nothing; talked much, and said nothing.

It is a large and bold word: but, if any one clause of mine be unproved, if any one clause of mine be disproved, any one exception against my defence proved just, any one charge of his proved true, any one falsehood of mine detected, any one argument of mine refelled, any one argument or proposition of his not refelled; let me go away convicted with shame. But, if I have answered every challenge, vindicated every authority †, justified every proof, wiped away every cavil, affirmed no proposition untruly, censured nothing unjustly, satisfied all his malicious objections, and warranted every sentence of my poor Epistle; let my apology live and pass, and let my Refuter go as he is, *C. E. Cavillator Egregius.*

Let my cause be no more victorious, than just: and let honest marriages ever hold up their heads, in despite of Rome and Hell.

With this Farewell, I leave my Refuter; either to the acting of his unbloody executions of the Son of God, or the plotting of the bloody executions of the deputies of God, or (as it were his best) to the knocking of his beads. But, if he will needs be meddling with his pen; and will have me, after some jubilees, to expect an answer to my six-weeks' labour; I shall, in the mean time, pray, that God would give him the grace to give way to the known truth, and sometimes to say true.

* Refut. p. 353, &c.

† I only except that one slip of my pen, that I said Gratian cited a sentence out of Austin, which was indeed his own.

Yet, to gratify my reader at the parting, I may not conceal from him an ancient and worthy monument, which I had the favour and happiness to see in the Inner Library of Corpus Christi College, in Cambridge: an excellent treatise; written, amongst seventeen other, in a fair set hand, by an author of great learning and antiquity. He would needs suppress his name; but describes himself to be *Rotomagensis* *. The time, wherein it was written, appears to be amidst the heat of contention †, which was betwixt the Archbishop of Canterbury and York, for precedency: which quarrel fell betwixt Rodulph of Canterbury and Thurstin of York, in the year 1114; at which time Pope Paschalis wrote to King Henry concerning it ‡; and was renewed after, about the year 1175. The Discourse shall speak enough for itself.

* Of Rouen, in France. † As also the contention betwixt the Church of Rouen and Vienna. ‡ Rog. Hoved.

ROTOMAGENSIS ANONYMUS.

AN LICEAT

SACERDOTIBUS INIRE MATRIMONIA.

Scire volui, quis primus instituit, ne Sacerdotes Christiani inire deberent matrimonia, Deus an homo.

Si, enim, Deus, ejus certè sententia et tenenda et observanda est, cum omni venerâtione et reverentiâ.

Si, verò, homo et non Deus, de corde hominis et non ex ore Dei talis egressa est traditio : ideoque, nec per eam salus acquiritur, si observetur ; nec amittitur, si non observetur : non, enim, est hominis, salvare vel perdere aliquem pro meritis ; sed Dei proprium unius est.

Scilicet, quòd Deus hoc instituerit, nec in Veteri Testamento, nec in Evangelio, nec in Apostolorum Epistolis scriptum reperitur : in quibus, quicquid Deus hominibus præcepit, insertum describitur.

Traditio ergo hominis est ; et non Dei, non Apostolorum institutio. Quemadmodum et Apostolus instituit, ut oportet, Episcopum esse unius uxoris virum : quod minimè instituisset, si adulterium esset quòd Episcopus haberet, simul, et uxorem et Ecclesiam ; quasi duas uxores, ut quidam asserunt.

Quodque de Scripturis Sanctis non habet authoritatem, eâdem facilitate contemnitur, quâ dicitur. Sancta enim Ecclesia non Sacerdoti uxor, non sponsa ; sed Christi est : sicut Johannes dicit, *Qui habet sponsam, sponsus est.*

Hujus, inquam, Sponsi Ecclesia, sponsa est ; et tamen huic sponsæ licet in parte inire matrimonia, ex Apostolicâ traditione : dicit enim Apostolus ad Cor.—*Propter fornicationes*, inquit, *unusquisque uxorem suam habeat*, et cætera : usque, *Volo omnes homines esse sicut meipsum ; sed unusquisque proprium donum habet à Deo, alius quidem sic, alius verò sic.*

Non, enim, omnes habent unum donum, virginitatis scilicet, et continentiæ : sed quidam virgines sunt, et continentes ; quidam verò incontinentes : quibus concedit nuptias, ne tentet eos Sathanas, propter incontinentiam suam ; et in ruinam turpitudinis corruant.

Sed et Sacerdotes quoque, alii quidem continentes sunt, alii verò

incontinentes : et qui continentes sunt, continentiæ suæ donum à Deo consecuti sunt ; sine ejus dono et gratiâ, continentes esse non possunt : incontinentes verò hoc donum gratiæ minimè percipiunt ; qui, cùm intemperantiâ suæ conspersionis tum etiam animi infirmitate, per carnis desideria diffluunt ; quod nullo modo facerent, si continentiæ gratiam et virtutem à Deo percepissent.

Sentiunt enim et ipsi, aliam legem in membris suis repugnantem legi mentis suæ, et captivantem eos in lege peccati, et quod nolunt agere cogentem, qui de corpore mortis hujus liberantur gratiâ Dei. Hâc itaque eos lege captivante, et carnis concupiscentiâ stimulante, aut fornicari coguntur aut nubere : quorum quid melius sit, Apostolicâ docemur authoritate ; quâ dicitur, *Melius nubere quàm uri.*

Quod melius est, id certè eligendum et tenendum est : melius est, inquam, nubere, quia pejus est uri : quia melius est nubere quàm uri, conveniens est incontinentibus, ut nubant, non ut urantur.

" Bonæ etenim sunt nuptiæ," sicut Augustinus ait in libro *super Genesin ad Literam.* In ipsis commendatur bonum naturæ, quo incontinentiæ regitur pravitas, et naturæ decoratur fœcunditas : nam, utriúsque sexûs infirmitas propendens in ruinam turpitudinis, rectè excipitur honestate nuptiarum ; ut quod sanis possit esse officium, sit ægrotis remedium.

Neque, enim, quia incontinentia malum est, ideo connubium (vel quo incontinentes copulantur) non est bonum. Imò, verò, non propter illud malum culpabile est bonum ; sed, propter hoc bonum veniale est illud malum : quoniam id quod bonum habent nuptiæ, et quod bonæ sunt nuptiæ, peccatum esse nunquam potest.

Hoc, autem, tripartitum est, Fides, Proles, Sacramentum. In Fide attenditur, ne, præter vinculum conjugale, cum alterâ vel cum altero concubatur. In Prole, ut amanter suscipiatur, benignè suscipiatur, religiosè educetur. In Sacramento, ut conjugium non separetur ; et demissus aut demissa ne, causâ prolis, alteri conjugatur.

Hæc est tanquam Regula Nuptiarum ; quâ vel naturæ decoratur fœcunditas, vel incontinentiæ regitur pravitas.

Hanc autem regulam nuptiarum, et hoc tripartitum bonum, instituit Æterna Veritas, ordine decenti, et lege æternâ, contra quam quicquid fit, vel dicitur, vel concupiscitur, peccatum est : quod, in libro contra Faustum Manichæum, Augustinus testatur ; dicens, " Peccatum est factum, vel dictum, vel concupitum contra Æternam Legem."

Æterna Lex est Divina Voluntas sive Ratio, ordinem naturalem perturbari vetans, conservari jubens. Quicquid, igitur, ordinem naturalem perturbari jubet ; conservari vetat ; exercere nuptias, et earum tripartitum bonum, Fidem, scilicet, Prolem, et Sacramentum eos habere prohibet ; et Regulam illam Æternæ Veritatis, quâ naturæ decoratur fœcunditas, vel incontinentiæ regitur pravitas ;

eos solvere præcipit, &c. quibus naturalis ordo peragitur, abhominari jubet.

Hoc, inquam, mandatum natura'em ordinem conservari vetat, perturbari jubet; et, ideo, contra Æternam Legem fit, et peccatum est: peccant, enim, qui mandatum tale instituunt, quo naturalis ordo destruitur.

Nam etiam, ut videtur, minimè credunt, quòd, de Sacerdotum filiis, assumat Deus ad ædificandam supernam civitatem, et ad restaurandum angelorum numerum. Si, enim, crederent, nunquam tale mandatum instituerent; quia scienter et nimiâ temeritate id efficere conarentur, ut superna civitas nunquam proficiatur, et angelorum numerus nunquam repararetur.

Si, enim, superna civitas de filiis etiam Sacerdotum perficienda est, et si angelorum numerus de ipsis etiam reparandus est, qui hoc efficere conatur ut nulli sint, quantum in ipso est, et supernam civitatem destruit, et angelorum numerus ne perficiatur efficit: quo, quod perversius potest fieri? Hoc, enim, fit contra voluntatem et prædestinationem illius, qui quæ futura sint fecit: fecit, enim, prædestinatione, quæ futura sunt in opere.

Quicunque, ergo, id efficere conatur, ut non faciat Deus in opere quæ fecit in prædestinatione, ipsam prædestinationem Dei conatur evacuere.

Si, ergo, Deus fecit in prædestinatione, ut filii Sacerdotum futuri sint in opere; qui hoc efficere conatur ut non futuri sint in opere, destruere molitur facta Dei, quòd fecit prædestinatione; et ita prædestinationem Dei nititur evertere, et voluntatem Dei contraire quæ æterna est.

Voluit, enim, Deus, ab æterno et ante sæculum, omnes homines creare in sæculo, certo quidem ordine, quo præcogitavit et prædestinavit eos se creaturum. Nihil, enim, inordinatè facit. Nihil in sæculo creat, quod non ante, in prædestinatione suæ mentis præcedente omnia sæcula, disponendo præordinaverit. Quæcunque, ergo, in hoc sæculo ab ipso creantur, prædestinationem mentis prædisponentem ac præordinantem omnia necessariò sequuntur; quòd impossibile est, non fieri quod Deus ab æterno voluit et præordinavit fieri.

Necesse est, igitur, omnes homines eo ordine creari, quo voluit ab æterno et præordinavit: alioquin, non sicut voluit Deus, neque sicut præordinavit, omnes homines sunt creati. Sed, quòd hoc inconveniens est, necesse est illos creari, sicut voluit ab æterno, et præcogitavit, atque præordinavit: quòd omnia, quæ voluit, fecit; et nihil unquam fecit, quæ non voluit ab æterno, et præcogitavit decreto certo et incommutabili: quia, nec ejus voluntas irritè potest fieri, nec præcogitatio falli, nec præordinationes commutari.

Quæ cùm ita sint, necesse est, ut, sicut Laici, ita etiam Sacerdotes, de quibus homines creantur, ad ipsos creandos ministerium exhibeant divinæ voluntati et præordinationi. Parentes non sunt authores creationis filiorum, sed ministri: qui, si ministerium non

exhiberent, voluntatem Dei et præcogitationem, si possibile esset, irritam facerent, ordinationíque resisterent: quod si scienter facerent graviùs utique delinquerent; si nescienter, minùs; non solùm in Deum Patrem, sed et in Cœlestem Jerusalem, sanctorum omnium matrem; quòd, quantum in ipsis esset, illos creari non permitterent, ex quibus ea ædificanda, et cœlestis patriæ dantia sunt præparandæ.

Sed, ab hoc delicto defendit eos impotentia; quòd non possunt voluntati Dei resistere, et præordinationi contraire. Voluntas, enim, Dei et prædestinatio Lex Æterna est, in quâ omnium rerum cursus decretus est; et paradigma est, in quo omnium sæculorum forma depicta est, quod nullâ ratione aboleri potest.

Huic igitur ministerium non exhibere, malum est; quòd, exhibere, bonum est, et maximè cùm bonâ fit voluntate: quod tum fit, cùm parentes conveniunt causâ gignendæ prolis, non appetitu exercendæ libidinis.

Gignendæ prolis, dico: quia et præsens Ecclesia multiplicetur, et cœlestis civitas fabricetur, et electorum numerus compleatur; quorum nihil potest fieri, sine conventione tali. Si, enim, primi parentes Sanctorum omnes aut continentes permansissent aut virgines; nullus Sanctorum ex eis esset natus in sæculo; nullus gloriâ et honore coronatus in cœlo; nullus adscitus in angelorum numero. Sed, quia inestimabile bonum est, quòd Sancti nati sunt in sæculo, quòd gloriâ et honore coronantur in cœlo, et quòd adsciti sunt in angelorum numero; ex eo, parentum fœcunditas beatior prædicatur, et conventus sanctior.

Sic, ergo, melius fuit eis tales filios genuisse, quàm non genuisse; talemque fructum nuptiarum protulisse, quàm, sine fructu, continentes aut virgines extitisse.

Quamvis bonum sit quibusdam continentes esse vel virgines, illis viz. quos Deus voluit ab æterno et præordinavit ita creandos esse in sæculo, ut continentiâ vel virginitate permaneant: sicut, enim, voluit ab æterno et præordinavit quosdam ita creandos esse in sæculo, ut fructum nuptiarum faciant et filios generent; ita etiam voluit et præordinavit ab æterno quosdam ita creandos esse, ut in continentiâ vel virginitate permaneant.

Et, sicut illi, ad creandos filios, voluntati Dei et præordinationi ministerium exhibent; ita et isti, ad conservandam et continentiam et virginitatem, voluntati Dei et præordinationi ministrant. Ac, per hoc, et illorum fœcunditas et istorum virginitas bona est atque laudabilis; quæ, si non ministerium exhiberet voluntati Dei et præordinationi, nec bona esset nec laudabilis: omne, enim, quod voluntati Dei et præordinationi contrarium est, nec bonum est nec laudabile.

Si, ergo, voluit Deus et prædestinavit alios futuros virgines, alios nuptiarum fructum facientes (si, enim, omnes essent virgines, nullus Sanctorum, qui vel nascitur vel nasciturus sit, in hoc sæculo natus esset vel nasciturus: nec ipsi etiam virgines essent, quia nati non essent; ex fœcunditate, enim, illorum orta est istorum virgi-

nitas,) magnum, igitur, bonum est fœcunditas, de quâ sancta præcessit virginitas.

Quia, autem, virgines esse debeant, et qui nuptiarum fructus facientes, docet eos verbum, quod Deus seminat in cordibus illorum: in aliorum, enim, cordibus, seminat verbum bonæ fœcunditatis, nuptiarum fructum facientis; in aliorum verò cordibus, seminat verbum virginitatis. * Ipsi virginitatem servare desiderant: in quibus, verò, verbum nuptiarum seminat, ipsi facere nuptiarum fructum appetunt.

* Deest, opinor, pars clausulæ:—" Illi, ergo, in quibus seminat verbum virginitatis, &c."

WHICH, FOR MY COUNTRYMEN'S SAKE, I HAVE THUS ENGLISHED.

I WOULD fain know, who it was that first ordained, that Christian Priests might not marry, God or man.

For, if it were God, surely his determination is to be held and observed, with all veneration and reverence.

But, if it were man, and not God, and this tradition came out of the heart of man not out of the mouth of God: then, neither is salvation got by it, if it be observed; nor lost, if it be not observed; for, it doth not belong to man, either to save or destroy any man for his merits; but it is proper only unto God.

That God hath ordained this, it is neither found written in the Old Testament, nor in the Gospel, nor in the Epistles of the Apostles: in all which is set down, whatsoever God hath enjoined unto men.

It is therefore a tradition of man; and not an institution of God, nor of his Apostles: as the Apostle instituted (rather) that a Bishop should be the husband of one wife: which he would never have appointed, if it had been adultery for a Bishop to have, at once, a wife and a Church; as it were two wives, like as some affirm.

Now that which hath not authority from the Holy Scriptures, is, with the same facility contemned, that it is spoken. For the Holy Church is not the wife, not the spouse of the Priest; but of Christ: as St. John saith, *He, that hath the bride, he is the bridegroom.*

Of this Bridegroom, I say, is the Church the spouse; and yet it is lawful even for this spouse in part, to marry, by Apostolic tradition: for the Apostle speaks thus to the Corinthians; *Because of fornications, let every man have his own wife:* and, *I would that all men were as I am; but every man hath his proper gift of God, one thus, another otherwise.*

For, all men have not one gift, namely, of virginity, and continency: but some are virgins, and contain; others contain not: to whom he granteth marriage, lest Satan tempt them, through their incontinency; and they should miscarry in the ruin of their uncleanness.

So also of Priests, some are continent, others are incontinent: and those, which are continent, have received the gift of their continence from God; without whose gift and grace, they cannot be continent: but those, which are continent, have not received this gift of grace; but, whether by the intemperance of their humour

or the weakness of their mind, run out into fleshly desires; which they would in no wise do, if they had received from God the grace and virtue of continence.

For they also, which are delivered by the grace of God from the body of this death, feel another law in their members rebelling against the law of their mind, and captivating them to the law of sin, and compelling them to do that which they would not. This law, therefore, holding them captive, and this concupiscence of the flesh provoking them, they are compelled either to fornicate or marry: whereof whether is the better, we are taught by the authority of the Apostle; who tells us, *It is better to marry than to burn.*

Surely, that, which is the better, is to be chosen and held: now it is better to marry, because it is worse to burn: and, because it is better to marry than to burn, it is convenient for those which contain not, to marry, not to burn.

"For marriage is good," as Augustin speaks in his book *super Genesin ad Literam.* In it is commended the good of nature, whereby the pravity of incontinence is ruled, and the fruitfulness of nature graced: for the weakness of either sex declining towards the ruin of filthiness, is well relieved by the honesty of marriage; so as the same thing, which may be the office of the sound, is also the remedy unto the sick.

Neither yet, because incontinence is evil, is therefore marriage (even that wherewith the incontinent are joined) to be reputed not good. Yea, rather, not for that evil is the good faulty; but, for this good is that evil pardonable: since that good, which marriage hath, yea which marriage is, can never be sin.

Now, this good is threefold; the Fidelity, the Fruit, the Sacrament of that estate. In the Fidelity, is regarded, that, besides this bond of marriage, there be not carnal society with any other. In the Fruit of it, that it be lovingly raised and religiously bred. In the Sacrament of it, that the marriage be not separated; and that the dismissed party of either sex, be not joined to any other, no not for issue's sake.

This is, as it were, the Rule of Marriage, whereby the fruitfulness of nature is graced, or the pravity of incontinence ruled.

And this Rule of Marriage, and this three-fold good, the Eternal Truth hath appointed, in the order of his decree, and that eternal law of his, against which whatsoever is done, spoken, or willed, is sin: which Augustin in his book against Faustus the Manichee witnesseth; saying, "Sin is either deed, word, or desire against the Law Eternal."

This Eternal Law is the Divine Will or Decree, forbidding the disturbance, and commanding the preservation of due natural order. Whatsoever, therefore, commands natural order to be disturbed; forbids it to be conserved; prohibits men to use marriage, and to attain to the threefold good thereof, Fidelity, Issue, Sacrament; and commands them to break that Rule of Eternal Truth, whereby the fruitfulness of nature is graced, or the pravity of in-

continency ruled; commands men to abhor those things, whereby natural order is held and maintained.

This commandment, I say, forbids natural order to be observed, commands it to be disturbed; and, therefore, is against the Law of God, and, by consequence, is sin: for, they sin, that ordain such a command, by which natural order is destroyed.

These men do not, it seems, believe, that, of the children of Priests, God takes for the building of his city above; and for the restoring of the number of angels. For, if they did believe it, they would never ordain such a mandate; because they should wittingly and over-rashly go about to effect, that the supernal city should never be perfected, and the number of angels never repaired.

For, if the supernal city be to be perfected even of the sons of Priests, and if the number of angels be of them to be repaired, those that endeavour to procure that they should not be, do, what in them lies, destroy the supernal city, and labour that the number of angels may not be perfected: than which, what can be more perversely done? For, this is done against the will and predestination of him, which hath done those things which shall be: for, he hath done, in his predestination, those things, which shall be in effect.

Whosoever, therefore, goes about to procure, that God may not in effect do those things which he hath done in his predestination, goes about to make void the very predestination of God.

If, then, God have already in his predestination decreed, that the sons of Priests shall once be in effect; he, that goes about to procure that they may not be in effect, endeavours to destroy the work of God, because he hath already done it in predestination; and so strives to overthrow God's predestination, and to gainstand that will of God which is eternal.

For, God would, from eternity and before all worlds, create all men in the world, in that certain order, wherein he preconceived and predestinated to create them. He doth nothing disorderly. He createth nothing in the world, which he hath not fore-ordained, by disposing it in the predestination of his mind, that went before all worlds. Whatsoever, therefore, is by him created in this world, doth necessarily follow the predestination of his mind predisposing and preordaining all things; because it is impossible, that should not be done, which God from eternity hath willed and fore-ordained to be done.

It is, therefore, necessary that all men should be created in that very order, wherein he willed and from eternity fore-ordained: or else, all men are not created as God would have them, nor as he fore-ordained them. But, because this is inconvenient, it must needs be that they are created, as he willed from eternity, and forethought and fore-ordained: because he hath done all things, that he would; and never did any thing, which he willed not from everlasting, and hath fore-conceived in his certain and unchangeable decree: for, neither can his will be frustrated, nor his fore-thought deceived, nor his fore-ordinations altered.

Which since it is so, need must it be, that, as Laics, so Priests

also, of whom men are created, should yield their service to the divine will and preordination to the creating of them. For parents are not the authors of the creation of their children, but the servants: who, if they should not yield their service, they should, if it were possible, make void the fore-thought of God, and resist his ordination: which if they should wittingly do, they should offend the more; if ignorantly, the less; not only against God the Father, but also against the Heavenly Jerusalem, the mother of all saints; because what in them were, they should not suffer those to be created of whom it is to be builded, and those things to be prepared whereby that celestial country is bestowed.

But, from this offence their impotence frees them; because they cannot resist the will of God, and cross his preordination. For, the will and predestination of God is that Eternal Law, in which the course of all things is decreed; and the pattern, wherein the form of all ages is set forth, which can by no means be defaced.

Not to yield our service then hereunto, is evil; because, to yield it is good, and especially if it be done with a good intent: which is then done, when as parents meet together in a desire of propagation of issue, not in an appetite of exercising their lust.

Of propagation, I say: that both the present Church may be multiplied, and the celestial city built, and the number of the elect made up; none of which could be done, without such conjugal meeting. For, if the first parents of the Saints had continued all either continent or virgins; no Saint had been born of them in the world; none of them had been crowned with glory and honour in heaven; none of them ascribed into the number of angels. But, since it is an inestimable good, that Saints are born in the world, that they are crowned with glory and honour in heaven, and that they are ascribed into the number of angels; thereupon, the fruitfulness of parents is more blessed, and their meeting holier. So, then, it is better for them to have begotten such children, than not to have begotten them; and to have brought forth such fruit of marriage, than to have been continent or virgins, without fruit. Although it is good for some to be continent or virgins, namely, for them whom God eternally willed and preordained to be so created in the world, that they should remain either in continence or virginity: for, as he hath eternally willed and fore-ordained that some should be so created in the world, as that they should yield the fruit of marriage and beget children; so also hath he willed and from eternity fore-ordained some to be so created, that they should continue in continency or virginity.

And, as those other yield their service to the will and preordination of God, in the creation of children; so these also serve the will and preordination of God, in conserving their continence and virginity. And, hereupon, is both the fruitfulness of the one and the virginity of the other good and laudable; which, if it did not yield service to the will and preordination of God, would be neither good nor laudable: for, whatsoever is contrary to the will and preordination of God, is neither good nor laudable.

If, therefore, God willed and predestinated some to be virgins, others to yield the fruit of marriage (for, if all were virgins, no Saint, that now is or shall be born, should either be now or hereafter born in the world: neither should those virgins be at all, because they should not be born; for, of the fruitfulness of the one arises the others' virginity) therefore, is fruitfulness a great good, from which holy virginity hath proceeded.

Now, that there should be some virgins, and others that should bear the fruits of marriage, the word, which God soweth in their hearts, teacheth us: for, in the hearts of some, he soweth the word of good fruitfulness, yielding the increase of marriage: and in the hearts of others, he sows the word of virginity. Those, then, in whom he sows the word of virginity, they desire to keep virginity; but those, in whom he sows the word of marriage, they desire to yield the fruit of marriage.

WHERETO I WILL ADD, FOR CONCLUSION, THE WISE AND INGENUOUS JUDGMENT OF ERASMUS ROTERODAMUS. THE RATHER, BECAUSE IT PLEASED MY REFUTER TO LAY THIS WORTHY AUTHOR IN OUR DISH.

In his Epistle to Christopher, Bishop of Basil, concerning Human Constitutions, thus he writes :—*

For, those things, which are altogether of human constitution, must, like to remedies in diseases †, be attempered to the present estate of matters and times.

Those things, which were once religiously instituted, afterwards, according to occasion and the changed quality of manners and times, may be, with more religion and piety abrogated. Which yet is not to be done by the temerity of the people, but by the authority of governors: that tumult may be avoided; and, that the public custom may be so altered, that concord may not be broken.

The very same is, perhaps, to be thought concerning the Marriage of Priests of old.

As there was great paucity of Priests; so, great piety also. They, that they might more freely attend those holy services, made themselves chaste of their own accord. And so much were those Ancients affected to chastity, that they would hardly permit marriage unto that Christian, whom his baptism found single; but a second marriage, yet more hardly.

And now, that, which seemed plausible in Bishops and Priests, was translated to Deacons; and, at last, to Sub-deacons: which voluntarily-received custom was confirmed by the authority of Popes.

In the mean time, the number of Priests increased, and their piety decreased. How many swarms of Priests are maintained in Monasteries and Colleges! and, amongst them, how few are there, that live chastely ‡! I speak of them, which do publicly keep concubines in their houses, instead of their wives. I do not now meddle with the mysteries of their more secret lusts §: I only speak of those things, which are most notoriously known to the world.

And, yet, when we know these things, how easy are we to admit men into Holy Orders! and how difficult, in releasing this constitution of single life! when as, contrarily, St. Paul teaches that

* Habetur Tomo nono Op. Eras. p. 982.

† *Nam, in totum quæ sunt humani juris, quemadmodum in morbis remedia, &c.*

‡ *Inter hos, quanta raritas eorum, qui castè vivunt!*

§ *Nec, enim, attingo nunc secretiorum libidinum mysteria, &c.*

hands must not be rashly laid upon any; and, more than once, hath prescribed what manner of men Priests and Deacons ought to be: but, of their single life, neither Christ nor his Apostles have ever given any law in the Holy Scriptures.

Long since, hath the Church abrogated the nightly vigils at the tombs of martyrs: which yet had been received by the public custom of Christians; and that, for divers ages. Those Fasts, which were wont to continue till the evening, it hath transferred to noon: and many other things hath it changed, according to the occasions arising.

And why then do we so obstinately urge this human constitution; especially when so many causes persuade us to an alteration?

For, first, a great part of our Priests lives with an ill name; and, with an unquiet conscience, handleth those holy mysteries *.

And then the fruit of their labours, for the most part, is utterly lost; because their doctrine is contemned of their people, by reason of their shameful life.

Whereas, if marriage might be yielded to those which do not contain, both they would live more quietly, and should preach God's word to the people with authority, and might honestly bring up their children; neither should the one of them be a mutual shame to other, &c.

* *Cur hic humanam constitutionem urgemus tam obstinatè; præsertim cùm tot causæ suadeant mutationem? Primùm, enim, magna pars Sacerdotum vivit cum malâ famâ; parùmque requietâ conscientiâ, tractat illa sacrosancta mysteria, &c.*

REVERENDISSIMO VIRO,

Do. MARCO ANTONIO DE DOMINIS,

ARCHIEPISCOPO SPALATENSI,

EPISTOLA

DISCESSUS SUI AD ROMAM DISSUASORIA.

Noli gravatè ferre, Reverendissime Præsul, candidam hanc, et animi et calami, devotissimi tibi utriusque, libertatem. Sanè expressit mihi, vel renitenti, verba hæc prius sincerus quidam et religionis zelus et tui.

Fama est te discessum à nobis meditari; neque tam loco cedere velle, quàm fide.

Strenuâ profectò suspicione non caret hoc ipsum proficisci: neque enim cujusquam subire mentem potest, hominem senem velle animi causâ peregrinari. Deferbuit, proculdubio, jam diu juvenilis ille ardor relictas pridem oras curiosè revisendi: nec ita crassi sumus insulares, ut credere possimus cœlum te mutare velle, nisi animum priùs quadamtenus mutare decrevisses; multo verò minùs septem illos, invisos cœlo totiésque tuo fulmine ictos, colles repetere.

Novimus et nos sat benè ingenium Romæ: ecquem latere potest, nedum hominem cordatum, quàm infida sit illa statio superbæ Hierarchiæ expugnatori? Moneat te olim vester Fulgentius, quàm nihil ita tutum sit Pontificiæ Majestatis tantillo violatori; etiam post fidem, si qua famæ fides, sanctè datam, post promissa munera, post benignissimæ invitationis blanditias. Viderit tua prudentia, ut te vel propudiosissima palinodia, tactæque quas dejerasti priùs aræ liberaverint.

O tuam, si, quem modò profiteris, sanus et orthodoxus Romam remeare audeas, miram animi confidentiam, piámque martyrii sitim, dignam stupore nostro, dignam immortalitate! quin nobis istic liceret, et hanc tibi gloriam invidere, et gratulari fœlicitatem; sed quàm te parùm provehat ambitio, est quod non immeritò timeamus.

Quid ergo? Ægrè profectò monuerim opus esse novas profectionis suæ rationes exponat Reverentia vestra; quas verò tandem illas, si ex fassis liceat, uti plebeis semper licuit, conjectari, sanctum quoddam uniendæ Ecclesiæ studium te Romam, discordiæ hujusce sacerrimam sedem, propellit; machinaturum demum aliquid, quo funestissimæ Christiani Orbis lites aliquando sopiantur: ad quod quidem opus instructiorem te aliis omnibus produxisse visus est ille Pacis Author.

Animus certè quàm non desit, memini te alicubi palam profiteri. Alicubi inquis, "A primis clericatûs mei annis, in me innatum penè desiderium videndæ unionis omnium Christi Ecclesiarum. Separationem Occidentis ab Oriente in rebus fidei, Austri ab Aquilone, æquo animo ferre nunquam poteram: cupiebam anxiè tot tantorúmque schismatum causam agnoscere ac perspicere; num possit aliqua excogitari via omnes Christi Ecclesias ad veram antiquam unionem componendi, idque videndi ardebam desiderio, dolore interno animi, ex tot dissidiis inter Christianæ Religionis professores, ex odiis acerrimis inter nobilissimas Ecclesias inflammatis, ex tunicâ Christi fœdè scissâ et laceratâ, concepto, excruciabar. Qui me dolor et nimia tristitia mirum in modum conficiebat, et indies magis conficit indeque ad fervens studium invitabat."

Dignam sanè piissimo præsule lapsóque è cœlis pacis *Φιλοτιμίαν*! Quis non hunc unà et animi candorem et ardorem zeli pronus exosculetur? Pereat certè, quisquis est: pereat pessumè, qui discerptissimæ Ecclesiæ redintegrationem suo ipsius sanguine redemptam iri noluerit.

Sed parce, si me audis, Colendissime Præsul, parce huic labori. Novimus nos istic, quid possint humanæ vires. Votis nos unà tecum si lubet, usque contendemus, ut, Dei beneficio, beet aliquando Christianam Rempublicam pax alma; respiciénsque ab alto dissipet tandem omnes errorum inimicitiarúmque procellas, quibus hodierno die miserrimè conflictamur.

Sed mortalium quisquis se hoc effectum dare posse sperat, nimio quàm frustrà est! Aut, enim, exuat se prorsùs oportet Romana Ecclesia; quod quis hominum suadere se posse autumet? aut hoc profectò, nullo modo, fieri potest.

Non negarim equidem, (dedimus enim et nos strenuè, quantum potuimus, operam huic instituto) penes utramque litigantium partem, esse sacra pacis limina, quæ aliquanto propiùs liceret, absque ullo fidei damno, salutare. Nam et leviculæ quædam sunt, quæ tutò liceret alterutri, si opus foret, indulgere: neque quid impedit quo minùs in tractandarum, quæ necessariò obveniunt, controversiarum modo, plus utrinque moderationis Christianæ possit adhiberi; sed, ut unanimem in summis religionis capitibus, quæ nunc est Romæ indoles, concordiam ineamus, dolens edico, haud minùs impossibile est, quàm lucem tenebris, Beliali Deum consociare.

Quàm infamis audit hodie Johannis Sturmii media, non secus ac lata illa, quæ ad imum usque Barathrum deducit, via! quàm vapulat etiamnum bonus ille Cassander, Friciúsque, et quisque modera-

tioris ingenii Theologus, pacis ausus est meminisse! Quin et tepidos hæreticis suis connumerandos censuit pridem, nec nemo Gallicanorum patrum, Gualterus. Quis, verò, te meliùs novit, quàm mordicùs olim tenuerunt Tridentini Patres, vel minimas quasque quisquilias; stipulamque suæ, quam vocant, fidei? Quibus Orbem Christianum penitùs conflagrare maluerunt Romani rerum domini, quâm ut tantillum suo qualicunque jure cedere viderentur.

Ecqua nunc spes est, post tot annorum pertinaciam, profusiores veri Pontificios charissimis erroribus ultro renunciaturos? Nimiâ profectò fide sit oportet, qui istud crediderit.

Eat nunc quis probus monitor, et suggerat ista, cujus in pectore conclusa delitescit Ecclesia, Pontifici Summo. "Sine me modò suadere tibi obsecro, Sancte Pater, ut fastuosum hunc Papatum, Monarchicúmque in Ecclesias Dei Imperium, abdicare velis. Noli cathedram tuam, quod soles, ἀναμάρτητον venditare. Desine tibi, post tam apertam tuorum hominum erubescentiam, arrogare gladium illum alterum potestatis secularis. Cave tui-ipsius præcepta divinis æquiparanda censeas edicásque, Insigne illud commentum Transubstantiationis, Sacrificii Missatici, Purgatorii ignis, fatere tandem et exsibila. Noli Ecclesiam Christianam deinceps ludos facere lucrosis Indulgentiarum nundinationibus. Jubeas ne Sanctorum effigies reliquæve in idola convertantur." Quid, quæso, aliud, à magno Romuli nepote, nisi facem crucémve reportabit?

Quid, ergo? ubi steterit palam errorum parentibus simul et patronis, quidvis aut agere, aut pati potiùs, quàm ut à sententiâ suâ, quamlibet impiâ ac prodigiosâ, discedere velint? Quid à nobis tandem putat paternitas vestra primævæ veritatis asseclis posse expectari, ut conclamatissimis erroribus dare manus, et plus quàm servili jugo Pontificiæ Tyrannidis colla subdere, jam serò animum inducamus? Non ita sanè et Deum et hominem exuere possumus, ut hâc tam insanâ lege pacem colere mavelimus. Alterum profectò horum, si quando convenire lubitum, planè necesse est, ut aut illi errare, aut nos rectà ire desinamus: illud, ipsi valdè nolunt; hoc, Deus.

Quòd si, qui olim Cæsari animus fuisse dicitur, non nisi difficillima quæque obeundi, idem hodie sacratum Deo pectus insideat promoveátque; cave tibi, Tyrrhenum mare ingressuro, à duodecim scopulis, plebi quidem nautarum forsitan incognitis, tibi verò peritissimo naviculatori exploratissimis. Minitantur illi scilicet exitium non cymbis modò quotidianis, seu onerariis, seu actuariis; sed, ubi eò transfretaveris, sanè aut impingat tua navis necesse est, aut subsidat.

Dicam planiùs, ne te salus ipsa servare poterit, ubi Romam accesseris, quin aut damnatos à te pridem errores, mutatâ velificatione revoces resorbeásque; aut damneris vivi comburio: durum utrunque omen; nec, ullâ aliâ ratione, nisi prudenti, quod cautus usque fecisti, profugio, avertendum. Potéstne fieri, ut adeò sis prodigus totius tui, horum uti alterutrum, tutò placidèque vitam

istic agenti arrideat ? Certa mors imminet utrinque reduci ; corporis quidem, si verum fateri audes ; si dejerare, animæ.

At at siquidem animo jampridem discessum à nobis anteverteris, non erit ut de diuturniore aliquâ molis extimæ retentione solliciti simus. Nolo ego de te, tanto Theologo, mali quicquam opinari. Levis cujusdam inconstantiæ, si te tuum ipsius factum palam alligârit, est quod tibi succenseas.

Dic mihi verò, per Deum immortalem, Magne Presul, quid tandem est, quod te nobis, post aliquot annorum moram, jam de subito abripere, Romámque pellicere potuit ?

Numquid inhospita tibi visa est gens nostra ; minúsve quàm fortè speraras virtutibus tuis indultum ?

Causari profectò istud non potes, in quem larga Benignissimi Regis manus tam ampla, tam opima congessit ultro munera ; majora insuper, si foret opus, largitura ; quem Aula, Urbs, Academia utraque, Plebs denique universa, ita suspicere solita est et venerari. Quin et hæc ipsa, quâ jam Serenissimi Regis beneficio frueris, discedendi libertas, quam ingenuè tecum istic actum fuerit, satis clamitat. Non ea patet ubique nobis plenissima eundi quà lubet, redeundíque facultas. Fuere è nostris, quibus Romam vidisse capitale pridem fuit : sunt, qui ubi sævæ urbis limina infelici pede tetigerint, cesserint illico lictori, jamque septendecim plus minùs annos, modò usque superesse licuerit, carcere inquisitorio crudelissimè detenti sunt. Non ita nos tractamus hostes ; non perduelles nostros ; nedum advenas : æquè patent istuc cœlum et terra : pessimèque de Britanniâ nostrâ meriti, hospitium nimis herclè benignum sibi pollicentur.

Num tibi ergo parùm placuere mores nostri ?

Paulò forsan depravatiores solutiorésque quàm par est, vivendi rationes. Obrepent certè vel sanctissimo populo sæculi sui vitia ; neque nostros omnes immunes venditamus ab illâ malorum illuvie, cujus bonos quosque et piget et pudet seriò. *Venient scandala :* vetus verbum est Servatoris. Atqui, teipsum appello testem judicémque, quicquid sumus, non adhuc Italiam impietate exæquavimus. Cedemus profectò, non inviti, genti Pontificiæ ; neque illi diram hanc inhonestámque palmam invidebimus. Finge nos, si placet, multò adhuc improbiores : justificabit nos tamen Roma, ipsa Delos Pontificii Apollinis, Itali Vice-Dei cœlum ; de quâ meritò, quod olim, dixerit Deus, *Vivo ego, dicit Dominus Deus ; quia non fecit Sodoma soror tua, ipsa et filiæ ejus, sicut fecisti tu et filiæ tuæ.* Etiam inter Purpuratos Ecclesiæ illius Moderatores comperies, à quibus turpissimi inter nostros ganeones facilè se victos fatebuntur.

Quid ergo, demum ?

Num displicet quam nos istic profitemur, religio ?

Absit, absit ut grandævus Antistes, tam eximiis animi dotibus imbutus, recidivam patiatur. Apage mendacem famam : non possum ego tam iniquis rumusculis aurem præbere : quicquid ogganniat vulgus, nolo ego istoc credere, nolo suspicari. Quòd si quis tui similis tam malè consulet et suæ et aliorum saluti, eum sic audacter compellare non dubitarem.

Displicétne ergo religio ?

Non ea nunc primulum innotescit : diu est, ex quo utriusque Ecclesiæ dogmata, seriò solicitèque pensiculaveris ; ac notam à te probè sententiam nostram denique amplexus, solam veritati divinæ consonam orbi propinaveris, veracíque calamo palam consignaveris. Ecquod verò nunc novi luminis tibi improvisò obortum sic illustravit oculos, ut quæ solertissima viginti ferè annorum indagine frustrà perquisiveris, clarissimè demum cerneres ? Res eadem est : tu, si sis alius, videris quòd te numen mutârit.

Certè qui religionem nostram odio habent plusquam Eteocleo, fatentur nos verum dicere ; sed totum non dicere criminantur. Quicquid est Positivæ, quam appellant, apud nostros Theologiæ etiam adversariis perplacet. Negationum solummodo quarundam paulò atrociorum graviter accusamur. Nempe, audacem illam impiámque novæ fidei farraginem ferre nec posse nos, nec debere profitemur. Nihil quicquam addimus : nihil immutavimus. Non aut formosior est quàm fuit olim Romanæ Ecclesiæ facies ; aut reformata, turpior.

Dic mihi nunc, cur quæ intoleranda tibi primùm visa sunt religionis assumenta placere incipiant. Cur, jam serò, primigenia nostræ simplicitatis forma tibi sordescere videatur ? Obsecro te, Amplissime Domine, imò adjuro per Dominum Jesum Christum, redeas ad cor tuum, velísque animæ tuæ misereri.

Senex nunc es : moneant te cani tui, flores illi cœmiteriales qui nunc caput tuum gravi quodam decore obtegunt, non longè abesse fatalem illum diem, quo tremendo Summi Judicis tribunali sisteris rationem demutatæ sententiæ redditurus. Cogita jam seriò, quid responsi daturus sis illi, illi falli nescio, vivorum mortuorúmque Arbitro. Quicquid certè fiat cæcæ plebeculæ, cui perfidâ doctorum tyrannide cœlestis doctrinæ jubar intercludi solet, fieri non potest, quin ut tu, quem tam insigni eruditione rerúmque omnium scientiâ instruxit Deus, pœnam à veritatis agnitæ priùs abnegatáeque acerrimo Vindice reportes.

Assurgent contra te, in illo verendo die, scripta tua, egregia orthodoxias quondam tuæ monumenta æviterna ; testabuntúrque, et quis olim fueris, et quàm solidis rationum nixus firmamentis ad nostras partes accesseris ; turpémque tibi lapsum coram Deo et Angelis exprobrabunt.

Interim, verò, cœlum et terra nobis attestentur, ecquid sit, in quo nos sacris indubiísque Dei eloquiis non firmissimè adhæreamus : ecquid, in quo sanctorum Patrum Conciliorúmque authoritate destituamur : ecquid, in quo nos à Romanis discessionem fecerimus ; nisi ubi illos à se, à Deo discessisse constiterit.

O pios salutarésque nostros errores ! Ecquis bonus est, qui cum beatis Patribus, cum gloriosis Martyribus, cum sanctissimis Apostolis, cum Deo denique ipso, errare dubitaverit ? Aliam profectò semitam qui sibi calcandam elegerit ; erret, cadat, pereat, necesse est.

Fige ergo, si sapis, Venerande Præsul, fige istic pedem. Mane

usque nobiscum ; et fruere Deo, fruere Evangelio, fruere suavissimâ bonæ conscientiæ pace.

Quòd si te ista parùm moveant, age orna hanc modò, et abripe, quandoquidem ita vis, fugam ab hoc asylo pacis simul et religionis ; daque aurem noctuis illis, si quæ sint, Loyoliticis, quæ tibi istæc suaserint olim. *Vivit Dominus*, sera duceris facti pœnitentia ; Brittaniámque nostram, aut nunquam vidisse, aut nunquam dereliquisse, frustrà exoptabis ; quod ex animo deprecor.

Reverentiæ vestræ humillimè deditissimus

JOSEPHUS HALLUS,

Archipresb. Wigornien.

THE

OLD RELIGION:

A TREATISE,

WHEREIN IS LAID DOWN

THE TRUE STATE OF THE DIFFERENCE

BETWIXT THE

REFORMED AND ROMAN CHURCH,

AND THE BLAME OF THIS SCHISM IS CAST UPON THE TRUE AUTHORS.

SERVING

FOR THE VINDICATION OF OUR INNOCENCE, FOR THE SETTLING OF WAVERING MINDS, FOR A PRESERVATION AGAINST POPISH INSINUATIONS.

WITH AN

ADVERTISEMENT

FOR SUCH READERS, AS FORMERLY STUMBLED AT SOME PASSAGES IN THE BOOK.

BY

JOSEPH, BISHOP OF EXETER.

TO MY

NEW AND DEARLY AFFECTED CHARGE,

THE DIOCESE OF EXETER,

ALL GRACE AND BENEDICTION.

THE truth of my heart gives me boldness to profess before him, who only knows it, that the same God, who hath called me to the oversight of your souls, hath wrought in me a zealous desire of your salvation.

This desire cannot but incite me to a careful prevention of those dangers, which might threaten the disappointment of so happy an end.

Those dangers are either sins of practice, or errors of doctrine. Against both these, I have faithfully vowed my utmost endeavours. I shall labour against the first, by preaching, example, censures: wherein it shall be your choice, to expect either the rod or the spirit of meekness. Against the latter, my pen hath risen up, in this early assault.

It hath been assured me, that, in this time of late vacancy, false teachers, catching the forelock of occasion, have been busy in scattering the tares of errors amongst you. I easily believe it: since I know it is not in the power of the greatest vigilancy, to hinder their attempts of evil. Even a full See is no sufficient bar to crafty seducers.

Their suggestions we cannot prevent: their success, we may. This I have here assayed to do; bending my style against Popish doctrine, with such Christian moderation, as may argue zeal without malice; desire to win souls; no will to gall them.

And, since the commonest of all the grounds of Romish deceit, is, the pretence of their age and our novelty; and nothing doth more dazzle the eyes of the simple, than the name of our forefathers, and the challenge of a particular recital of our professors before Luther's revolt; I have, I hope, fully cleared this coast: so as, out of the right apprehension of these differences, my reader shall evidently see the vanity of this cavil; and find cause to bless God, for the safety of his station, in so pregnant and undeceivable a truth.

For me, I shame not to profess, that I have passed my most and best hours in quiet meditation: wherein I needed not bend mine edge

against any adversary, but Satan and mine own corruptions. These controversary points I have rather crossed in my way, than taken along with me.

Neither am I ignorant, what incomparably clear beams, in this kind, some of the worthy lights of our Church have cast abroad into all eyes, to the admiration of present and future times. No corner of truth hath lain unsearched, no plea unargued. The wit of man cannot make any essential additions, either to our proofs or answers: but, as in the most perfect discovery, where lands and rivers are specially descried, there may be some small obscure inlets reserved for the notice of following experience; so is it in the business of these sacred quarrels. That brain is very unhappy, which meets not with some traverse of discourse, more than it hath borrowed from another's pen.

Besides which, having fallen upon a method and manner of tractation, which might be of use to plain understandings, the familiarity whereof promised to contribute not a little to the information and setling of weaker souls, I might not hide it from you, to whose common good I have gladly resolved to sacrifice myself. Let it be taken with the same construction of love, wherewith it is tendered.

And, that ye may improve this and all other my following labours to a sensible advantage, give me leave to impart myself a little in this short and free preamble.

It is a large body, I know, and full of ordinate variety, to which I now direct my words. Let me, awhile, in these lines, sever them, whom I would never abide really disjoined.

Ye, my Dear Fellow-Labourers, as my immediate charge, may well challenge the first place. It is no small joy to me, to expect so able hands, upon whom I may comfortably unload the weight of this my spiritual care. If fame do not over-speak you, there are not many soils, that yield either so frequent flocks, or better fed. Go on happily, in these high steps of true blessedness; and save yourselves and others.

To which purpose let me commend to you, according to the sweet experience of a greater shepherd, two main helps of our sacred trade: first, the Tender Pastures; and, secondly, the Still Waters: by the one, I mean an inuring of our people to the principles of wholesome doctrine; by the other, an immunity from all faction and disturbance of the public peace.

It was the observation of the learnedest king, that ever sat hitherto in the English throne, That the cause of the miscarriage of our people into Popery and other errors, was their ungroundedness in the points of catechism. How should those souls be but carried about with every wind of doctrine, that are not well ballasted with solid informations? Whence it was, that his said late Majesty, of happy memory, gave public order for bestowing the latter part of God's day in familiar catechizing; than which, nothing could be devised more necessary and behoveful to the souls of men. It was the ignorance and ill-disposedness of some cavillers, that taxed this course as prejudicial to preaching; since, in truth, the most useful of all preaching is cate-

chetical. This lays the grounds: the other raiseth the walls and roof. This informs the judgment: that stirs up the affections. What good use is there of those affections, that run before the judgment? or of those walls, that want a foundation? For my part, I have spent the greater half of my life in this station of our holy service; I thank God, not unpainfully, not unprofitably: but there is no one thing, whereof I repent so much, as not to have bestowed more hours in this public exercise of catechism; in regard whereof I could quarrel with my very sermons, and wish that a great part of them had been exchanged for this preaching conference. Those other divine discourses enrich the brain and the tongue: this settles the heart. Those other are but the descants to this plain-song. Contemn it not, my Brethren, for the easy and noted homeliness. The most excellent and beneficial things are most familiar. What can be more obvious, than light, air, fire, water? Let him, that can live without these, despise their commonness: rather, as we make so much use of the divine bounty, in these ordinary benefits; so let us the more gladly improve these ready and facile helps, to the salvation of many souls: the neglect whereof breeds instability of judgment, misprision of necessary truths, fashionableness of profession, frothiness of discourse, obnoxiousness to all error and seduction. And, if any of our people loath this manna, because they may gather it from under their feet; let not their palates be humoured, in this wanton nauseation. They are worthy to fast, that are weary of the bread of angels. And, if herein we be curious to satisfy their roving appetite, our favour shall be no better than injurious. So we have seen an undiscreet schoolmaster, while he affects the thanks of an over-weening parent, mar the progress of a forward child, by raising him to a higher form and author, ere he have well learned his first rules: whence follows an empty ostentation, and a late disappointment. Our fidelity and care of profit, must teach us to drive at the most sure and universal good: which shall undoubtedly be best attained by these safe and needful groundworks.

From these tender pastures, let me lead you, (and you, others) to the Still Waters. Zeal in the soul, is as natural heat in the body. There is no life of religion without it. But, as the kindliest heat, if it be not tempered with a due equality of moisture, wastes itself and the body: so doth zeal; if it be not moderated with discretion, and charitable care of the common good. It is hard to be too vehement, in contending for main and evident truths: but litigious and immaterial verities may soon be overstriven for. In the prosecution whereof, I have oft lamented to see how heedless too many have been of the public welfare; while, in seeking for one scruple of truth, they have not cared to spend a whole pound weight of precious peace.

The Church of England, in whose Motherhood we have all just cause to pride ourselves, hath, in much wisdom and piety, delivered her judgment concerning all necessary points of religion, in so complete a Body of Divinity, as all hearts may rest in. These we read: these we write under: as professing, not their truth only, but their sufficiency also. The voice of God our Father, in his Scriptures;

and, out of these, the voice of the Church our Mother, in her Articles; is that, which must both guide and settle our resolutions. Whatsoever is besides these, is but either private, or unnecessary and uncertain. Oh, that, while we sweat and bleed for the maintenance of these oracular truths, we could be persuaded to remit of our heat in the pursuit of opinions! These, these are they, that distract the Church, violate our peace, scandalize the weak, advantage our enemies. Fire upon the hearth warms the body; but, if it be misplaced, burns the house. My Brethren, let us be zealous for our God; every hearty Christian will pour oil, and not water upon this holy flame. But, let us take heed, lest a blind self-love, stiff prejudice, and factious partiality impose upon us, instead of the causes of God. Let us be suspicious of all new verities, and careless of all unprofitable. And let us hate to think ourselves, either wiser than the Church, or better than our Superiors. And, if any man think that he sees farther than his fellows, in these theological prospects; let his tongue keep the counsel of his eyes: lest, while he affects the fame of deeper learning, he embroil the Church, and raise his glory upon the public ruins.

And ye, Worthy Christians, whose souls God hath entrusted with our spiritual guardianship, be ye alike minded with your teachers. The motion of their tongues lies much in your ears: your modest desires of receiving needful and wholesome truths, shall avoid their labour after frivolous and quarrelsome curiosities. God hath blessed you with the reputation of a wise and knowing people: in these divine matters, let a meek sobriety set bounds to your enquiries. Take up your time and hearts with Christ, and Him crucified; with those essential truths, which are necessary to salvation. Leave all curious disquisitions to the Schools; and say of those problems, as the philosopher did of the Athenian shops, "How many things are here, that we have no need of!" Take the nearest cut ye can, ye shall find it a side-way to heaven: ye need not lengthen it, with undue circuitions. I am deceived, if, as the times are, ye shall not find work enough, to bear up against the oppositions of professed hostility. It is not for us, to squander our thoughts and hours upon useless janglings: wherewith if we suffer ourselves to be still taken up, Satan shall deal with us like some crafty cheater, who, while he holds us at gaze with tricks of juggling, picks our pockets. Dear Brethren, whatever become of these worthless dribblets, be sure to look well to the freehold of your salvation. Error is not more busy than subtle. Superstition never wanted sweet insinuations. Make sure work against these plausible dangers: suffer not yourselves to be drawn into the net, by the common stale of the Church. Know, that outward visibility may too well stand, with an utter exclusion from salvation. Salvation consists not in a formality of profession, but in a soundness of belief. A true body may be full of mortal diseases. So is the Roman Church of this day: whom we have long pitied, and laboured to cure in vain. If she will not be healed by us, let not us be infected by her. Let us be no less jealous of her contagion, than she is of our remedies. Hold fast that precious truth, which hath been long taught you, by faithful

pastors; confirmed, by clear evidences of Scriptures; evinced, by sound reasons; sealed up, by the blood of our blessed martyrs. So, while no man takes away the crown of your constancy, ye shall be our crown and rejoicing in the day of the Lord Jesus.

To whose all-sufficient grace I commend you all; and vow myself,

Your common servant, in

him, whom we all

rejoice to serve,

JOS. EXON.

THE

OLD RELIGION.

INTRODUCTION.

SECT. 1.

The Extent of the Differences betwixt the Churches.

THE first blessing, that I daily beg of my God for his Church, is, our Saviour's legacy, *Peace*; John xiv. 27: that sweet peace, which, in the very name of it, comprehends all happiness, both of estate and disposition. As that mountain, whereon Christ ascended, though it abounded with palms, and pines, and myrtles *, yet it carried only the name of Olives, which have been an ancient emblem of peace: other graces are for the beauty of the Church; this, for the health and life of it: for, howsoever even wasps have their combs, and heretics their assemblies (as Tertullian †) so as all are not of the Church that have peace; yet, so essential is it to the Church, in St. Chrysostom's opinion ‡, that the very name of the Church implies a consent and concord. No marvel, then, if the Church, labouring here below, make it her daily suit to her Glorious Bridegroom in Heaven, *Da Pacem*, "Give Peace in our time, O Lord." The means of which happiness are soon seen; not so soon attained; even that, which Jerome hath to his Ruffinus §, *Una Fides*: "Let our belief be but one, and our hearts will be one."

But since, as Erasmus hath too truly observed ‖, there is nothing so happy in these human things, wherein there is not some intermixtures of distemper; and St. Paul hath told us, *there must be heresies*; 1 Cor. xi. 19. and the Spouse, in Solomon's Song, compares her Blessed Husband to *a young hart upon the mountain*

* Adrichoni. Descr. Hieros. fol. fig. 192.

† *Faciunt favos et vespæ; faciunt Ecclesias et Marcionitæ.* Tert. adv. Marcion l. iv. c. 5.

‡ *Ecclesiæ nomen consensûs concordiæque est.* Chrys. Com. in Ep. ad Gal.

§ *Sit inter nos una fides, et illico pax sequetur.* Hier. adv. Ruff.

‖ Eras. Ep. l. xx. Paulo Decimario.

of Bether; that is, division; Cant. ii. 17. yea, rather, as under Genserieus and his Vandals *, the Christian temples flamed higher than the towns; so, for the space of these last hundred years, there hath been more combustion in the Church than in the Civil State: my next wish is, that, if differences in religion cannot be avoided; yet that they might be rightly judged of, and be but taken as they are.

Neither can I but mourn and bleed, to see how miserably the world is abused, on all hands, with prejudice, in this kind; while the adverse part brands us with unjust censures, and with loud clamours cries us down for heretics. On the other side, some of ours do so slight the errors of the Roman Church, as if they were not worth our contention †; as if our martyrs had been rash, and our quarrels trifling. Others, again, do so aggravate them, as if we could never be at enough defiance with their opinions, nor at enough distance from their communion.

All these three are dangerous extremities. The two former whereof shall, if my hopes fail me not, in this whole discourse be sufficiently convinced.

Wherein, as we shall fully clear ourselves from that hateful slander of heresy or schism; so, we shall leave upon the Church of Rome an unavoidable imputation of many, no less foul and enormous, than novel errors: to the stopping of the mouths of those Adiaphorists, whereof Melancthon seems to have long ago prophesied; *Metuendum est &c:* "It is to be feared," saith he ‡, "that, in the last age of the world, this error will reign amongst men, that either religions are nothing, or differ only in words."

The third comes now in our way. That, which Laertius § speaks of Menedemus, that, in disputing, his very eyes would sparkle, is true of many of ours; whose zeal transports them to such a detestation of the Roman Church, as if it were all error, no Church ‖; affecting nothing more than an utter opposition to their doctrine and ceremony, because theirs: like as Maldonate professeth ¶ to mislike and avoid many fair interpretations, not as false, but as Calvin's.

These men have not learned this in St. Austin's school; who tells us, that it was the rule of the Fathers, as well before Cyprian and Agrippinus as since, whatsoever they found in any schism or heresy, warrantable and holy, that they allowed for its own worth, and did not refuse it for the abettors **. "Neither, for the chaff, do we leave the floor of God: neither, for the bad fishes, do we break his nets ††." Rather, as the priests of Mercury had wont

* Victor. Pers. Afric. l. v. † Spalat. de Hist. Eccl. tom. ult. l. vii.
‡ Melanct. Postil. de Bapt. Christ. § Diog. Laert. ‖ Hooker. Eccl. Pol. l. iv. sect. 3. ¶ Comment. in Evang. sæpe.
** *Patres nostri et saluberrimam consuetudinem tenuerunt, ut quicquid divinum ac legitimum, &c.* Aug.
†† *Neque propter paleam, relinquimus aream Domini: neque, propter pisces malos, rumpimus retia Domini.* Aug. Ep. 48.—Sic Anabaptistæ accusant pædobaptismum Papismi. Clifton contra Smith.—Sic Neariani Trinitatem arguunt et articulum Papæ. Prolæus Fascic. c. 1.

to say, when they ate their figs and honey, γλυκὺ, &c. all truth is sweet. It is indeed God's, not ours, wheresoever it is found; as the king's coin is current, though it be found in any impure channel.

For this particular, they have not well heeded that charitable profession of zealous Luther, *Nos fatemur &c*: "We profess," saith he *, "that, under the Papacy, there is much Christian good; yea, all; &c. I say moreover, that, under the Papacy is true Christianity, yea the very kernel of Christianity, &c." No man, I trust, will fear that fervent spirit's too much excess of indulgence.

Under the Papacy may be as much good, as itself is evil †: neither do we censure that Church, for what it hath not; but, for what it hath. Fundamental truth is like Maronæan wine, which, if it be mixed with twenty times so much water, holds its strength. The Sepulchre of Christ was overwhelmed by the Pagans, with earth and rubbish: and, more than so, over it they built a temple to their impure Venus ‡; yet, still, in spite of malice, there was the Sepulchre of Christ. And it is a ruled case of Papinian, that a sacred place loseth not the holiness, with the demolished walls §: no more doth the Roman lose the claim of a True Visible Church, by her manifold and deplorable corruptions. Her unsoundness is not less apparent than her being. If she were once the Spouse of Christ, and her adulteries are known; yet the divorce is not sued out.

SECT. 2.

The Original of the Differences betwixt the Churches.

It is too true, that those two main elements of evil, as Timon called them, Ambition and Covetousness, which Bernard professes were the great masters of that Clergy in his times ‖, having palpably corrupted the Christian world both in doctrine and manners, gave just cause of scandal and complaint to godly minds: which, though long smothered, at last brake forth into public contestation ¶; augmented by the fury of those guilty defendants, which loved their reputation more than peace: but yet so as the com-

* *Nos fatemur sub Papatu plurimum esse boni Christiani; imò, omne bonum Christianum. dico, insuper, et imo vero verum nucleum Christianitatis.* Luther in Ep. ad 2. pleb. de Anabapt. cit. à Cromero de Falsâ Relig. Lutheran.

† *Aliud est credere, quod Papa credit; aliud credere, quod est Papæ.* Prolæus ibid. ubi supr.

‡ Euseb. de Vitâ Const. l. iii. c. 25.

§ Justin. Tit. 1. §. 4. Annot. in Leg. xii. Tab.

‖ *Magistris utentes Ambitione et Avaritiâ.* Bern. ad Henr. Senonensem.

¶ *Quæ fuerant vitia, mores fiunt.* Gers. de Negligentiâ Prælatorum. Ex Senec. Grav. Germ.

plainants ever professed a joint-allowance of those fundamental truths, which descried themselves by their bright lustre, in the worst of that confusion: as not willing, that God should lose any thing, by the wrongs of men; or, that men should lose any thing, by the envy of that Evil Spirit, which had taken the advantage of the public sleep for his tares; Matt. xiii. 25.

Shortly, then, according to the prayers and predictions of many holy Christians, God would have his Church reformed.

How shall it be done? Licentious courses, as Seneca wisely, have sometimes been amended, "by correction and fear; never, of themselves *."

As, therefore, their own president was stirred up in the Council of Trent, to cry out of their corruption of discipline †; so was the spirit of Luther, somewhat before that, stirred up to tax their corruption of doctrine.

But, as all beginnings are timorous ‡, how calmly did he enter §; and, with what submiss supplications, did he sue for redress! "I come to you," saith he ‖, "most Holy Father, and, humbly prostrate before you, beseech you, that, if it be possible, you would be pleased to set your helping hand to the work."

Entreaties prevail nothing. The while, the importune insolence of Eckius and the undiscreet carriage of Cajetan, as Luther there professes ¶, forced him to a public opposition.

At last, as sometimes even poisons turn medicinal **, the furious prosecution of abused authority encreased the zeal of truth; like as the repercussion of the flame intends it more. And, as zeal grew in the plaintiff, so did rage in the defendant ††: so as, now, that was verified of Tertullian ‡‡: *A primordio, &c:* "From the beginning, righteousness suffers violence: and no sooner did God begin to be worshipped, but religion was attended with envy." The masters of the Pythoness are angry, to part with a gainful, though evil, guest. *Am I become your enemy, because I told you the truth?* saith St. Paul. Yet that truth is not more unwelcome, than successful: for, as the breath of a man, that hath chewed

* *Per disciplinam et metum; nunquam, sponte.* Sen.

† *Corrigenda et reformanda est ecclesiastica disciplina, quæ jamdiu depravata atque corrupt. &c.* Orat. Præsid. Conc. Trid. ses. 11.

‡ *Primordia cuncta pavida sunt.* Cassiod.

§ Luther offered 95 Conclusions to be disputed at Wittenberg. Jo. Tecelius offers the contrary Propositions, at Francfort. Vid. Hist. Conc. Trid. lib. i. *Lutherus &c.*

‖ *Ita venio, Beatissime Pater, &c. et, adhuc prostratus, rogo, &c.* Ep. ad Leon. X.

¶ Ibid. Luth. Jo. Eckius and Silvester Prierius write against Luth. Vid. Hist. Conc. Trid.

** *Sæpe saluti fuere pestifera.* Sen.

†† James Hogostrat, a Dominican Inquisitor, stirs up Pope Leo to capital punishments of Luther and his followers. Ibid. Hist. Conc.

‡‡ *A primordio, justitia vim patitur: statim ut coli Deus cæpit, invidiam religio sortita est.* Tert. Scorpiac. adv. Gnostic. c. 8.

saffron, discolours a painted face *: so this blunt sincerity shamed the glorious falsehood of superstition.

The proud offenders, impatient of reproof, try what fire and faggot can do for them †. And now, according to the old word, "suppressed spirits gather more authority ‡:" as the Egyptian violence rather addeth to God's Israel. Insomuch as Erasmus could tell § the Rector of Louvaine, that, by burning Luther's books, they might rid him from the libraries of men; not from their hearts.

The ventilation of these points diffused them to the knowledge of the world. And, now, upon serious scanning, it came to this; as that Honour of Rotterdam professeth ‖: *Non defuisse &c:* "That there wanted not great Divines, which durst confidently affirm, that there was nothing in Luther, which might not be defended by good and allowed authors."

Nothing doth so whet the edge of wit, as contradiction. Now he, who, at first, like the blind man in the gospel, (it is Beza's comparison ¶) saw men like trees; upon more clear light, sees and wonders at those gross superstitions and tyrannies, wherewith the Church of God had been long abused. And, now, as the first Hue and Cry raiseth a whole country, the world was awakened with the noise; and, starting up, saw, and stood amazed to see, its own slavery and besottedness.

Meanwhile, that God, who cannot be wanting to himself, raiseth up abettors ** to his truth. The contention grows. Books fly abroad, on both parts. Straight, Bulls bellow from Rome ††, nothing but death and damnation to the opposites. Excommunications are thundered out, from their Capitoline powers, against all the partakers of this, so called, heresy. The flashes of public Anathemas strike them down to hell.

The condemned reprovers stand upon their own integrity; call heaven and earth to record, how justly they have complained, how unjustly they are censured; in large volumes defending their innocence, and challenging an undeniable part in the True Visible Church of God, from which they are pretended to be ejected: appeal, next to the tribunal of heaven, to the sentence of a free general Council for their right.

Proffer is made, at last, of a Synod at Trent ‡‡; but neither free nor general: nor such, as would afford, after all semblances, either

* Bapt. Porta. † Leonis Bulla. Anno 1518. ‡ *Punitis ingeniis, gliscit authoritas.* § Eras. Godesch. Rosemund.

‖ *Non defuisse magnos Theologos, qui non verebantur affirmare, nihil esse in Luthero, quin per probatos authores defendi possit.* Eras. lib. Ep. 15. Godeschalco Rosemund. &c.

¶ Theod. Beza contra Andr. &c. Vid. Histor. Conc. Trid. l. i.

** *Hudr. Zuinglius, in Eccl. Zurich, opponit se Tratii Sampsoni Mediolan. Francis. Hugo Constantiens. Episcopus opponit se Zuinglio.* Ibid.

†† Bulla Secunda Leonis Papæ. An. 1520.

‡‡ Anno 1518. Vid. Histor. Conc. Trid. l. i.

safety of access *, or possibility of indifferency. That partial meeting, as it was prompted † to speak, condemns us unheard: right so, as Ruffinus ‡ reports it, in that case of Athanasius; *Judicandi potestas &c:* "The power of judging was in the accusers," contrary to the rule of their own law §, *Non debet &c:* "The same party may not be the judge, accuser, witness;" contrary to that just rule of Theodericus, reported by Cassiodore ‖; *Sententia &c:* "The sentence, that is given in the absence of the parties, is of no moment." We are still where we were; opposing, suffering.

In these terms we stand: what shall we say, then? If men would either not have deserved, or have patiently endured reproof, this breach had never been. Woe be to the men, by whom this offence cometh. For us, that rule of St. Bernard ¶ shall clearly acquit us, before God and his angels; *Cùm carpuntur vitia, &c:* "When faults are taxed, and scandal grows, he is the cause of the scandal, who did that, which was worthy to be reproved; not he, that reproved the ill doer."

SECT. 3.

The Reformed unjustly charged with Novelty, Heresy, Schism.

Be it, therefore, known to all the world, that our Church is only Reformed or Repaired; not made new **. There is not one stone of a new foundation laid by us: yea, the old walls stand still; only the overcasting of those ancient stones with the untempered mortar of new inventions, displeaseth us ††.

Plainly, set aside the corruptions, and the Church is the same. And what are these corruptions, but unsound adjections to the ancient structure of religion? These we cannot but oppose; and are, therefore, unjustly and imperiously ejected.

Hence it is, that ours is, by the opposite, styled an Ablative or Negative Religion ‡‡; forsomuch as we join with all true Christians, in all affirmative positions of ancient faith; only standing

* *Tres salvi-conductus concessi Protestantibus; sed quàm frustrà.* Vid. Junii Animadv. in Bellarm.

† Vid. Epist. Epi. Quinque Eccles. in Hist. Conc. Trid.

‡ *Judicandi potestas apud accusatores erat.* Ruffin. Hist. l. i. c. 17.

§ 2. q. *Multo &c.* 3. q. 7. *Nullus debet &c.*

‖ *Sententia, non præsentibus partibus, dicta, nullius momenti est.* Cassiod. de Amicit. c. 5. *Nullus, antè rectam cognitionem causæ, debet privari suo jure.* Rodrig. Cas. Cons. c. 241.

¶ *Cùm carpuntur vitia, et inde scandalum oritur, ipse sibi scandali causa est, qui fecit, quod argui debet; non ille, qui arguit.* Bern. ad Hug. de Sanc. Vict. Ep. 78.

** *Nos vetera instauramus; nova non prodimus.* Eras. Godesch. &c.

†† Vide Fregevillii Politique Reforme. An. 1588.

‡‡ *Hæreses non tam docent credere nova, quàm vetera non credere: magis, enim, hæresis in non credendo.* Joan. Lensæus Bellidanus de Chr. Libert. l. xii. c. 7.

upon the denial of some late and undue additaments to the Christian belief. Or, if those additions be reckoned for ruins, it is a sure rule, which Durandus gives * concerning material churches, applicable to the spiritual; That, if the wall be decayed, not at once, but successively, it is judged still the same church: and, upon reparation, not to be re-consecrated; but only reconciled.

Well, therefore, may those mouths stop themselves, which loudly call † for the names of the professors of our faith, in all successions of times, till Luther looked forth into the world. Had we gone about to broach any new positive truths, unseen, unheard of former times, well and justly might they challenge us, for a deduction of this line of doctrine, from a pedigree of predecessors: now, that we only disclaim their superfluous and novel opinions and practices, which have been, by degrees, thrust upon the Church of God, retaining inviolably all former Articles of Christian Faith, how idle is this plea! how worthy of hissing out!

Who sees not now, that all we need to do, is, but to shew, that all those points, which we cry down in the Roman Church, are such as carry in them a manifest brand of newness and absurdity? This proof will clearly justify our refusal. Let them see how they shall once, before the awful tribunal of our Last Judge, justify their uncharitableness ‡; who cease not, upon this our refusal, to eject and condemn us.

The Church of Rome is sick. Ingenuous Cassander confesseth so: *Nec inficior &c:* "I deny not," saith he §, "that the Roman Church is not a little changed from her ancient beauty and brightness; and that she is deformed with many diseases and vicious distempers."

Bernard tells us how it must be dieted: profitable, though unpleasing medicines, must be poured into the mouth of it ‖.

Luther and his associates did this office; as Erasmus acknowledgeth: *Lutherus porrexit &c:* "Luther," saith he ¶, "gave the world a potion, violent and bitter: whatever it were, I wish it may breed some good health in the body of Christian people; so miserably foul, with all kinds of evils." Never did Luther mean to take away the life of that Church; but the sickness: wherein, as Socrates answered to his judges, surely he deserved recompence instead of rage. For, as St. Ambrose worthily **, *Dulcior est &c:* "Sweeter is a religious chastisement, than a smoothing remission."

* Durand. Ration. lib. i. † Fisher contra D. White et D. Featly.

‡ *Accusatio non debet admitti, quæ non procedit ex charitate.* 4. qu. 5.

§ *Nec inficior Rom. Ecclesiam à prisco suo decore et splendore non parùm diversam; multisque morbis et vitiis deformatam.* Cass. de Offic. Boni Viri, &c.

‖ *Utilia, verò, et nolenti ingerenda.* Bern. de Vit. Solit.

¶ *Lutherus porrexit orbi pharmacum, violentum et amarum: id quale, quale sit, optarim ut aliquid bonæ sanitatis, &c.* Eras. Georg. Sax. Duci. l. xxi. *Novis morbis novis obviandum medicamentis.* Bern. Ep. 161.

** *Dulcior est religiosa castigatio, quàm blanda remissio.* Ambr. in Obit. Theod. Ser. 6.

This, that was meant to the Church's health, proves the physician's disease. So did the bitterness of our wholesome draughts offend, that we are beaten out of doors. Neither did we run from that Church, but are driven away; as our late sovereign professeth, by Causabon's hand *.

We know that of Cyril † is a true word: "Those, which sever themselves from the Church and communion, are the enemies of God, and friends of devils:" and that, which Dionysius said to Novatus ‡: "Any thing must rather be borne, than that we should rend the Church of God." Far, far was it from our thoughts, to tear the seamless coat; or, with this precious oil of truth, to break the Church's head.

We found just faults: else, let us be guilty of this disturbance §. If now, choler unjustly exasperated with an wholesome reprehension, hath broken forth into a furious persecution of the gainsayers, the sin is not ours. If we have defended our innocence with blows, the sin is not ours. Let us never prosper in our good cause, if all the water of Tiber can wash off the blood of many thousand Christian souls, that hath been shed in this quarrel, from the hands of the Romish Prelacy.

Surely, as it was observed of old, that none of the tribe of Levi were the professed followers of our Saviour; so it is too easy to observe, that, of late times, this tribe hath exercised the bitterest enmity upon the followers of Christ.

Suppose we had offended in the undiscreet managing of a just reproof; it is a true rule of Erasmus ‖, That generous spirits would be reclaimed, by teaching; not, by compulsion: and, as Alipius wisely to his Augustin ¶, "Heed must be taken, lest, while we labour to redress a doubtful complaint, we make greater wounds than we find."

Oh, how happy had it been for God's Church, if this care had found any place in the hearts of her governors! who, regarding more the entire preservation of their own honour, than truth and peace, were all in the harsh language of war; *παῖε, βάλλε*; smite, kill, burn, persecute.

Had they been but half so charitable to their modern reprovers, as they profess they are to the foregoing, how had the Church flourished in an uninterrupted unity? "In the old catholic writers," say they **, "we bear with many errors: we extenuate and ex-

* *Non fugimus, sed fugamur.* Causab. ad Peron.

† *Qui ab Ecclesiâ et communione, &c.* Cyril. Orat. de Exitu Animæ.

‡ *Oportebat quidem nihil non ferre, ne Ecclesiam Dei scinderes.* Dionys. ad Novat. Eus. l. viii. c. 44. &c.

§ *Qui statum conturbat Ecclesiæ, ab ejus liminibus arceatur.* 2. Ep. Alex. Pap.

‖ *Ingenia generosa doceri cupiunt; cogi non ferunt: cogere, tyrannorum est; cogi tantùm, asinorum.* Eras. Rosumdavo. ubi suprà.

¶ *Cavendum est, ne, cùm rem dubiam emendare volumus, majora vulnera faciamus.* Alip. Aug. Ep. 239.

** Index Expurgat. Belg. jussu Phil. ii. Antwerp. Offic. Plant. *In catholicis veteribus alios plurimos, &c.*

cuse them: we find shifts to put them off; and devise some commodious senses for them." Guiltiness, which is the ground of this favour, works the quite contrary courses against us. Alas, how are our writings racked, and wrested to envious senses! how misconstrued! how perverted! and made to speak odiously, on purpose to work distate, to enlarge quarrel, to draw on the deepest censures!

Woe is me, this cruel uncharitableness is it, that hath brought this miserable calamity upon distracted Christendom. Surely, as the ashes of the burning mountain Vesuvius, being dispersed far and wide, bred a grievous pestilence in the regions round about *; so the ashes, that fly from these unkindly flames of discord, have bred a woeful infection and death of souls, through the whole Christian World.

SECT. 4.

The Church of Rome guilty of this Schism.

It is confessed by the President of the Tridentine Council †, that the depravation of discipline and manners of the Roman Church, was the chief cause and original of these dissensions. Let us cast our eyes upon the doctrine, and we shall no less find the guilt of this fearful schism, to fall heavily upon the same heads.

For, first, to lay a sure ground, nothing can be more plain, than that the Roman is a particular Church, as the Fathers of Basil well distinguish it; not the universal: though we take in the Churches of her subordination or correspondence. This truth we might make good by authority ‡, if our very senses did not save us the labour.

Secondly, no particular Church, to say nothing of the universal since the Apostolic times, can have power to make a fundamental point of faith. It may explain or declare, it cannot create, Articles §.

Thirdly, only an error against a point of faith, is Heresy.

Fourthly, those points, wherein we differ from the Romanists, are they, which only the Church of Rome hath made fundamental, and of faith.

Fifthly, the Reformed, therefore, being by that Church illegally

* Magdeb. Cent. 2.

† *Quæ jamdiu depravata atque corrupta, harum ipsarum hæresium, magnâ ex parte, causa origóque extitit.* Orat. Præs. Conc. Trid. sess. 11. Petrus Oxon. Sum. Concil. sub Sixto iv.

‡ *Si auctoritas quæratur, orbis major est urbe, ubicunque fuerit Episcopus, sive Roma, sive Eugubii.* Hieron. Evagrio Waldens. Doctr. Fid. Tom. 1. l. ii. Pighius. Hierar. Eccl. l. vi. 3. Turrecremat. et alii. Vid. Mort. appell. l. iv. c. 2. sect. 6. Answer of the Bishop of St. David's Chaplain to Fisher.

§ *Nec Papa, nec Episcopus, propriè potest propositionem &c.* Gers. *An liceat in causis fidei, &c.* Nil. Thessal. Orat. de Dissens.

condemned for those points, are not heretics. "He is properly a heretic," saith Hosius *, "who, being convicted in his own judgment, doth, of his own accord, cast himself out of the Church."

For us, we are neither convicted in our own judgment, nor in the lawful judgment of others. We have not willingly cast ourselves out of the Church; but, however we are said to be violently ejected by the undue sentence of malice, hold ourselves close to the bosom of the true spouse of Christ, never to be removed: as far therefore from heresy, as charity is from our censurers.

Only, we stand convicted by the doom of good Pope Boniface †, or Silvester Prierius ‡; *Quicunque non &c:* "Whosoever doth not rely himself upon the doctrine of the Roman Church, and of the Bishop of Rome, as the infallible rule of faith, from which even the Scripture itself receives her force, he is a heretic." Whence follows, that the Church of Rome, condemning and ejecting those for heretics which are not, is the author of this woeful breach in the Church of God.

I shall, therefore, I hope, abundantly satisfy all wise and indifferent readers, if I shall shew, that those points, which we refuse and oppose, are no other, than such, as, by the confessions of ingenuous authors § of the Roman part, have been, besides their inward falsity, manifest upstarts; lately obtruded upon the Church; such, as our ancient progenitors, in many hundreds of successions, either knew not, or received not into their belief; and yet, both lived and died worthy Christians.

Surely, it was but a just speech of St. Bernard ‖; and that, which might become the mouth of any Pope or Council: *Ego si peregrinum &c:* "If I shall offer to bring in any strange opinion, it is my sin."

It was the wise ordinance of the Thurians, as Diodorus Siculus reports ¶, That he, who would bring in any new law amongst them to the prejudice of the old, should come with a halter about his neck, into the assembly; and there, either make good his project or die.

For, however in human constitutions μεταγενεστέραι, &c. "The later orders are stronger than the former **;" yet, in divinity, *Primum verum;* "The first is true;" as Tertullian's rule is. The old way is the good way, according to the Prophet. Here we hold us; and, because we dare not make more Articles than our Creeds,

* *Is propriè hæreticus dicitur, qui, suo ipsius judicio condemnatus, suâ sponte seipsum ejecit ab Ecclesiâ.* Hosius de Legitimis Judiciis Rerum Ecclesiasticarum. l. ii.

† *Subesse Romano &c.* Extr. de major. et obed. unam &c.

‡ Silv. Prier. Epit. Resp. ad Luth. l. ii. c. 7.

§ *Nilus imputat divisiones Orbis Christiani præsumptioni Romanæ Ecclesiæ, quæ susceperit in se, absque Græcis, definire de rebus fidei; et contrà sentientes anathemate ferire.* Grat. de Dissens. Eccl.

‖ *Ego, si peregrinum dogma induxero, ipse peccavi.* Bern. in Cant. Ser. 30.

¶ Cit. de Modest. Annot. in Leg. xii. Tab.

** Μεταγενεστέραι διατάξεις ἰσχυρότεραι τῶν πρὸ αὐτῶν. Modest. Annot. ibid.

nor more sins than our Ten Commandments, we are indignly cast out.

Let us, therefore, address ourselves roundly to our promised task; and make good the novelty and unreasonableness of those points we have rejected.

Out of too many controversies disputed betwixt us, we select only some principal; and, out of infinite varieties of evidence, some few irrefragable testimonies.

CHAP. I.

ON JUSTIFICATION BY INHERENT RIGHTEOUSNESS.

To begin with JUSTIFICATION.

The Tridentine Fathers, in their seven months' debating* of this point, have so cunningly set their words, that the error, which they would establish, might seem to be either hid or shifted: yet, at the last, they so far declare themselves, as to determine, that "the only formal cause of our Justification is God's justice †; not by which he himself is just, but by which he makes us just: wherewith being endowed by him, we are renewed in the spirit of our minds; and are not only reputed, but are made truly just, receiving every man his own measure of justice, which the Holy Ghost divides to him, according to each man's predisposition of himself and co-operation ‡." And, withal, they denounce a flat Anathema § to all those, "who shall dare to say, that we are formally justified by Christ's righteousness; or by the sole imputation of that righteousness, or by the sole remission of our sins; and not by our inherent grace, diffused in our hearts by the Holy Ghost." Which terms they have so craftily laid together, as if they would cast an aspersion upon their adversaries, of separating the necessity of sanctification from the pretended justification by faith; wherein all our words and writings will abundantly clear us, before God and men.

That there is an inherent justice in us, is no less certain, than that it is wrought in us by the Holy Ghost. For God doth not justify the wicked man, as such; but, of wicked, makes him good: not by mere acceptation, but by a real change; while he justifies him, whom he sanctifies.

* Card. de Monte Præs. Conc. Orat. suâ. sess. 11. professes, what they meant to have dispatched in fifteen days, cost seven months' work.

† *Unica formalis causa est justitia Dei; non quâ ipse justus est, sed quâ nos justos facit, &c.* Conc. Trid. sess. 6.

‡ *Secundum propriam cujusque dispositionem et co-operationem.* Ibid.

§ *Si quis dixerit, &c. per eam ipsam formaliter justos esse, vel solâ imputatione justitiæ Christi, vel solâ remissione peccatorum, &c. anathema sit.* Can. 10. 11.

These two acts of mercy are inseparable *: but this justice, being wrought in us by the Holy Spirit, according to the model of our weak receipt, and not according to the full power of the Infinite Agent †, is not so perfect, as that it can bear us out before the tribunal of God. It must be only under the garment of our Elder Brother, that we dare come in for a blessing: his righteousness made ours by faith, is that, whereby we are justified in the sight of God: this doctrine is that, which is blasted with a Tridentine curse.

SECT. 1.

The Newness of the Article of Justification by Inherent Righteousness.

Hear now the History of this doctrine of Justification, related by their Andrew Vega (de Just. l. vii. c. 24.) *Magna fuit &c:* "Some ages since," saith he, "there was a great concertation amongst Divines, what should be the formal cause of our Justification. Some thought it to be no created justice infused into man; but only the favour and merciful acceptation of God: in which opinion, the Master of Sentences is thought, by some, to have been. Others, whose opinion is more common and probable, held it to be some created quality, informing the souls of the just: this opinion was allowed in the Council of Vienna; and the School-Doctors, after the Master of Sentences, delivered this not as probable only, but as certain. Afterwards, when some defended the opposite part to be more probable, it seemed good to the holy Synod of Trent thus to determine it."

So as, till the late Council of Trent, by the confession of Vega himself, this opinion was maintained as probable only; not, as of faith: yea, I add, by his leave, the contrary was till then most current.

It is not the logic of this point, we strive for: it is not the grammar ‡: it is the divinity: what that is, whereby we stand acquitted before the Righteous Judge §; whether our inherent justice, or Christ's imputed justice apprehended by faith. The Divines of Trent are for the former: all Antiquity, with us, for the latter. A

* *Nunquam remittetur culpa, quin simul infundatur justitia.* Bell. l. ii. de Justif. c. 13.

† *Perfecta sunt opera Dei:* ex Deut. xxxii. Bell. l. ii. de Justific. c. 14. *Justitiam in nobis recipientes, unusquisque suam secundum mensuram quam Spiritus Sanctus partitur singulis prout vult, et secundum propriam cujusque dispositionem.* Conc. Trid. ubi suprà.

‡ *Forense vocab. Justif. verbum justificandi in aliâ significatione usurpant Patres.* Chemnit. Exam. de Justif.

§ *Causa formalis, propter quam, homo dicitur justus coram Deo.* Bell. l. ii. de Justif. c. 1. Yet, in the next chapter, he corrects this *propter*, in Chemnitius; and expresses it by *per*: l. ii. c. 2.

just volume would scarce contain the pregnant testimonies of the Fathers, to this purpose.

St. Chrysostom tells us *, it is the wonder of God's mercy, that he, who hath sinned, confesseth, is pardoned, secured, and suddenly appears just: just; but how? "The cross took away the curse," saith he †, most sweetly: "Faith brought in righteousness; and righteousness drew on the grace of the Spirit."

St. Ambrose tells us ‡, that our carnal infirmity blemisheth our works; but, that the uprightness of our faith covers our errors, and obtains our pardon; and professeth, that he will glory, not for that he is righteous, but for that he is redeemed; not for that he is void of sins, but for that his sins are forgiven him.

St. Jerome tells us §, then we are just, when we confess ourselves sinners; and, that our righteousness stands not in any merit of ours, but in the mere mercy of God; and, that the acknowledgment of our imperfection, is the imperfect perfection of the just.

St. Gregory tells us ‖, that our Just Advocate shall defend us righteous in his judgment, because we know and accuse ourselves unrighteous; and, that our confidence must not be in our acts, but in our Advocate.

But the sweet and passionate speeches of St. Austin and St. Bernard would fill a book, alone. Neither can any Reformed Divine, either more disparage our inherent righteousness, or more magnify and challenge the imputed.

It shall suffice us to give a taste of both.

"We have all, therefore, brethren, received of his fulness: of the fulness of his mercy, of the abundance of his goodness, have we received. What? Remission of sins, that we might be justified by faith. And what more? Grace for grace: that is, for this grace wherein we live by faith, we shall receive another;" saith that divinest of the Fathers ¶. And, soon after **, "All, that are from sinful Adam, are sinners: all, that are justified by Christ, are just; not in themselves, but in him: for, in themselves, if ye ask after them, they are Adam; in him, they are Christ's." And, else-

* Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 2. *O misericordiæ magnitudinem, &c. repentéque, justus apparet.*

† Chrysost. in Galat. c. iii. *Crux sustulit execrationem: fides invexit justitiam; justitia verò gratiam Spiritûs allexit.*

‡ Ambros. de Jacob. et Vita Beata. *Non operibus justificamur, sed fide; quoniam carnalis infirmitas &c.*—Ibid. c. 6. *Non gloriabor quia mens &c.*—Similiter de Cain et Abel. l. i. c. 9. de Fuga. sec. c. 3. et 7.

§ Hieron. adv. Pelag. l. i. *Tunc justi sumus, cùm imperfectos nos &c.*

‖ Gregor. in Ezech. Hom. 7. ad finem. *Justus igitur Advocatus noster &c.*

¶ *Ergo, fratres, omnes de plenitudine ejus accepimus: de plenitudine misericordiæ, &c. Quid? Remissionem peccatorum, ut justificaremur ex fide, &c.* Aug. Tract. 3. in Joannem.

** *Omnes, qui ex Adam cum peccato, peccatores: omnes, qui per Christum justificati, justi; non in se, sed in illo: nam, in se, si interroges, Adam sunt; &c.* Ibid. Aug.

where *, "Rejoice in the Lord, and be glad, O ye righteous. O wicked, O proud men, that rejoice in yourselves! Now, believing in him who justifieth the wicked, your faith is imputed to you for righteousness. Rejoice in the Lord: why? because now ye are just. And whence are ye just? not by your own merits, but by his grace. Whence are ye just? because ye are justified."

"*Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect?* It sufficeth me for all righteousness, that I have that God propitious to me, against whom only I have sinned. All that he hath decreed not to impute unto me, is as if it had not been. Not to sin, is God's justice: man's justice is God's indulgence;" saith devout Bernard †. How pregnant is that famous profession of his! "And, if the mercies of the Lord be from everlasting and to everlasting ‡, I will also sing the mercies of the Lord everlastingly. What! shall I sing of my own righteousness? No, Lord, I will remember thy righteousness alone §; for that is mine too. Thou art made unto me, of God, righteousness: should I fear, that it will not serve us both? It is no short cloak ‖, that it should not cover twain. Thy righteousness is a righteousness for ever; and what is longer than eternity? Behold thy large and everlasting mercy will largely cover both thee and me at once ¶: in me, it covereth a multitude of sins; in thee, Lord, what can it cover, but the treasures of pity, the riches of bounty?" Thus he.

What should I need to draw down this truth, through the times of Anselm, Lombard, Bonaventure, Gerson?

The "Manual of Christian Religion," set forth in the Provincial Council of Coleine, shall serve for all. Bellarmin himself grants ** them herein ours; and they are worth our entertaining. That book is commended by Cassander ††, as marvellously approved by all the learned Divines of Italy and France; as that, which notably sets forth the sum of the judgment of the Ancients concerning this and other points of Christian Religion. *Nos dicimus &c* ‡‡: "We say that a man doth then receive the gift of Justification by faith, when, being terrified and humbled by repentance, he is again raised up by faith; believing that his sins are for-

* *Lætamini, &c. O qui lætamini in vobis! O impii, O superbi, qui lætamini in vobis! Jam credentes in eum, qui justificat impium, &c.* Aug. 2. Enarrat. in Psalm xxxi.

† *Quis accusavit &c. Sufficit mihi ad omnem justitiam, solum habere propitium, cui soli peccavi. Omne quod, &c. Non peccare, Dei justitia est: hominis justitia indulgentia Dei.* Bern. in Cant. Ser. 23.

‡ *Et si misericordia Domini &c.*

§ *Nunquid justitias meas? Domine, memorabor justitiæ tuæ solius, &c.*

‖ *Non est pallium breve, &c.*

¶ *Et te pariter et me operiet largiter larga et æterna justitia, &c.* Bern. sup Cant. Ser. 61.

** Bell. de Justif. l. ii. c. 1. and l. iii. c. 3.

†† *Qui liber ab omnibus eruditoribus Theologis, etiam per Italiam et Galliam, summopere commendatus fuit, &c.* Cass. Cons. Art. 4.

‡‡ *Nos dicimus hominem per fidem donum Justificationis tum demum accipere, &c.* Enchir. Colon.

given him, for the merits of Christ, who hath promised remission of sins to those that believe in him: and when he feels in himself new desires; so as, detesting evil and resisting the infirmity of his flesh, he is inwardly enkindled to an endeavour of good, although this desire of his be not yet perfect."

Thus they, in the voice of all Antiquity, and the then-present Church. Only the late Council of Trent hath created this opinion of Justification a point of faith.

SECT. 2.

Justification by Inherent Righteousness, against Scripture.

YET, if age were all the quarrel, it were but light: for, though newness in divine truths is a just cause of suspicion; yet, we do not so shut the hand of our munificent God, that he cannot bestow upon his Church new illuminations, in some parcels of formerly-hidden verities.

It is the charge both of their Canus and Cajetan *, that no man should detest a new sense of Scripture for this, that it differs from the ancient Doctors: for God hath not, say they, tied exposition of Scripture to their senses.

Yea, if we may believe Salmeron †, the later Divines are so much more quick-sighted; they, like the dwarf sitting on the giant's shoulder, overlook him, that is far taller than themselves.

This position of the Roman Church is not more new, than faulty. "Not so much novelty, as truth, convinceth heresies;" as Tertullian ‡.

We had been silent, if we had not found this point, besides the lateness, erroneous; erroneous, both against Scripture and Reason.

Against Scripture, which every where teacheth, as, on the one side, the imperfection of our inherent righteousness; so, on the other, our perfect justification by the imputed righteousness of our Saviour, brought home to us by faith.

The former, Job saw from his dunghill: *How should a man be justified before God? If he will contend with him, he cannot answer one of a thousand;* Job ix. 2, 3. Whence it is, that wise Solomon asks, *Who can say, My heart is clean; I am pure from sin?* Prov. xx. 9. And, himself answers, *There is not a just man upon earth, which doeth good and sinneth not;* Eccl. vii. 20 a truth, which, besides his experience, he had learned of his father David; who could say, *Enter not into judgment with thy servant,* though a man after God's own heart; *for in thy sight shall no man living be justified;* cxliii. 2

* Can. Loc. Com. l. vii. c. 3. res. hæc de Cajet.

† *Quo juniores, eo perspicatiores.* Salmer. in Rom. v. Disput. 51.

‡ *Hæreses, non tam novitas, quàm veritas revincit* Tert. de Veland. Virgin

and, *If thou, Lord, shouldest mark iniquities, O Lord, who should stand?* Ps. cxxx. 3. For, *We are all as an unclean thing* (*we*, saith the Prophet Isaiah, including even himself) *and all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags;* Is. lxiv. 6. And was it any better with the best Saints under the Gospel? *I see*, saith the Chosen Vessel, *in my members, another law warring against the law of my mind, and leading me captive to the law of sin which is in my members;* Rom. vii. 23. So as, *In many things, we sin all;* James iii. 2. And, *If we say that we have no sin, we do but deceive ourselves, and there is no truth in us;* 1 John i. 8.

The latter is the sum of St. Paul's Sermon at Antioch: *Be it known unto you, men and brethren, that through this man is preached to you forgiveness of sins; and, by him, all, that believe, are justified;* Acts xiii. 38, 39. They are justified: but how? *Freely, by his grace;* Rom. iii. 24. What Grace? Inherent in us, and working by us? No: *By grace are ye saved, through faith; and that, not of yourselves, it is the gift of God. Not of works, lest any man should boast;* Eph. ii. 8, 9. Works are ours: but this is *righteousness of God, which is by the faith of Jesus Christ, to all them that believe;* Rom. iii. 22. And how doth this become ours? By his gracious imputation: *Not to him that worketh, but believeth in him who justifieth the wicked, is his faith imputed for righteousness;* Rom. iv. 5.

Lo, it is not the act, not the habit of faith, that justifieth: it is he, that justifies the wicked, whom our faith makes ours, and our sin his: *He was made sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him;* 2 Cor. v. 21. Lo, so were we made his righteousness, as he was made our sin. Imputation doeth both: it is that, which enfeoffs our sins upon Christ, and us in his righteousness; which both covers and redresses the imperfection of ours.

That distinction is clear and full: *That I may be found in him, not having mine own righteousness, which is of the Law; but that, which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith;* Phil. iii. 9. St. Paul was a great Saint: he had a righteousness of his own; not as a Pharisee only, but as an Apostle; but that, which he dares not trust to, but forsakes, and cleaves to God's: not that essential righteousness, which is in God, without all relation to us; nor that habit of justice, which was remaining in him; but that righteousness which is, of God, by faith made ours.

Thus, being justified by faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ; Rom. v. 1. For what can break that peace, but our sins? and those are remitted: for, *Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God, that justifies;* Rom. viii. 33. And, in that remission, is grounded our reconciliation: for, *God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself, not imputing their sins unto them;* 2 Cor. v. 19: but, contrarily, imputing to them his own righteousness, and their faith for righteousness; v. 21.

We conclude then, that a man is justified by faith; Rom. iii. 28. And, *Blessed is he, to whom the Lord imputes righteousness without works.*

Blessed are they, whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered *; Rom. iv. 6, 7.

Let the vain sophistry of carnal minds deceive itself with idle subtleties, and seek to elude the plain truth of God with shifts of wit; we bless God for so clear a light; and dare cast our souls upon this sure evidence of God, attended with the perpetual attestation of his ancient Church.

SECT. 3.

Justification by Inherent Righteousness, against Reason.

LASTLY, Reason itself fights against them.

Nothing can formally make us just, but that, which is perfect in itself †. How should it give, what it hath not? Now our inherent righteousness, at the best, is, in this life, defective. *Nostra si qua est humilis &c:* "Our poor justice," saith Bernard ‡, "if we have any, it is true, but it is not pure: for, how should it be pure, where we cannot but be faulty?" Thus he. The challenge is unanswerable.

To those, that say they can keep God's Law, let me give St. Jerome's answer to his Ctesiphon §, *Profer quis impleverit;* "Shew me the man that hath done it:" for, as that Father, elsewhere ‖, "*In thy sight shall none living be justified:* He said not, 'no man;' but, *none living;* not Evangelists, not Angels, not Thrones, not Dominions." "If thou shalt mark the iniquities even of thine elect," saith St. Bernard ¶, "who shall abide it?" To say now, that "our actual justice, which is imperfect through the admixtion of venial sins, ceaseth not to be both true, and, in a sort, perfect justice **," is, to say, there may be an unjust justice, or a just injustice; that even muddy water is clear, or a leprous face beautiful.

Besides, all experience evinceth our wants. For, as it is St. Austin's true observation, "He, that is renewed from day to day, is not all renewed; and, so much as he is not renewed, so much he must needs be in his old corruption." And, as he speaks to his Jerome of the degrees of charity ††, "There is, in some, more; in some less; in some, none at all: but the fullest measure, which can receive no increase, is not to be found in any man while he lives here: and, so long as it may be increased; surely, that which

* Ad hæc vide Gen. xv. 6. Isa. xlv. 25. l. 8. lni. 11. Rom. iii. 20, 26, 30. iv. 2, 3, 9, 16. v. 9, 18, 19. viii. 1. x. 3, 10. 1 Cor. iv. 4. Gal. ii. 16. iii. 6, 11, 22, 24.

† *Non majus est creare cœlum et terram, quàm peccatores justificare.* Gers. Tract. sup. Magnificat. 10.

‡ Bern. de Verbis Is. Ser. 5. § Hier. ad Ctesiphontem.

‖ Hier. de Filio Prodigo. ¶ Bern. in Cant. Ser. 73.

** *Justitia actualis imperfecta &c. non desinit tamen esse vera justitia, et, suo quodam modo, perfecta.* Bell. de Justif. l. ii. c. 14.

†† Aug. ad Hier. Ep. 29.

is less than it ought, is faulty: from which faultiness, it must needs follow, that there is no just man upon earth, which doeth good and sinneth not; and thence, in God's sight, shall none living be justified." Thus he.

To the very last hour, our prayer must be, *Forgive us our trespasses.* Our very daily endeavour, therefore, of increasing our renovation, convinceth us sufficiently of imperfection; and the imperfection of our regeneration, convinceth the impossibility of Justification by such inherent righteousness.

In short, therefore, since this doctrine of the Roman Church is both new and erroneous, against Scripture and Reason, we have justly refused to receive it into our belief; and, for such refusal, are unjustly ejected.

CHAP. II.

ON THE DOCTRINE OF MERIT.

MERIT is next: wherein the Council of Trent * is no less peremptory: "If any man shall say, that the good works of a man justified do not truly merit eternal life, let him be Anathema."

It is easy for error to shroud itself under the ambiguity of words. The word Merit hath been of large use with the Ancients, who would have abhorred the present sense. With them, it sounded no other than obtaining, or impetration †: not, as now, earning in the way of condign wages; as if there were an equality of due proportion betwixt our works and heaven, without all respects of pact, promise, favour; according to the bold comment of Sotus, Tollet, Pererius, Costerus, Weston, and the rest of that strain.

SECT. 1.

The Newness of the Doctrine of Merit.

FAR, far was the gracious humility of the Ancient Saints from this so high a presumption.

Let St. Basil ‡ speak for his fellows. Eternal rest remains for those, who, in this life, have lawfully striven: ἃ καὶ ὀφείλημα, &c. not for

* Conc. Trid. sess. 6. c. 16. can. 32. *Si quis &c. augmentum gratiæ, vitam æternam, et ipsius vitæ æternæ consecutionem, Anathema sit, &c.*

† *O fælix culpa, quæ talem meruit habere salvatorem! Ecclesia canit in benedictione Cerei.* Salm. in 1 Tim. i. *Apostoli à suis civibus occidi meruerunt.* Aug. in Ps. xxxv. *Major est mea iniquitas, quàm ut veniam merear.* Gen. iii. Vulg. Trad. vid. Mort. Appel.

‡ *Manet sempiterna requies &c.* Basil in Ps. cxiv. ἃ καὶ ὀφείλημα τῶν ἔργων, &c.

the merits of their deeds, but of the grace of that most munificent God, in which they have trusted."

Why did I name one, when they all, with full consent, as Cassander witnesseth *, profess to repose themselves wholly upon the mere mercy of God, and merit of Christ; with an humble renunciation of all worthiness in their own works?

Yea, that unpartial author derives this doctrine, even through the lower ages of the Schoolmen and later writers; Thomas of Aquine, Durand, Adrian de Trajecto (afterwards Pope), Clictoveus; and delivers it for the voice of the then present Church †.

And, before him, Thomas Waldensis, the great champion of Pope Martin against the miscalled heretics of his own name, professes ‡ him the sounder Divine and truer Catholic, which simply denies any such merit; and ascribes all to the mere grace of God, and the will of the Giver.

What should I need to darken the air with a cloud of witnesses; their Gregory Ariminensis, their Brugensis, Marsilius, Pighius, Eckius, Ferus, Stella, Faber Stapulensis?

Let their famous preacher, Royard, shut up all §. *Quid igitur is, qui Merita prætendit, &c:* "Whosoever he be, that pretends his Merits, what doth he else, but deserve hell by his works?"

Let Bellarmin's *tutissimum est, &c.* ground itself upon St. Bernard's experimental resolution: *Periculosa habitatio est, &c:* "Perilous is their dwelling-place, who trust in their own Merits;" perilous, because ruinous.

All these, and many more, teach this; not as their own doctrine, but as their Church's. Either they and the Church, whose voice they are, are heretics, with us; or we orthodox, with them; and they and we, with the Ancients.

The novelty of this Roman Doctrine is accompanied with error, against Scripture, against Reason.

SECT. 2.

The Doctrine of Merit against Scripture.

THAT God doth graciously accept and munificently recompense our good works, even with an incomprehensible glory, we doubt not, we deny not; but this, either out of the riches of his mercy or the justice of his promise: but, that we can earn this at his hands, out of the intrinsical worthiness of our acts, is a challenge too high for flesh and blood; yea, for the angels of heaven.

* *Veteres omnes, summo consensu, tradunt, &c.* Cassand. Consult. de Bonis Quæst.

† *Neque ab hâc &c. Scholastici Scriptores, et recentiores Ecclesiastici &c.*

‡ Tho. Wald. tom. 6. sacr. Tit. i. c. 7. *Thom. Wald. præclarus Wicklifistarum impugnator.* Andr. Vega. l. vii. de Causis Justif. c. 24.

§ Royard. tom. 5 Dominic. 11. post Pentecost.

How direct is our Saviour's instance, of the servant come out of the field, and commanded by his master to attendance! *Doth he thank that servant, because he did the things, that were commanded him? I trow not. So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants;* Luke xvii. 9, 10. "Unprofitable," perhaps you will say, "in respect of meriting thanks; not unprofitable, in respect of meriting wages: for, *to him, that worketh, is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt;* Rom. iv. 4." True: therefore herein our case differeth from servants, that we may not look for God's reward as of debt, but as of grace: *By grace are ye saved, through faith;* Eph. ii. 8. Neither is it our earning, but God's gift: both it cannot be: for, *if by grace, then it is no more of works,* even of the most renewed: *otherwise grace is no more grace. But, if it be of works, then it is no more grace: otherwise work should be no more work;* Rom. xi. 6. Now, *Not by works of righteousness which we have done,* at our best, *but, according to his mercy, he saveth us;* Tit. iii. 5. Were our salvation of works, then should eternal life be our wages: but now, *The wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ, our Lord;* Rom. vi. 23.

SECT. 3.

The Doctrine of Merit, against Reason.

In very Reason, where all is of mere duty there can be no merit: for how can we deserve reward by doing that, which if we did not we should offend? It is enough for him that is obliged to his task, that his work is well taken. Now, all that we can possibly do, and more, is most justly due unto God, by the bond of our Creation, of our Redemption; by the charge of his royal Law, and that sweet Law of his Gospel: nay, alas! we are far from being able to compass so much as our duty: *In many things, we sin all.*

It is enough, that, in our glory, we cannot sin: though their Faber Stapulensis would not yield so much *; and taxeth Thomas for saying so, with the same presumption that Origen held the very good angels might offend. Then, is our grace consummate †: till then, our best abilities are full of imperfection. Therefore, the conceit of merit is not more arrogant, than absurd.

We cannot merit of him, whom we gratify not: we cannot gratify a man, with his own: all our good is God's already; his gift, his propriety: *What have we, that we have not received?* 1 Cor. iv. 7. Not our talent only, but the improvement also, is his mere bounty. There can be, therefore, no place for merit.

In all just Merit, there must needs be a due proportion, betwixt

* Alex. Pesaut. in 1, 2. qu. 4. Artic. 4. disp. 4.

† *Gloria est gratia consummata.* P. Ferius Specim. Schol. Orth. c. 13.

the act and the recompence. It is of favour, if the gift exceed the worth of the service.

Now what proportion can be, betwixt a finite, weak, imperfect obedience (such is ours at the best,) and an infinite, full, and most perfect glory? The bold Schools dare say *, That the natural and entitative value of the works of Christ himself was finite, though the moral value was infinite. What then shall be said of our works, which are, like ourselves, mere imperfection? We are not so proud that we should scorn, with Ruard. Tapperus †, to expect heaven as a poor man doth an alms: rather, according to St. Austin's charge‡, *(Non sit caput turgidum, &c:* "Let not the head be proud, that it may receive a crown,") we do, with all humility and self-dejection, look up to the bountiful hands of that God, who crowneth us in mercy and compassion.

This doctrine, then, of Merit, being both new and erroneous, hath justly merited our reproof and detestation: and we are unjustly censured, for our censure thereof.

CHAP. III.

ON THE DOCTRINE OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

THE point of TRANSUBSTANTIATION is justly ranked amongst our highest differences §. Upon this quarrel, in the very last age, how many souls were sent up to heaven, in the midst of their flames ‖! as if the sacrament of the altar had been sufficient ground of these bloody sacrifices.

The definition of the Tridentine Council is herein, beyond the wont, clear and express ¶: "If any man shall say, that, in the sacrament of the Sacred Eucharist, there remains still the substance of bread and wine, together with the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; and shall deny that marvellous and singular conversion of the whole substance of bread into the Body, and the whole substance of wine into Blood, the *(species)* semblances or shews only of bread and wine remaining; which said conversion the Catholic Church doth most fitly call Transubstantiation; let him be accursed." Thus they.

* Pesaut. in 3. Tho. q. 1. art. 2. *Valor physicus et entitativus operum Christi &c.*

† *Absit ut justi vitam æternam expectent, sicut pauper eleemosynam.* Ruard. Tap. ex Artic. Colon.

‡ Aug. de Verb. Apost. ser. 2.

§ *Fons Idolomaniarum Transubstan.* Melanct. ad Amicum, 1544. Boxhorn. Isag. ad Concord. l. iii.

‖ Fox Acts and Mon. passim.

¶ *Si quis dixerit in Sacrosanctæ &c.* Concil. Trid. de Transub. c. 4. Can. 2.

SECT. 1.

The Newness of the Doctrine of Transubstantiation.

Now let us enquire how Old this piece of faith is.

In Synaxi serò &c: "It was late, ere the Church defined Transubstantiation," saith Erasmus *: "For, of so long it was," saith he, "held sufficient to believe, that the true Body of Christ was there; whether under the consecrated bread, or howsoever."

And how late was this? Scotus shall tell us: *Ante Concilium Lateranense, &c:* "Before the Council of Lateran, Transubstantiation was no point of faith:" as Cardinal Bellarmin himself confesses his opinion †, with a *minimè probandum.* And this Council was in the year of our Lord, one thousand two hundred and fifteen.

Let who list, believe that this subtle doctor had never heard ‡ of the Roman Council under Gregory the Seventh, which was in the year one thousand seventy nine; or that other, under Nicholas the Second, which was in the year one thousand and threescore; or, that he had not read those Fathers, which the Cardinal had good hap to meet with.

Certainly, his acuteness easily found out other senses of those conversions, which Antiquity mentions; and, therefore, dares confidently say, wherein Gabriel Biel seconds him §, *Non admodum antiquam &c:* That "this doctrine of Transubstantiation is not very ancient."

Surely, if we yield the utmost time, wherein Bellarmin can plead the determination of this point, we shall arise but to *saltem ab annis quingentis, &c:* "Five hundred years ago:" "so long," saith he‖, "at least, was this opinion of Transubstantiation, upon pain of a curse, established in the Church."

The Church: but what Church? The Roman, I wis; not the Greek. That word of Peter Martyr is true, That the Greeks ever abhorred from this opinion of Transubstantiation. Insomuch as, at the shutting up the Florentine Council ¶, which was but in the year 1539, when there was a kind of agreement betwixt the Greeks and Latins about the Procession of the Holy Ghost, the Pope earnestly moved the Grecians, that, amongst other differences, they would also accord, *de divinâ panis Transmutatione,* "concerning the divine Transmutation of the bread:" wherein, notwithstanding, they departed, as formerly, dissenting.

How palpably doth the Cardinal shuffle in this business, while he would persuade us, that the Greeks did not at all differ from the

* *In Synaxi serò Transubstantiationem definivit Ecclesia. Diu satis erat credere, sive sub pane consecrato, sive quocunque modo, adesse verum Corpus Christi.* Eras. Annot. in 1 Cor. vii.

† Bellar. de Euchar. l. iii. c. 23. ‡ Ibid. Bell. § Confitente etiam Suarez.

‖ *Saltem ab annis quingentis dogma Transub. sub anathemate stabilitum.* Bell. de Euch. l. iii. c. 21.

¶ Concil. Florent. sess. ult.

Romans in the main head of Transubstantiation; but only concerning the particularity of those words, whereby that unspeakable change is wrought! when as, it is most clear, by the Acts of that Council, related even by their Binius himself, that, after the Greeks had given in their answer, "That they do firmly believe, that, in those words of Christ, the sacrament is made up *" which had been sufficient satisfaction if that only had been the question, the Pope urges them earnestly still, *ut de divinâ panis Transmutatione, &c:* that in the Synod there might be treaty had "of the divine Transmutation of the bread:" and, when they yet stiffly denied, he could have been content to have had the other three questions, of Unleavened Bread, Purgatory, and the Pope's Power discussed; waving that other of Transubstantiation, which he found would not abide agitation. Since which time, their Patriarch Jeremias of Constantinople, hath expressed the judgment of the Greek Church †: *Etenim verè &c:* "For the Body and Blood of Christ are truly mysteries: not, that these are turned into man's body; but, that, the better prevailing, we are turned into them:" yielding a change, but mystical, not substantial.

As for the Ancients, of either the Greek or Latin Church, they are so far from countenancing this opinion, that our learned Whitaker durst challenge his Duræus ‡; *Si vel unum &c:* "If you can bring me but one testimony of sincere Antiquity, whereby it may appear, that the bread is transubstantiate into the flesh of Christ, I will yield my cause."

It is true, that there are fair flourishes made of a large jury of Fathers §, giving their verdict this way; whose very names can hardly find room in a margin. Scarce any of that sacred rank are missing.

But, it is as true, that their witnesses are grossly abused to a sense, that was never intended. They only desire, in a holy excess of speech, to express the sacramental change ‖ that is made of the elements, in respect of use; not in respect of substance: and passionately to describe unto us the benefit of that sacrament, in our blessed communion with Christ, and our lively incorporation into him.

Insomuch, as Cardinal Bellarmin himself is fain to confess ¶ a very high hyperbole in their speeches: *Non est novum &c:* "It is no unusual thing," saith he, "with the Ancients; and especially Irenæus, Hilary, Nissen, Cyril, and others; to say, that our bodies are nourished by the Holy Eucharist."

Neither do they use less height of speech, as our learned Bishop

* *Se firmiter credere, verbis illis Dominicis sacramentum fieri.* Ibid. sess. ult.

† Act. Theol. Wittenberg. ann. 1584. ‡ Whitak. contr. Dur. l. ii. fol. 220.

§ *Ignat.* ad Smyr. *Iren.* l. v. cont. Hæres. *Tertul.* de Resur. *Orig.* Hom. 5. in diver. loc. *Cyprian.* de Cœnâ Dom. *Basil.* in Reg. Brev. q. 172. *Greg. Nyssen.* in Catechet. *Cyril. Hierosol.* Cat. Myst. 4. *Hilar.* l. viii. de Trinit. *Ambr.* de Sacr. l. iv. c. 4 et 5. *Greg. Naz.* in Epit. Gorgon. *Epiph.* in Anch. *Chrys.* Hom. 24. in 1 Cor. *Cyril. Alex.* Epist. ad Cœlesyrium. *Aug.* in Psal. xxiii. *Hier.* ad Hedib. *Theodor.* Dial. 3. *Leo.* Ser. vi. de Jejunio. *Damas.* l. iv. de Fid. Orth. *Theophylact.* in Luc. xxii.

‖ *Et quidem mutatur: est enim alia elementi natura; Sacramenti, alia.* Eliens. cont. Bell.

¶ Bell. de Eúchar. l. ii. c. 4.

hath particularly observed *, in expressing our participation of Christ in Baptism; wherein yet never any man pleaded a Transubstantiation.

Neither have there been wanting some of the classical leaders of their Schools, which have confessed more probability of ancient evidence for Consubstantiation, than for this change.

Certainly, neither of them both entered ever into the thoughts of those holy men; however the sound of their words have undergone a prejudicial mistaking.

Whereas, the sentences of those Ancients against this mis-opinion are direct, punctual, absolute, convictive, and uncapable of any other reasonable sense.

What can be more choking, than that of their Pope Gelasius †, above a thousand years since? *Et, tamen, &c:* "Yet there ceaseth not to be the very substance of bread and wine."

What can be more plain, than that of St. Augustin ‡? "It is not this Body which you see, that you shall eat; neither is it this Blood which my crucifiers shall spill, that you shall drink: it is a sacrament, that I commend unto you; which, being spiritually understood, shall quicken you." Or, that other §? "Where a flagitious act seems to be commanded, there the speech is figurative; as when he saith, *Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, &c:* it were a horrible wickedness to eat the flesh of Christ; therefore, here must needs be a figure understood."

What shall I urge that of Tertullian ‖, whose speech Rhenanus confesseth to have been condemned after in Berengarius? "My Body, that is, the figure of my Body."

That of Theodoret ¶? "The mystical signs, after consecration, lose not their own nature."

That of St. Chrysostom **? "It is a carnal thing, to doubt how Christ can give us his flesh to eat; when as, this is mystically and spiritually to be understood." And, soon after, enquiring what it is to understand carnally, he thus explicates it ††: "It is to take things simply as they are spoken, and not to conceive of any other thing meant by them." This, wherein we are, is a beaten path; trod with the feet of our holy martyrs, and traced with their blood.

What should I need to produce their familiar and ancient Advocates, who have often wearied and worne this bare; Athanasius ‡‡,

* Bishp. Morton's Appell.

† Gelas. Pap. de Duabus Christ. Nat. Biblioth. Patr. Tom. 4.

‡ August. in Ps. xcviii. *Non hoc ipsum corpus quod videtis, &c. neque hunc ipsum sanguinem, &c. sacramentum vobis aliquod com. &c.*

§ *Ubi flagitium &c.* Aug. de Doct. Christ. l. iii. c. 16.

‖ Tertul. contr. Marcionem. l. iv. ¶ Theodor. Dial. 2. et 3 μένει γὰρ, &c.

** *Carnale est, dubitare quo modo de cœlo descendit, &c. quo modo possit carnem suam dare ad manducandum: Hæc inquam omnia carnalia, quæ mystica et spiritualiter intelligenda sunt.* Chrys. in cap. vi. Joan. Hom. 46.

†† *Simpliciter, ut res dicuntur, neque aliud quippiam excogitare, &c.* Ibid.

‡‡ In illud, *Si quis dixerit contra Filium Hom.*

Justin *, Origen †, Cyprian ‡, Nazianzen §, Basil ‖, Jerome ¶, Hilary **, Cyril ††, Macarius ‡‡, Bertram §§; besides those, whom I formerly cited.

Of all others, which I have not found pressed by former authors, that of our Albinus or Alcuinus ‖‖, Beda's learned scholar, who lived in the time of Charles the Great, seems to me most full and pregnant: *Hoc est, ergo, &c:* "This is, therefore, to eat that flesh, and to drink that blood; to remain in Christ and to have Christ remaining in us: so as he, that remains not in Christ, and in whom Christ remaineth not, without doubt doth not spiritually eat his flesh; although, carnally and visibly, he chew the sacrament of his Body and Blood with his teeth ¶¶: but, rather, he eats and drinks the sacrament of so great a thing, unto his own judgment; because he presumed to come unclean unto those sacraments of Christ: which none can take worthily but the clean." Thus he. Neither is this his single testimony, but such as he openly professeth the common voice of all his predecessors ***. And, a little after, upon those words, *The flesh profiteth nothing*, he addeth; "The flesh profiteth nothing, if ye understand the flesh so to be eaten as other meat; as that flesh, which is bought in the shambles."

This is the ordinary language of Antiquity: whereof we may truly say, as the Disciples did of Christ, *Behold, now thou speakest plainly, and speakest no parable;* John xvi. 29.

At last, ignorance and misunderstanding brought forth this monster of opinion; which superstition nursed up, but fearfully and obscurely, and not without much scope of contrary judgments; till after Pope Nicholas had made way for it, in his proceedings against Berengarius (by so gross an expression as the Gloss is fain to put a caveat upon) anno 1060. The Lateran Council authorized it for a matter of faith, anno 1215.

Thus young is Transubstantiation. Let Scripture and Reason shew how erroneous.

SECT. 2.

Transubstantiation, against Scripture.

WERE it not, that men do wilfully hoodwink themselves with their own prejudice, the Scripture is plain enough. For, the mouth, that said of bread, *This is my Body*, said also of the same body, *My flesh is meat indeed* †††, long before there can be any plea of transubstantiation; and, *I am the bread, that came down from hea-*

* Contr. Tryphon. † Hom. 7. in Levit. ‡ De Cœnâ Dom. § In Epitaph. Cæsarii, et ad Cives Nazian. ‖ L. de Baptis. ¶ In Isa. lxvi. ** Lib. viii. de Trin. †† In Joan. l. iii. c. 34. ‡‡ Hom. 27. §§ Lib. de Corp. et Sang. &c. ‖‖ Albin. in Joan. c. 6. ¶¶ *Dentibus premat, &c.* *** *Sicut etiam ante nos intellexerunt homines Dei.* Ibid. ††† John vi. 55.

ven ; John vi. 51 : so was he manna to the Jews, as he is bread to us. And, St. Paul says of his Corinths, *Ye are the body of Christ ;* 1 Cor. xii. 27. yet not meaning any transmutation of substance.

And, in those words, wherein this powerful conversion is placed, he says only, *This is ;* Matt. xxvi. 26. not, this is transubstantiate : and, if, while he says, *This is*, he should have meant a Transubstantiation, then it must needs follow, that his Body was transubstantiate before he spake ; for *This is*, implies it already done. He adds, *This is my Body :* his true, natural, human Body was there with them, took the bread, brake it, gave it, ate it : if the bread were now the Body of Christ, either he must have two bodies there, or else the same body is by the same body taken, broken, eaten ; and is, the while, neither taken, nor broken, nor eaten. Yet, he adds, *which is given for you ;* Luke xxii. 19 : this was the Body which was given for them, betrayed, crucified, humbled to the death ; not the glorious Body of Christ, which should be capable of ten thousand places at once, both in heaven and earth ; invisible, incircumscriptible. Lastly, he adds, *Do this in remembrance of me :* remembrance implies an absence ; neither can we more be said to remember that which is in our present sense, than to see that which is absent.

Besides, that the great Doctor of the Gentiles tells us, that, after consecration, it is Bread, which is broken and eaten ; 1 Cor. xi. 26 : neither is it less than five times so called, after the pretended change.

Shortly, Christ, as man, was, in all things, like to us, except sin ; Heb. ii. 17 : and our human body shall be once like to his glorious Body. The glory, which is put upon it, shall not strip it of the true essence of a body : and, if it retain the true nature of a body, it cannot be, at the same instant, both above the heavens and below on earth, in a thousand distant places. He is locally above : for, *The heavens must receive him, till the times of the restitution of all things ;* Acts iii. 21. He is not, at once, in many distant places of the earth : for, the angel, even after his Resurrection, says, *He is not here ; for he is risen ;* Matt. xxviii. 6.

SECT. 3.

Transubstantiation, against Reason.

NEVER did or can Reason triumph so much, over any prodigious paradox, as it doth over this. Insomuch, as the patrons of it are fain to disclaim the sophistry of reason, and to stand upon the suffrages of faith, and the plea of miracles.

We are not they, who, with the Manichees *, refuse to believe Christ, unless he bring reason. We are not they, who think to

* Aug. de Util. Cred. c. 14.

lade the sea, with an egg-shell; to fathom the deep mysteries of religion, with the short reach of natural apprehension. We know there are wonders in divinity, fit for our adoration; not fit for our comprehending: but, withal, we know, that, if some theological truths be above right reason, yet never any against it; for all verity complies with itself *, as springing from one and the same fountain.

This opinion, therefore, we receive not: not because it transcends our conceit; but because we know it crosseth both true reason and faith.

It implies manifest contradiction †: in that it refers the same thing to itself, in opposite relations; so as it may be, at once, present and absent, near and far off, below and above.

It destroys the truth of Christ's human Body: in that it ascribes quantity to it, without extension, without locality ‡; turning the flesh into spirit, and bereaving it of all the properties of a true body; those properties, which, as Nicetas truly §, cannot, so much as in thought, be separated from the essence of the body. Insomuch, as Cyril can say ‖, "If the Deity itself were capable of partition, it must be a body: and if it were a body, it must needs be in a place, and have quantity and magnitude; and, thereupon, should not avoid circumscription."

It gives a false body to the Son of God: making that, every day, of bread, by the power of words, which was made once, of the substance of the Virgin, by the Holy Ghost.

It so separates accidents from their subjects, that they not only can subsist without them, but can produce the full effects of substances: so as bare accidents are capable of accidents; so as, of them, substances may be either made or nourished.

It utterly overthrows, which learned Cameron ¶ makes the strongest of all reasons, the nature of a Sacrament: in that it takes away, at once, the sign, and the analogy betwixt the sign and the thing signified: the sign, in that it is no more bread, but accidents; the analogy, in that it makes the sign to be the thing signified.

Lastly, it puts into the hands of every priest, power to do, every day, a greater miracle, than God did in the creation of the world: for, in that, the Creator made the creature; but, in this, the creature daily makes the Creator.

Since, then, this opinion is both new, and convinced to be grossly erroneous by Scripture and Reason, justly have we professed our detestation of it; and, for that, are unjustly ejected.

* συναληθεύα.

† *Quod cùm affirmatur negatur, impossibile est, et implicat contradictionem.* Cassan. in Implic. Contradict.

‡ *Spatia locorum tolle corporibus.* Aug. Ep. 57.

§ Nicetas, in Nazianz. Orat. de Pentec. *Quidem ne cogitatione* ἀπεσκιάσθαι, &c. Sic et Aug. *Tolle ipsa corpora qualitatibus, &c.*

‖ *Nam si vere sectionem et partitionem Divina Natura reciperet, &c.* Cyril. Alex. Tom. 2. Dialog. de Trin. lib. ii.

¶ Resp. ad Epist. Viri Docti.

CHAP. IV.

ON THE HALF-COMMUNION.

SECT. 1.

The Newness of the Half-Communion.

THE Novelty of the HALF SACRAMENT, or DRY COMMUNION, delivered to the Laity, is so palpable, as that the patrons of it, in the presumptuous Council of Constance, profess no less *. *Licet Christus &c :* "Although Christ," say they, "after his Supper, instituted and administered this venerable Sacrament, under both kinds of bread and wine, &c :" *Licet, in primitivâ &c :* "Although, in the Primitive Church, this Sacrament were received by the faithful under both kinds :" *Non obstante, &c.* "Yet this custom, for the avoiding of some dangers and scandals †, was, upon just reason, brought in, that Laics should receive only under one kind; and those, that stubbornly oppose themselves against it, shall be ejected, and punished as heretics."

Now this Council was but in the year of our Lord God, 1453. Yea, but these Fathers of Constance, however they are bold to control Christ's law by custom; yet, they say ‡ it was *consuetudo diutissimè observata;* "a custom very long observed :"—

True: but the full age of this *diutissimè* is openly and freely calculated by their Cassander §. *Satis constat &c :* "It is apparent enough, that the Western or Roman Church, for a thousand years after Christ, in the solemn and ordinary dispensation of this sacrament, gave both kinds of bread and wine to all the members of the Church: a point, which is manifest by innumerable ancient testimonies, both of Greeks and Latins; and this they were induced to do by the example of Christ's institution." *Quare non temerè, &c :* "It is not, therefore," saith he, "without cause, that most of the best Catholics, and most conversant in the reading of ecclesiastical writers, are inflamed with an earnest desire of obtaining the cup of the Lord; that the sacrament may be reduced to that ancient custom and use, which hath been, for many ages, perpetuated in the Universal Church." Thus he. We need no other advocate.

Yea, their Vasquez draws it yet lower: *Negare non &c :* "We cannot deny, that, in the Latin Church, there was the use of both

* Const. Synod. sess. 13. de Burgo. 4. partis cap. 8. Sacr. &c.

† *Inter alia, propter periculum effusionis.* Jo.

‡ Ibid.

§ Cassand. Cons. de Utraque Spec

kinds; and, that it so continued, until the days of St. Thomas; which was about the year of God 1260."

Thus it was in the Roman Church.

But, as for the Greek, the world knows it did never but communicate under both kinds. These open confessions spare us the labour of quoting the several testimonies of all ages. Else it had been easy to shew in the Liturgy of St. Basil and Chrysostom *, the Priest was wont to pray, "Vouchsafe, O Lord, to give us thy Body and thy Blood; and, by us, to thy people:" how, in the Order of Rome †, the Archdeacon, taking the chalice from the Bishop's hand, confirmeth all the receivers with the Blood of our Lord: and, from Ignatius's ‡ ἓν ποτήριον τοῖς ὅλοις, "one cup distributed to all," to have descended along through the clear records of St. Cyprian, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustin, Leo, Gelasius, Paschasius, and others, to the very time of Hugo and Lombard, and our Halensis; and, to shew, how St. Cyprian § would not deny the Blood of Christ to those, that should shed their blood for Christ; how St. Austin ‖, with him, makes a comparison, betwixt the blood of the legal sacrifices which might not be eaten, and this blood of our Saviour's sacrifice which all must drink.

But, what need allegations, to prove a yielded truth? so as this halving of the sacrament is a mere Novelty of Rome; and such a one, as their own Pope Gelasius sticks not to accuse of no less than sacrilege ¶.

SECT. 2.

Half-Communion, against Scripture.

NEITHER shall we need to urge Scripture, when it is plainly confessed by the late Councils of Lateran and Trent, that this practice varies from Christ's institution.

Yet the Tridentine Fathers have left themselves this evasion **, That, "however our Saviour ordained it in both kinds, and so delivered it to his Apostles; notwithstanding, he hath not, by any command, enjoined it to be so received of the Laity:" not considering, that the charge of our Saviour is equally universal in both: to whom he said *Take, and eat;* to the same also he said *Drink ye all of this;* so as, by the same reason, our Saviour hath given no command at all unto the Laity to eat or drink; and so this Blessed

* Liturg. Basil. et Chrysost. † Vid. Cassand. Cons. ubi suprà.
‡ In Ep. ad Philadelph. § Lib. i. Ep. 2.
‖ Lib. de Cœna Dom. Quæst. in Levit. 57.
¶ Grat. Decret. de Consecrat. Dist. 2. chap. 12. *Comperimus. Divisio unius ejusdem mysterii non sine grandi sacrilegio potest pervenire.*
** *Etsi Christus Dominus &c. non tamen illa institutio et traditio eò tendunt, ut omnes Christi fideles statuto Domini ad utramque speciem accipiendam astringantur, &c.* Conc. Trid. sess. 5. sub Pio. anno 1562. cap. 1.

Sacrament should be to all God's people, the Priests only excepted, arbitrary and unnecessary.

But the great Doctor of the Gentiles is the best commenter upon his Master; who, writing to the Church of God at Corinth, *to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, with all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ,* 1 Cor. i. 2. so delivers the institution of Christ, as that, in the use of the cup, he makes no difference *; six times conjoining the mention of drinking with eating; and, fetching it in with an ὡσαύτως, *equality* of the manner and necessity of both, charges all Christians indifferently, *Probet seipsum, Let every man examine himself, &c. and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup;* 1 Cor. xi. 28.

SECT. 3.

Half-Communion, against Reason.

In this practice, Reason is no less their enemy.

Though it be but a man's testament; yet, if it be confirmed, no man disannulleth it, saith St. Paul; Gal. iii. 15. How much less shall flesh and blood presume to alter the last will of the Son of God; and that, in so material a point, as utterly destroys the institution! For, as our learned Bishop of Carlisle argues truly †, half a man is no man, half a sacrament is no sacrament.

And, as well might they take away the bread as the cup: both depend upon the same ordination. It is only the command of Christ that makes the bread necessary: the same command of Christ equally enjoins the cup: both do either stand or fall, upon the same ground.

The pretence of concomitancy is so poor a shift, that it hurts them rather: for if, by virtue thereof, the Body of Christ is no less in the wine than the Blood is in the bread, it will necessarily follow, that they might as well hold back the bread and give the cup, as hold back the cup and give the bread.

And could this mystery be hid from the eyes of the Blessed Author of this Sacrament? Will these men be wiser, than the Wisdom of his Father? If he knew this, and saw the wine yet useful, who dares abrogate it; and, if he had not seen it useful, why did he not then spare the labour and cost of so needless an element?

Lastly, the Blood, that is here offered unto us, is that, which was shed for us: that, which was shed from the Body, is not in the Body: in vain, therefore, is concomitancy pleaded for a separated Blood.

Shortly, then, this mutilation of the sacrament, being both confessedly late and extremely injurious to God and his people, and contrary to Scripture and Reason, is justly abandoned by us: and we, for abandoning it, unjustly censured.

* *Nihil differt sacerdos à subdito, quando fruendum est mysteriis.* Chrys.
† Doct. White contra Fisher.

CHAP. V.

ON THE SACRIFICE OF THE MASS.

SECT. 1.

The Newness of the Missal Sacrifice.

It sounds not more prodigiously, that a Priest should every day make his God, than that he should SACRIFICE him.

Antiquity would have as much abhorred the sense, as it hath allowed the word. Nothing is more ordinary with the Fathers, than to call God's table an Altar *; the holy elements, an Oblation; the act of celebration, an Immolation; the actor, a Priest.

St. Chrysostom reckons † ten kinds of sacrifice; and, at last, as having forgotten it, adds the eleventh: all which we well allow. And, indeed, many sacrifices are offered to God, in this one: but, "a true, proper, propitiatory sacrifice for quick and dead," which the Tridentine Fathers ‡ would force upon our belief, would have seemed no less strange a solecism to the ears of the Ancients, than it doth to ours.

St. Augustin § calls it a Designation of Christ's Offering upon the Cross; St. Chrysostom ||, and Theophylact after him, a Remembrance of his Sacrifice; Emissenus, a Daily Celebration in Mystery of that which was once offered in payment; and Lombard himself ¶, a Memorial and Representation of the True Sacrifice upon the Cross.

That, which Cassander cites ** from St. Ambrose or Chrysostom, may be instead of all. "In Christ, is the sacrifice once offered, able to give salvation. What do we, therefore? Do we not offer every day? Surely, if we offer daily, it is done for a recordation of his death."

This is the language and meaning of Antiquity: the very same, which the Tridentine Synod condemneth in us ††: "If any man shall say, that the Sacrifice of the Mass is only a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or a bare commemoration of the Sacrifice offered upon the Cross, let him be accursed."

* *Macarium in altare insultasse, mensam Domini evertisse.* Socr. l. i. c. 10.

† Chrys. in Ps. xcv.

‡ Conc. Trid. sess. 6. c. 2. can. 1. *Verum, proprium, propitiatorium, &c.*

§ In lib. Sent. Prosp. || Hom. 17. ad Hebr.

¶ *Prece mystică consecratur nobis, in memoriâ Dominicæ passionis.* Lomb. Sent. l. iv. d. 12.

** Cassand. Consult. de Sacrificio. Et ibid. *Hoc autem sacrificium exemplar est illius.* Chryst. ubi suprà.

†† *Si quis dixerit, Missæ Sacrificium tantùm esse laudis et gratiarum actionis, &c.* Sess. 6. c. 9.

SECT. 2.

The Sacrifice of the Mass, against Scripture.

How plain is the Scripture, while it tells us, that our High Priest *needeth not daily, as those high priests*, under the Law, *to offer up sacrifice; first for his own sins, then for the people: for this he did once, when he offered up himself!* Heb. vii. 27.

The contradiction of the Trent Fathers * is here very remarkable. "Christ," say they, "who, on the altar of the cross, offered himself in a bloody sacrifice, is now this true propitiatory Sacrifice in the Mass, made by himself. He is one and the same sacrifice; and one and the same offerer of that sacrifice, by the ministry of his Priests, who then offered himself on the cross." So then, they say, that Christ offered up that sacrifice then, and this now: St. Paul says he offered up that sacrifice, and no more. St. Paul says our High Priest needs not to offer daily sacrifice: they say these daily sacrifices must be offered by him. St. Paul says, that he offered himself but once for the sins of the people: they say he offers himself daily for the sins of quick and dead. And, if the Apostle, in the spirit of prophecy, foresaw this error, and would purposely forestall it, he could not speak more directly, than when he saith, *We are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ, once for all. And every high priest standeth daily ministering and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices, which can never take away sins: But this man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, for ever sat down on the right hand of God; From henceforth expecting till his enemies are made his footstool. For, by one offering he hath perfected for ever them, that are sanctified;* Heb. x. 10—14.

Now, let the vain heads of men seek subtle evasions, in the different manner of this offering †: bloody, then; unbloody, now. The Holy Ghost speaks, punctually, of the very substance of the act; and tells us absolutely, there is but one sacrifice, once offered by him, in any kind: else, the opposition, that is there made betwixt the Legal Priesthood and his, should not hold; if, as they, so he, had often properly and truly sacrificed.

That I may not say they build herein what they destroy; for an unbloody sacrifice, in this sense, can be no other than figurative and commemorative; is it really propitiatory? *Without shedding of blood, there is no remission;* Heb. ix. 22. If, therefore, sins be remitted by this sacrifice, it must be in relation to that blood, which was shed in his true personal sacrifice upon the cross: and what relation can be betwixt this and that, but of representation and remembrance? in which their moderate Cassander fully resteth ‡.

* Conc. Trid. Sess. 6. c. 2.
† *Solâ offerendi ratione diversa.* Ibid. Conc. Trid.
‡ Cassand. Consult. de Sacrif.

SECT. 3.

The Missal Sacrifice, against Reason.

In Reason, there must be in every sacrifice, as Cardinal Bellarmin grants *, a destruction of the thing offered: and shall we say, that they make their Saviour, to crucify him again? No; but to eat him: for, *Consumptio seu manducatio, quæ fit à Sacerdote, &c:* "The consumption or manducation, which is done of the Priest, is an essential part of this sacrifice;" saith the same author: "for, in the whole action of the Mass, there is," saith he, "no other real destruction, but this."

Suppose we, then, the true human flesh, blood, and bone of Christ, God and Man, really and corporally made such by this transubstantiation, whether is more horrible, to crucify or to eat it?

By this rule, it is the Priest's teeth, and not his tongue, that makes Christ's Body a sacrifice.

By this rule, it shall be *hostia*, "a host," when it is not a sacrifice; and a reserved host is no sacrifice, howsoever consecrated. And what if a mouse, or other vermin, should eat the host (it is a case put by themselves †) who then sacrificeth?

To stop all mouths, Laics eat as well as the Priest: there is no difference in their manducation: but Laics sacrifice not. And, as Salmeron urges, the Scripture distinguisheth, betwixt the sacrifice and the participation of it: *Are not they, which eat of the sacrifices, partakers of the altar?* 1 Cor. x. 18. And, in the very Canon of the Mass; *Ut quotquot &c:* the Prayer is, "That all we, which, in the participation of the altar, have taken the Sacred Body and Blood of thy Son, &c." "Wherein it is plain," saith he, "that there is a distinction, betwixt the host and the eating of the host."

Lastly, Sacrificing is an act done to God: if, then, eating be sacrificing, the Priest eats his God to his God: *Quorum Deus venter.*

While they, in vain, study to reconcile this new-made sacrifice of Christ already in heaven, with *Jube hæc perferri &c.* "Command these to be carried by the hands of thy holy angels to thy high altar in heaven, in the sight of thy Divine Majesty:" we conclude, that this proper and propitiatory Sacrifice of the Mass, as a new, unholy, unreasonable sacrifice, is justly abhorred by us; and we, for abhorring it, unjustly ejected.

* Bell. l. i. de Missâ. c. 2.

† Jo. de Burg. 4. partis c. 8. de Ministrat. Euch.—Salmer. Tom. 9. Tract. 29. *An Euchar. sit propriè sacrificium.*

CHAP. VI.

ON THE WORSHIP OF IMAGES.

SECT. 1.

The Newness of Image-Worship.

As for the setting up and WORSHIPPING OF IMAGES, we shall not need to climb so high as Arnobius; or Origen; or the Council of Eliberis, Anno 305; or to that fact and history of Epiphanius, (whose famous Epistle is honoured by the translation of Jerome *) of the picture found by him in the church of the village of Anablatha, though out of his own diocese: how he tore it, in a holy zeal; and wrote to the Bishop of the place, beseeching him, that no such pictures may be hanged up, contrary to our religion †: though, by the way, who can but blush at Mr. Fisher's evasion, that it was sure the picture of some profane Pagan; when as, Epiphanius himself there says it had *Imaginem quasi Christi, vel Sancti cujusdam*, "The image as it were of Christ, or some Saint?" surely, therefore, the image went for Christ's, or for some noted Saint's: neither doth he find fault with their resemblance; but with the image, as such.

That of Agobardus ‡ is sufficient for us: *Nullus antiquorum Catholicorum &c:* "None of the ancient Catholics ever thought, that Images were to be worshipped or adored. They had them, indeed; but for history's sake: to remember the Saints by; not to worship them."

The decision of Gregory the Great §, some six hundred years after Christ, which he gave to Serenus Bishop of Massilia, is famous in every man's mouth and pen: *Et, quidem, quia eas adorari vetuisses, &c:* "We commend you," saith he, "that you forbad those Images to be worshipped; but we reprove your breaking of them:" adding the reason of both, "For that they were only retained for history, not for adoration." Which ingenuous Cassander so comments upon ‖, as that he shews this to be a sufficient declaration of the judgment of the Roman Church in those times: *Videlicet, ideo haberi picturas &c:* "That Images are kept, not to be adored and worshipped; but that the ignorant, by beholding those pictures, might, as by written records, be put in mind of what hath been formerly done, and be thereupon stirred up to piety."

And the same author tells us, that *Sanioribus scholasticis displicet*

* Ep. Epiphan. Inter Opera Hieron.
† *Quæ contra religionem nostram veniunt, &c.*
‡ Biblioth. Patr. Tom. 9. § Greg. Ep. l. ix. Ep. 9. Indict. 4.
‖ Cassand. Consult. 21. Artic. de Cultu Imag.

&c.: "the sounder Schoolmen disliked that opinion of Thomas Aquine, who held, that the Image is to be worshipped with the same adoration, which is due to the thing represented by it;" reckoning up Durand, Holcot, Biel.

Not to spend many words, in a clear case: what the judgment and practice of our ancestors in this island was concerning this point, appears sufficiently by the relation of Roger Hoveden, our historian; who tells us *, that, in the year 792, Charles, the King of France, sent into this isle a Synodal Book directed unto him from Constantinople, wherein there were divers offensive passages; but especially this one, that, by the unanimous consent of all the Doctors of the East and no fewer than three hundred Bishops, it was decreed, that images should be worshipped: *quod Ecclesia Dei execratur*, saith he; "which the Church of God abhors." "Against which error, Albinus," saith he, "wrote an Epistle, marvellously confirmed by authority of Divine Scriptures; and, in the person of our Bishops and Princes, exhibited it, together with the said book, unto the French King." This was the settled resolution of our predecessors: and if, since that time, prevailing superstition have encroached upon the ensuing succession of the Church, τὰ ἀρχαῖα, Let the old rules stand, as those Fathers determined: away with novelties.

But, Good Lord, how apt men are to raise or believe lies, for their own advantages! Urspergensis, and other friends † of idolatry, tell us of a Council held at London, in the days of Pope Constantine, Anno 714: wherein the Worship of Images was publicly decreed. The occasion whereof was this: Egwin, the Monk, after made Bishop, had a vision from God, wherein he was admonished, to set up the Mother of God in his church: the matter was debated; and brought before the Pope, in his See Apostolic: there, Egwin was sworn to the truth of his vision: thereupon, Pope Constantine sent his Legate Boniface into England, who called a Council at London; wherein, after proof made of Egwin's visions, there was an act made for Image-Worship. A figment so gross, that even their Baronius and Binius fall foul upon it, with a *facilè inducimur*, *&c.* "we are easily induced to believe it to be a lie." Their ground is, that it is destitute of all testimony of Antiquity; and, besides, that it doth directly cross the report of Beda, who tells us that our English, together with the Gospel received the use of images from their Apostle Augustin, and therefore needed not any new vision for the entertainment thereof. Let us enquire then a little into the words of Beda ‡. *At illi*, "but they," (Augustin and his fellows) *non dæmoniaca &c.* "came armed, not with the power of devils, but of God; bearing a silver cross for their standard, and the Image of our Lord and Saviour painted in a table; and singing Litanies, both for the salvation of themselves and of them whom they came to convert." Thus he. This shews, indeed, that Augustin and his fel-

* Rog. Hoveden. Part. Annal. i. anno 792. fol. 3.
† Vid. Binium in Vitâ Const. P. ‡ Beda Eccles. Hist. Angl. l. i. c. 25, &c.

lows brought Images into England, unknown here before; a point, worthy of good observation: but, how little this proves the allowed worship of them, will easily appear to any reader, if he consider, that Gregory, the First and Great, was he, that sent Augustin into England; whose judgment concerning Images is clearly published by himself to all the world, in his fore-cited Epistle, absolutely condemning their adoration: Augustin should have been an ill Apostle, if he had herein gone contrary to the will of him, that sent him. If, withal, he shall consider, that, within the very same century of years, the Clergy of England, by Albinus, Bede's scholar, sent this public declaration of their earnest disavowing, both of the doctrine and practice of Image-Worship.

SECT. 2.

Image-Worship, against Scripture.

As for Scripture, we need not to go farther than the very Second Commandment: the charge whereof is so inevitable, that it is very ordinarily (doubtless, in the guiltiness of an apparent check) left out in the devotional books to the people.

Others *, since they cannot raze it out, would fain limit it to the Jews; pretending, that this precept against the Worship of Images was only temporal and ceremonial, and such as ought not to be in force under the times of the Gospel: wherein, they recal to my thoughts that, which Epiphanes the son of Carpocrates answered, when his lust was checked with the command of *Non concupisces.* "True," said he, "that is to be understood of the heathen, whose wives and sisters we may not indeed lust after."

Some more modest spirits are ashamed of that shift; and fly to the distinction of Idols and Images: a distinction, without a difference †; of their making, not of God's: of whom we never learned other, than, as every idol is an image of something, so every image worshipped turns idol. The language differs; not the thing itself. To be sure, God takes order for both: *Ye shall make you no idol, nor graven image; neither rear you up any standing image: neither shall ye set up any image of stone in your land, to bow down to it;* Lev. xxvi. 1. Yea, as their own Vulgate turns it, *Non facies tibi &c. statuam: Thou shalt not set thee up a statue, which God hateth;* Deut. xvi. 22.

The Book of God is full of his indignation, against this practice ‡.

* Azorius Instit. l. ix. c. 6. cites, for this opinion, Alex. p. 3. q. 30. memb. 3. art. 3. Albert. 3. d. 9. art. 4. Bonavent. 3. d. 9. 1. q. Richard. 3. d. 9. art 2. q. 1. Palud. 3. d. 9. q. 1. Marsil. 3. q. 8. Henric. quodlib. 10. q. 6. Cent. 2. c. 5.

† Εἴδωλον sæpe *simulachrum* vers. Acts vii. 41. xv. 20. 1 Cor. xii. 2. 1 John v. 21.

‡ Isa. xlii. 17. xlv. 16. Mich. v. 13. Hab. ii. 18, 19. Zech. x. 2. Isa. ii. 8. xxx. 22. xli. 7, 22, 23, 24, 29. xliv. 12. Jer. vii. 18. viii. 9. x. 8. Ezek. vi. 4, 13. xx. 28, 32. xxiii. 27. Hos. viii. 4, 5. Mic. i. 7.

We may well shut up all, with that curse in Mount Gerizzim; *Cursed be the man, that maketh any graven or molten image, an abomination unto the Lord, the work of the hands of the craftsman; and putteth it in a secret place. And all the people shall say, Amen;* Deut. xxvii. 15. Surely, their Durandus, after he hath cited divers scriptures against idols, as Exod. xx. Lev. xxvi. Deut. iv. Num. xxi. &c. at last concludes, *Ex his et similibus, &c:* "By these and the like authorities, is condemned the too much use of Images *."

Now, because many eyes are bleared with a pretence of worshipping these, not as God's, but as resemblances of God's friends; let any indifferent man but read the Epistle of Jeremiah (Baruch vi.) canonical to them, though not to us, and compare the estate and usage of those ancient Idols, with the present Images of the Roman Church, and if he do not find them fully paralleled, let him condemn our quarrel of injustice.

But, we must needs think them hard driven for Scripture, when they run for shelter under that text, which professedly taxeth them, ἐν ἀξεμίτοις &c. *In illicitis idolorum cultibus;* saith St. Peter: *In unlawful idolatries;* speaking of the Gentiles †: "Therefore," saith Valentia ‡, "there is a lawful worship of Idols." As if that were an epithet of favour, which is intended to aggravation. So he, that should call Satan an unclean devil, should imply, that some devil is not unclean; or deceivable lust, some lusts deceitless; or hateful wickedness, some wickedness not hateful. The man had forgot that the Apostle spake of the heathenish idolatry; wherein himself cannot plead any colour of lawfulness. May this, therefore, befriend them, to call idolatry abominable, the Scripture is theirs: neither can they look for any other countenance, from those Sacred Monuments.

SECT. 3.

Image-Worship, against Reason.

What need we seek any other Reason of God's prohibition, than his will? And yet God himself hath given abundant reason of his prohibition of Images erected to himself.

To whom will ye liken God? or what likeness will ye compare unto him? Is. xl. 18. *Ye saw no manner of similitude, in the day that the Lord spake to you in Horeb;* Deut. iv. 15. It is a high injury to the infinite and spiritual nature of God, to be resembled by bodily shapes. And, for the Worship of Images erected to him-

* Durand. Ration. l. i. c. 3. *Ex his et similibus authoritatibus, reprobatur nimius imaginum usus.*

† 1 Pet. iv. 3. We turn it well, *abominable idolatries.*

‡ Greg. Val. l. ii. Apol. de Idol. c. 7. *Neque absurdè profectò putaveris B. Petrum insinuavisse cultum aliquem simulachrorum rectum esse, &c.* contra Herbrandum.

self, or his creature; *I am the Lord: that is my name: and my glory will I not give to another; nor my praise to molten images;* Is. xlii. 8. The holy jealousy of the Almighty will not abide any of his honour divided with his creature; and, whatever worship more than mere human is imparted to the creature, sets it in rivalry with our Maker*.

The man is better, than his picture; and, if religious worship will not be allowed to the person of man †, or angel, how much less to his image! not to man; St. Peter forbids it; Acts x. 26: not to angel; himself forbids it; Rev. xix. 10. What a madness then is it, for a living man to stoop unto a dead stock; unless, as that Cynic had wont to speak unto statues ‡, to use himself to repulses!

This courtesy was too shameful, in the Pagans of old: how much more intolerable in Christians!

And, as for their last shift of this unlawful devotion, That they Worship not the Image, but, by it, the Person represented §; *Hæc à Paganis afferri solebat*, "This," saith Cassander ‖, out of the evidence of Arnobius and Lactantius, to whom he might have added St. Augustin, "was the very evasion of the old Heathen." *Nec valebat tunc illa ratio:* "Neither would this colour then serve." How can it hope now, to pass and find allowance?

The doctrine, therefore, and practice of Image-Worship, as late as erroneous, is justly rejected by us; who, according to St. Jerome's profession ¶, worship not the relics of martyrs, nor sun, nor moon, nor angels, nor archangels, nor cherubim, nor seraphin, nor any name that is named in this world, or in the world to come; and unjustly are we hereupon ejected.

CHAP. VII.

ON INDULGENCES AND PURGATORY.

SECT. 1.

The Newness of Indulgences and Purgatory.

NOTHING is more palpable, than the Novelty of INDULGENCES or PARDONS, as they are now of use in the Roman Church: the intolerable abuse whereof, gave the first hint to Luther's enquiry.

* *Si quis puram creaturam, propter quamcunque excellentiam, colit cultu et honore majori quàm puro humano, cultus hic jam accedit ad cultum religiosum, et, per conseq., ad divinum.* Spalat. de Rep. Eccl. l. vii. c. 12.

† *Sed neque Elias adorandus est, etiamsi in vivis sit: neque Johannes adorandus, &c.* Epiphan. cont. Collyrid. Her. 79.

‡ Diog. Laert.

§ *Per illa colitur Deus.* Less. de Jure, &c. de Relig. l. ii. 36. dub.

‖ Cassand. Cons. Art. 21.

¶ *Nos non dico Martyrum reliquias, &c.* Hier. ad Riparium.

Pope Leo had gratified his sister Magdalen, with a large monopoly of German Pardons *. Aremboldus, her factor, was too covetous; and held the market too high. The height of these overrated wares caused the chapmen to enquire into their worth.

They were found as they are, both for age and dignity.

For age, so new, as that Cornelius Agrippa †, and Polydore Virgil ‡, and Machiavel (and who not?) tell us Boniface the Eighth, who lived Anno 1300, was the first §, that extended Indulgences to Purgatory; the first, that devised a jubilee for the full utterance of them.

The Indulgences of former times were no other, than relaxations of canonical penances, which were enjoined to heinous sinners; whereof Burchard, the Bishop of Worms, set down many particulars, about the year 1020. For example, if a man had committed wilful murder, he was to fast forty days together, in bread and water; which the common people call a Lent: and to observe a course of Penance, for seven years after. Now these years of Penance and these Lents were they, which the Pardons of former times were used to strike off or abate, according as they found reason in the disposition of the penitent; which may give light to those terms of so many Lents and years remitted in former Indulgences.

But, that there should be a sacred treasure of the Church, wherein are heaped up piles of satisfactions of Saints, whereof only the Pope keeps the keys, and hath power to dispense them where he lists, is so late a device, that Gregory of Valence is forced to confess ‖, that not so much as Gratian, or Peter Lombard (which wrote about 400 years before him), ever made mention of the name of Indulgence.

Well, therefore, might Durand and Antonine grant it not to be found either in the Scriptures, or in the writings of the ancient Doctors; and, our B. Fisher goes so far in the acknowledgment of the newness hereof, that he hath run into the censure of late Jesuits.

Just and warrantable is that challenge of learned Chemnitius ¶, that no testimony can be produced of any Father, or of any ancient Church, that either such doctrine, or practice of such Indulgences, was ever in use, until towards one thousand two hundred years after Christ. *Talium Indulgentiarum:* some, there were, in the time immediately foregoing; but such as now, they were not. Besides Eugenius's time, which was too near the verge, (for the words of Chemnitius ** are, *Per annos fermè mille ducentos*, "For well near a thousand two hundred years:") Bellarmin instances in the Third Council of Lateran, about the year 1116; wherein Pope Paschal the Second gave Indulgences of forty days to those,

* Histor. Concil. Trid. l. i. † De Vanit. Scient. c. 16.

‡ De Invent. Rer. lib. viii. c. 1.

§ *Dies Indulgentiarum referuntur ad pœnitentias pro vitâ injunctas.* Gers. Reg. Moral.

‖ Greg. de Val. et Bell. l. ii. de Indulgent.

¶ Chemn. Exam. de Indulgen. c. 4. ** Ibid.

which visited the threshold of the Apostles. But, it must be considered, that we must take this upon the bare word of Conradus Urspergensis. Secondly, that this Indulgence of his is no other but a relaxation of canonical penance: for he adds, which Bellarmin purposely conceaieth, *iis, qui de capitalibus, &c:* "to those, that should do penance for capital sins, he released forty days' penance:" so as this instance helps nothing. Neither are the rest, which he hath raked together within the compass of a few preceding years, of any other alloy.

Neither hath that Cardinal offered to cite one Father for the proof of this practice; the birth whereof was many hundred years after their expiration: but cunningly shifts it off with a cleanly excuse *; *Neque mirum &c:* "Neither may it seem strange, if we have not many ancient Authors, that make mention of these things in the Church, which are preserved only by use, not by writing." So he.

He says, "Not many authors:" he shews not one. And, if many matters of rite have been traduced to the Church, without notice of pen or press; yet, let it be shewn what one doctrine or practice of such importance, as this is pretended to be, hath escaped the report and maintenance of some ecclesiastic writer or other, and we shall willingly yield it in this.

Till then, we shall take this but for a mere colour; and resolve, that our honest Roffensis deals plainly with us: who tells us, *Quamdiu nulla fuerat de Purgatorio cura,* &c: "So long as there was no care of Purgatory, no man sought after Indulgences; for, upon that, depends all the opinion of Pardons. If you take away Purgatory, wherefore should we need Pardons? Since, therefore, Purgatory was so lately known and received of the whole Church, who can marvel concerning Indulgences, that there was no use of them in the beginning of the Church? Indulgences then began, after men had trembled somewhile at the torments of a Purgatory."

Thus, their Martyr, not partially for us, but ingeniously out of the power of truth, professes the novelty of two great Articles of the Roman Creed; Purgatory and Indulgences.

Indeed, both these now hang on one string: although there was a kind of Purgatory dreamed of, before their Pardons came into play. That device peeped out fearfully from Origen; and pulled in the head again, as in St. Austin's time †, doubting to shew it: *Tale aliquod &c:* "That there is some such thing," saith he, "after this life, it is not utterly incredible, and may be made a question." And, elsewhere, "I reprove it not; for it may, perhaps, be true." And, yet again, as retracting what he had yielded, he resolves; "Let no man deceive himself, my brethren: there are but two places, and a third there is none." Before whom St. Cyprian is

* Bell. lib. ii. de Indulgent. c. 17.

† Aug. Enchir. c. 69. De Civit. Dei. l. xxi. c. 26. Quicquid sit quod illo significatur, Sum Abrahæ. Confess. l. ix. c. 3. Serm. de Temp. 232. *Qui cum Christo regnare non meruerit, cum Diabolo absque dubitatione peribit,* &c. Ibid. And the like, De Civitate Dei. l. xxi. cap. 25.

peremptory *: *Quando isthinc excessum fuerit &c;* "When we are once departed hence, there is no more place of repentance, no effect of satisfaction: here, is life either lost, or kept." And Gregory Nazianzen's verse † sounds to the same sense. And St. Ambrose can say ‡ of his Theodosius, that, being freed from this earthly warfare, *Fruitur nunc luce perpetuâ, &c:* "He now enjoys everlasting light, during tranquillity, and triumphs in the troops of the Saints."

But, what strive we in this? We may well take the word of their Martyr, our Roffensis, for both: and true Erasmus §, for the ground of this defence; *Mirum in modum &c:* "They do marvellously affect the fire of Purgatory, because it is most profitable for their kitchens."

SECT. 2.

Indulgences and Purgatory, against Scripture.

THESE two then are so late-come strangers, that they cannot challenge any notice taken of them by Scripture. Neither were their names ever heard of in the language of Canaan.

Yet the Wisdom of that All Seeing Spirit, hath not left us without preventions of future errors, in blowing up the very grounds of these human devices.

The first and main ground of both, is the remainders of some temporal punishments, to be paid, after the guilt and eternal punishment remitted; the driblets of venial sins, to be reckoned for, when the mortal are defrayed.

Hear what God saith: *I, even I, am he, that blotteth out thy transgressions, for mine own sake; and will not remember thy sins;* Is. xliii. 25. Lo, can the letter be read, that is blotted out? Can there be a back-reckoning for that, which shall not be remembered? *I have done away thy transgressions as a cloud;* Is. xliv. 22. What sins can be less than transgressions? What can be more clearly dispersed than a cloud? *Wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow;* Ps. li. 7. Who can tell where the spot was, when the skin is rinsed? *If we confess our sins, he is faithful to forgive our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness;* 1 John i. 9. Lo, he cleanseth us from the guilt, and forgives the punishment. What are our sins, but *debts?* Matt. vi. 12. What is the infliction of punishment, but an

* Cypr. contra Demetrian. ad finem.

† —*Hic etiam nobis est prompta medela:*
Post autem clausa est omnis medicina salutis.
Naz. Car. de Rebus Suis. Carm. 1. fig. 13.

‡ Ambros. Orat. de Obitu Theodos. ad medium, &c.
§ Eras. Epist. l. xx. Hier. Agathio.

exaction of payment? What is our remission, but a striking off that score? And, when the score is struck off, what remains to pay? *Remitte debita, Forgive our debts*, is our daily prayer. Our Saviour tells the Paralytic, *Thy sins are forgiven thee;* Mark ii. 5. in the same words implying the removing of his disease. If the sin be gone, the punishment cannot stay behind. We may smart, by way of chastisement, after the freest remission; not by way of revenge: for our amendment; not for God's satisfaction.

The second ground, is a middle condition, betwixt the state of eternal life and death; of no less torment, for the time, than hell itself; whose flames may burn off the rust of our remaining sins; the issues where-from, are in the power of the great Pastor of the Church!

How did this escape the notice of our Saviour! *Verily, verily, I say unto you, he, that heareth my word, and believeth in him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and comes not into judgment* *, as the Vulgate itself turns it; *but is passed from death unto life.* Behold a present possession, and immediate passage; no judgment intervening, no torment. How was this hid from the great Doctor of the Gentiles! who, putting himself into the common case of the believing Corinthians, professes, *We know, that if once our earthly house of this tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building of God, not made with hands, eternal in the heavens;* 2 Cor. v. 1. The dissolution of the one, is the possession of the other: here is no interposition of time, of estate. The Wise Man of old could say, "The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God; and there shall no torment touch them;" Wisd. iii. 1. "Upon their very going from us, they are in peace;" v. 3. ἀπάρτι, as St. John heard from the heavenly voice; Rev. xiv. 13: from their very dying in the Lord, is their blessedness.

SECT. 3.

Indulgences and Purgatory, against Reason.

It is absurd, in Reason, to think that God should forgive our talents, and arrest us for the odd farthings.

Neither is it less absurd, to think, that any living soul can have superfluities of satisfaction; when as, all, that man is capable to suffer, cannot be sufficient for one, and that the least, sin of his own; the wages whereof is eternal death.

Or, that those superfluities of human satisfaction, should piece up the infinite and perfectly meritorious superabundance of the Son of God.

Or, that this supposed treasure of divine and human satisfactions, should be kept under the key of some one sinful man †.

* Εἰς κρίσιν οὐκ ἔρχεται, &c. John v. 24.

† *Collegia clericorum et conventus religiosorum aspergunt et incensant corpus Papæ, et absolvunt.* Sacr. Cerem.

Or, that this one man, who cannot deliver his own soul from Purgatory, no not from Hell itself, should have power to free what others he pleaseth, from those fearful flames; to the full gaol-delivery of that direful prison: which though his great power can do, yet his no less charity will not, doth not.

Or, that the same pardon, which cannot acquit a man from one hour's tooth-ach, should be of force to give his soul ease, from the temporary pains of another world.

Lastly, guilt and punishment are relatives; and can no more be severed, than a perfect forgiveness, and a remaining compensation, can stand together.

This doctrine, therefore, of Papal Indulgences, as it led the way to the farther discovery of the corruptions of the degenerated Church of Rome; so it still continues justly branded with novelty and error, and may not be admitted into our belief; and we, for rejecting it, are unjustly refused.

CHAP. VIII.

ON DIVINE SERVICE IN AN UNKNOWN TONGUE.

SECT. 1.

The Newness of Divine Service in an Unknown Tongue.

THAT PRAYERS AND OTHER DIVINE OFFICES SHOULD BE DONE IN A KNOWN TONGUE, understood of the people, is not more available to edification, as their Cajetan liberally confesseth *, than consonant to the practice of all Antiquity: insomuch as Lyranus †, freely, "In the Primitive Church, blessings and all other services were done in the vulgar tongue."

What need we look back so far, when even the Lateran Council ‡, which was but in the year 1215, under Innocent the Third, makes this decree: *Quoniam in plerisque &c:* "Because, in many parts within the same city and diocese, people are mixed of divers languages, having, under one faith, divers rites and fashions, we strictly command, that the Bishops of the said cities or dioceses provide fit and able men, who, according to the diversities of their rites and languages, may celebrate Divine Services, and administer the Sacraments of the Church to them, instructing them both in word and example."

Cardinal Bellarmin's evasion is very gross: That, in that place,

* Cajet. in 1 Cor. xiv. *Ex hâc Pauli doctrinâ habetur, quòd melius ad ædificationem Ecclesiæ est, orationes publicas, quæ audiente populo dicuntur, dici linguâ communi clericis et populo, quàm dici Latinè.*

† Lyr. ibid. ‡ Concil. Later. anno 1215.

Innocentius and the Council speak only of the Greek and Latin tongue: "For then," saith he, "Constantinople was newly taken by the Romans: by reason whereof, there was, in Greece, a mixture of Greeks and Latins; insomuch, as they desired, that, in such places of frequence, two Bishops might be allowed, for the ordering of those several nations. Whereupon it was concluded, that, since it were no other than monstrous to appoint two Bishops unto one See, it should be the charge of that one Bishop, to provide such under him, as should administer all holy things to the Grecians in Greek, and in Latin to the Latins."

For, who sees not, that the Constitution is general? *plerisque partibus*, "for very many parts" of the Christian World; and, *populi diversarum linguarum*, "people of sundry languages:" not, as Bellarmin, cunningly, *diversæ linguæ*, "of a diverse language." And, if these two only languages had been meant, why had it not been as easy to specify them, as to intimate them by so large a circumlocution?

This Synod is said to be universal: comprehending all the Patriarchs, seventy-seven Metropolitans, and the most eminent Divines of both the East and West Churches; to the number of, at least, 2212 persons, or, as some others, 2285; besides the Ambassadors of all Christian Princes, of several languages. Now shall we think, that there were, in all their territories and jurisdictions, no mixtures of inhabitants, but only of Grecians and Romans? or, that all these Fathers were careless of the rest? especially, since the end, which they profess to propose unto themselves herein, is the instruction of the people, of what nation or language soever: which end, as it was never meant to be limited to two sorts of people, so could it never be attained without this liberty of language, fitted to their understanding.

To which may be added, that the Greeks and Latins, of all other, had the least need of this provision; since it was famously known, that they had their several Services already, of received and current use, before this Constitution was hatched.

Neither is it of any moment, which he addeth, that, in Italy itself, this decree was not extended to the use of vulgar tongues: for that it is evident, that St. Thomas, who lived soon after, composed in Latin the Office of the Feast of Corpus Christi; not in the Italian: although the same Aquinas confesses*, that the vulgar tongue of Italy, at that time, was not Latin. For, what child cannot easily see, that, if their great Doctor would write an Office for the public use, as is intended, of the whole Church; he would make choice to write it in such a language, as might improve it to the most common benefit of all the Christian World? not confining it to the bounds of a particular nation. Besides, what was the Italian, in those times especially, but a broken and corrupt Latin, differing more in idiom and termination, than in the substance of speech. That, which Radevicus, about the year 1170, records for

* Thom. Aquin. in 1 Cor. c. iv.

the voice of the people, in the election of Pope Victor, *Papa Victore Sancto Pietro l'elege*, makes good no less: for what such difference is, betwixt this, and *Papam Victorem Sanctus Petrus elegit?* So as this instance doth nothing at all infringe that just decree of the Roman Fathers. Howsoever, that observation of Erasmus is true, and pregnant to this purpose*: *Nec lingua vulgaris &c:* "Neither was the vulgar tongue," i. e. the Latin, "withdrawn from the people; but the people went off from it."

And, as for our ancestors in this island, our Venerable Bede witnesses †, that, in England, the Scriptures were read by them in five languages; according to the number of the Books, wherein the Law of God was written: namely English, Scottish, British, Pictish, and Latin; "which," saith he, "in meditation of the Scriptures, is made common to all the rest:" a point, which the said author specifies for a commendation of the well-instructedness of those people; not, as purposing to intimate, that the use of the Latin did thrust out the other four; for he there tells us, that, in all four, they did not only search, but confess and utter the knowledge of the highest truth.

This restraint then is not more new, than envious and prejudicial to the honour of God and the souls of men.

SECT. 2.

Divine Service in an Unknown Tongue, against Scripture.

As for Scriptures, were this practice so old as it is pretended, the rule is ‡, *Longævæ consuetudinis &c:* "The authority of an ancient custom is not to be slighted, so long as it is not against the Canons."

Nothing can be more against the Canons of the Blessed Apostle, than this; who, did he live in these our days, and would bend his speech against the use of a language not understood in God's service, could not speak more directly, more punctually, than he doth to his Corinths.

How doth he tell us, that the speaking in a strange tongue edifies not the Church, profits not the hearers; 1 Cor. xiv. 5, 6: produces a necessary ignorance of the thing spoken; v. 9: makes me a barbarian to him that speaketh, and him that speaks a barbarian to me! v. 11.

How doth he require him, that speaketh in an unknown tongue, to pray that he may interpret! v. 13. and, if he must pray that he may do it, how much more must he practice it, when he can do it!

* *Nec lingua vulgaris populo subtracta est, sed populus ab eâ recessit.* Eras. Declarat. ad Censur. Purif. tit. 12. sect. 14.

† Bed. Histor. l. i.

‡ *Longævæ consuetudinis non est vilis authoritas, dummodo Canonibus non sit contraria.* 11 Dist. *Consuet.* &c

How doth he tell us, that, in a strange languaged prayer, the understanding is unfruitful! v. 14. that it is better to speak five words with understanding, that we may teach others, than ten thousand in an unknown tongue! v. 19. that those, which speak with strange tongues, are but as madmen to the unlearned or unbelievers! v. 23.

SECT. 3.

Divine Service in an Unknown Tongue, against Reason.

In which scriptures, besides authority, the Apostle hath comprised unanswerable and convincing Reasons against this Romish abuse.

Amongst the rest, is intimated that utter frustration of the use of the tongue in God's service: for, it is a true rule, which Salmeron cites out of Lactantius *, *Nihil valet ex se &c:* "That thing is to no purpose, which avails not unto the end whereto it serves." Silence doth as much express the thought, as a language not understood. In this sense, is that of Laurentius † too well verified, *Sacerdos imperitus, mulier sterilis:* "A Priest unable to express himself, is as a barren woman;" uncapable of bringing forth children unto God. As good no tongue, as no understanding. "What good doth a well sealed up?" as Ptolemy said of the Hebrew Text ‡. Wherefore do we speak, if we would not be understood? It was a holy resolution of St. Augustin, That he would rather say, *Ossum*, in false Latin, to be understood of the people; than *Os*, in true, not to be understood.

This practice, however it may seem in itself slight, and unworthy of too much contention; yet, in regard of that miserable blindness and mis-devotion, which it must needs draw in after it; it is so heinous, as may well deserve our utmost opposition.

The unavoidableness of which effects hath carried some of their Casuists into an opinion, of the unnecessariness of devotion in these holy businesses: so as one says §, "He, that wants devotion, sins not:" another ‖, "Though it be convenient, that the Communicant should have actual devotion; yet, it is not necessary." Alas, what service is this, which poor souls are taught to take up with; which God must be content to take from hood-winked supplicants!

This doctrine, this practice, thus new, thus prejudicial to Christians, we bless God, that we have so happily discarded; and, for our just refusal, are unjustly ejected.

* Salmeron in illa, *Vos estis sal terræ:* ex Lactantio.
† Laurent. Presbyt. Pisanus, Paradox. Evangelic.
‡ *Quid prodest fons signatus?* § Jac. Graph. Decis. Aur.
‖ Sylv. Quæst. 80. Artic. 9.

CHAP. IX.

ON FULL AND FORCED SACRAMENTAL CONFESSION.

SECT. 1.

The Newness of Full and Forced Sacramental Confession.

THE necessity of a PARTICULAR, SECRET, FULL SACRAMENTAL CONFESSION of all our sins to a Priest, upon pain of non-remission, is an act or institution of the Roman Church *: for, as for the Greek Church, it owns not either the doctrine or practice.

So the Gloss † of the Canon Law, directly; *Confessio apud Græcos &c:* "Confession is not necessary amongst the Grecians, unto whom no such tradition hath been derived."

That Gloss would tell us more ‡: and so would Gratian himself, if their tongues were not clipt by a guilty expurgation.

But, in the mean time, the Gloss of that Canon, hitherto allowed, plainly controls the Decree of that late Council: for, if the necessity of Confession be only a tradition, and such a one as hath not been deduced to the Greek Church; then it stands not by a law of God, which is universal, not making differences of places or times; like a high-elevated star, which hath no particular aspect upon one region.

That there is a lawful, commendable, beneficial use of Confession, was never denied by us: but, to set men upon the rack; and to strain their souls up to a double pin, of absolute necessity (both *præcepti* and *medii*), and of a strict particularity, and that by a screw of *Jus Divinum*, "God's Law;" is so mere a Roman Novelty, that many ingenuous authors of their own have willingly confessed it.

Amongst whom, Cardinal Bellarmin § himself yields us Erasmus ‖ and Beatus Rhenanus ¶; two noble witnesses, whose joint tenet he confesses to be, *Confessionem secretam &c:* "That the secret confession of all our sins is not only not instituted or commanded *Jure Divino*, 'by God's Law;' but that it was not so much as received into use, in the Ancient Church of God." To whom he might have added, out of Maldonate's account, *Omnes Decretorum &c:* "All the interpreters of the Decrees;" and, amongst the Schoolmen, Scotus.

* Conc. Trid. *Si quis dixerit in Sacram. Pœnitentiæ ad remissionem, &c. Anath. &c*, Sess. 14.

† Gloss. Grat. de Pœn. Dist. 5. c. *In pœnitentiâ. Græci solummodo Deo confitendum dicunt.* De Pœnit. D. 1.

‡ *Multa alia et magni ponderis emendata sunt* In notis ibid.

§ Bell. de Pœnit. l. iii. c. 1. ‖ In Annot. Hier. ad Ocean.

¶ In Notis Tert. de Pœnit. &c.

We know well those sad and austere *Exomologeses*, which were publicly used in the severe times of the Primitive Church. Whilst these took place, what use was there of private? These obtained, even in the Western or Latin Church, till the days of Leo; about 450 years: in which time, they had a grave public Penitentiary, for this purpose *.

Afterwards, whether the noted inconveniences of that practice or whether the cooling of the former fervour occasioned it, this open Confession began to give way to secret: which continued in the Church; but, with freedom, and without that forced and scrupulous strictness which the latter times have put upon it.

It is very remarkable, which learned Rhenanus hath: *Cæterùm Thomas ab Aquino &c:* "But," saith he†, "Thomas of Aquine and Scotus, men too acute, have made Confession at this day such, as that Joannes Geilerius, a grave and holy Divine, which was for many years preacher at Strasburgh, had wont to say to his friends, that, according to their rules, it is an impossible thing to confess:" adding, that the same Geilerius, being familiarly conversant with some religious votaries, both Carthusians and Franciscans, learned of them, with what torments the godly minds of some men were afflicted, by the rigour of that Confession, which they were not able to answer: and, thereupon, he published a book in Dutch, entitled "The Sickness of Confession."

The same, therefore, which Rhenanus writes of his Geilerius, he may well apply unto us: *Itaque Geilerio non displicebat &c:* "Geilerius, therefore, did not dislike Confession; but the scrupulous anxiety, which is taught in the Sums of some late Divines; more fit indeed for some other place, than for libraries." Thus he. What would that ingenuous author have said, if he had lived to see those volumes of Cases, which have been since published, able to perplex a world; and those peremptory decisions of the Fathers of the Society, whose strokes have been with scorpions, in comparison of the rods of their predecessors?

To conclude, this bird was hatched, in the Council of Lateran, anno 1215; fully plumed, in the Council of Trent; and now, lately, hath her feathers imped, by their modern Casuists.

SECT. 2.

Full and Forced Sacramental Confession, not warranted by Scripture.

SINCE our quarrel is not with Confession itself, which may be of singular use and behoof; but with some tyrannous strains in the practice of it, which are the violent forcing and perfect fulness thereof: it shall be sufficient for us herein, to stand upon our ne-

* De Presbyt. Pœnitentiariis, vide Socrat. l. v. c. 19.

† Beat. Rhenan. Argum. in Tert. de Pœnitentiâ. *Argentoratum &c*

gative, That there is no Scripture, in the whole Book of God, wherein either such necessity or such entireness of confession is commanded: a truth so clear, that it is generally confessed by their own Canonists.

Did we question the lawfulness of Confession, we should be justly accountable for our grounds from the Scriptures of God: now, that we cry down only some injurious circumstances therein, well may we require from the fautors thereof, their warrants from God; which if they cannot shew, they are sufficiently convinced of a presumptuous obtrusion.

Indeed, our Saviour said to his Apostles and their successors, *Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted; and whose sins ye retain, they are retained*; John xx. 23: but did he say, "No sin shall be remitted, but what ye remit?" or, "No sin shall be remitted by you, but what is particularly numbered unto you?"

St. James bids, *Confess your sins one to another*; James v. 16: but would they have the Priest shrive himself to the penitent, as well the penitent to the Priest? This act must be mutual, not single.

Many believing Ephesians *came, and confessed, and shewed their deeds*; Acts xix. 18: many; but not all, not *omnes utriusque sexûs*: they confessed their deeds; some, that were notorious, not all their sins.

Contrarily, rather, so did Christ send his Apostles, as the Father sent Him; John xx. 21: he was both their warrant and their pattern. But that Gracious Saviour of ours many a time gave absolution, where was no particular confession of sins: only the sight of the paralytic's faith fetched from him, *Son, be of good cheer, thy sins be forgiven thee*; Matt. ix. 2: the noted sinner in Simon's house, approving the truth of her repentance by the humble and costly testimonies of her love, without any enumeration of her sins, heard, *Thy sins are forgiven thee.*

SECT. 3.

Full and Forced Sacramental Confession, against Reason.

In true divine Reason this supposed duty is needless, dangerous, impossible.

Needless; in respect of all sins; not in respect of some: for, however in the cases of a burthened conscience, nothing can be more useful, more sovereign; yet, in all, our peace doth not depend upon our lips: *Being justified by faith, we have peace with God, through Jesus Christ our Lord*; Rom. v. 1.

Dangerous; in respect both of exprobration, as St. Chrysostom worthily *; and of infection: for, *Delectabile carnis &c.* as a Ca-

* Chrysost. in Ps. l.

suist confesseth *: "Fleshly pleasures, the more they are called into particular mention, the more they move the appetite." I do willingly conceal from chaste eyes and ears, what effects have followed this pretended act of devotion, in wanton and unstayed Confessors.

Impossible; for, *Who can tell how oft he offendeth?* He is poor in sin, that can count his stock: and he sins always, that so presumes upon his innocence, as to think he can number his sins; and, if he say of any sin, as Lot of Zoar, *Is it not a little one?* as if, therefore, it may safely escape the reckoning. It is a true word of Isaac the Syrian †, *Qui delicta &c:* "He, that thinks any of his offences small, even in so thinking falls into greater."

This doctrine and practice therefore, both as new and erroneous, full of usurpation, danger, impossibility, is justly rejected by us; and we, for so doing, unjustly ejected.

SECT. 4.

The Novelty of Absolution before Satisfaction.

LEST any thing in the Roman Church should retain the old form, how absurd is that Innovation, which they have made IN THE ORDER OF THEIR PENANCE AND ABSOLUTION!

The ancient course, as Cassander ‡ and Lindanus § truly witness, was, That absolution and reconciliation and right to the communion of the Church was not given by imposition of hands unto the Penitent, till he had given due satisfaction, by performing of such penal acts, as were enjoined by the discreet Penitentiary. "Yea, those works of penance," saith he ‖, "when they were done out of faith, and a heart truly sorrowful, and by the motion of the Holy Spirit preventing the mind of man with the help of his divine grace, were thought not a little available to obtain remission of sin, and to pacify the displeasure of God for sin: not, that they could merit it, by any dignity of theirs; but, that thereby the mind of man is, in a sort, fitted to the receipt of God's grace. But now, immediately upon the Confession made, the hand is laid upon the Penitent, and he is received to his right of communion; and, after his absolution, certain works of piety are enjoined him, for the chastisement of the flesh, and expurgation of the remainders of sin." Thus Cassander.

In common apprehension, this new order can be no other than preposterous; and, as our learned Bishop of Carlisle ¶, like Easter before Lent. But, for this, *ipsi viderint:* it shall not trouble us, how they nurture their own child.

* Sayr. Summa Cas. Navar. † Isaac. Syr. Presb. Antiochen. de Contempt. Mundi, &c. ‡ Cassand. Cons. Art. de Confess. § Lind. Panopl. l. iv. ‖ Cass. ibid. ¶ Resp. ad Fisherum.

CHAP. X.

ON THE INVOCATION OF SAINTS.

SECT. 1.

The Newness of the Invocation of Saints.

Of all those errors, which we reject in the Church of Rome, there is none, that can plead so much shew of antiquity, as this of INVOCATION OF SAINTS *.

Which yet, as it hath been practised and defended in the latter times, should in vain seek, either example or patronage amongst the Ancient. However there might be some grounds of this devotion secretly muttered, and at last expressed in panegyric forms; yet, until almost five hundred years after Christ, it was not, in any sort, admitted into the public service.

It will be easily granted †, that the Blessed Virgin is the prime of all Saints: neither could it be other than injurious, that any other of that heavenly society should have the precedency of her.

Now the first, that brought her name into the public devotions of the Greek Church, is noted, by Nicephorus ‡, to be Petrus Gnapheus, or Fullo, a Presbyter of Bithynia, afterwards the usurper of the See of Antioch; much about 470 years after Christ: who, though a branded heretic, found out four things, saith he, "very useful and beneficial to the Catholic Church §;" whereof the last was, *Ut, in omni precatione, &c:* "that, in every prayer, the Mother of God should be named, and her divine name called upon." The phrase is very remarkable, wherein this rising superstition is expressed.

And, as for the Latin Church, we hear no news of this Invocation in the public Litanies, till Gregory's time; about some 130 years after the former ‖.

And, in the mean time, some Fathers speak of it fearfully and doubtfully. How could it be otherwise, when the common opinion of the Ancients, even below St. Austin's age, did put up all the souls of the faithful, except martyrs, in some blind receptacles, whether in the centre of the earth or elsewhere; where they might, *in candidâ expectare Diem Judicii*, as Tertullian hath it four several times: and Stapleton ¶ himself sticks not to name divers of them, thus foully mistaken.

* Spalat. de Rep. Eccl. l. vii. c. 12. sect. 16.
† Rex Jacob. Præmonit ad Principes, &c.
‡ Niceph. l. xv. c. 28.
§ *Ecclesiæ Catholicæ commodissima.* Ibid.
‖ Jos. Scalig. Notis in Nov. Test.
¶ Stap. l. de Author. Scr.

Others of the Fathers have let fall speeches, directly bent against this Invocation: *Non opus est patronis &c:* "There is no need of any advocates to God;" saith St. Chrysostom *: and, most plainly, elsewhere †; *Homines si quando &c:* "If we have any suit to men," saith he, "we must fee the porters; and treat with jesters and parasites; and go, many times, a long way about. In God, there is no such matter: he is exorable, without any of our mediators: without money, without cost, he grants our petitions: it is enough for thee to cry, with thy heart alone; to pour out thy tears; and presently thou hast won him to mercy." Thus he.

And, those of the Ancients, that seem to speak for it, lay grounds, that overthrow it.

Howsoever it be, all holy antiquity would have both blushed and spit at those forms of invocation, which the late clients of Rome have broached to the world. If, perhaps, they spake to the Saints, *tanquam deprecatores, vel potiùs comprecatores*, as Spalatensis yields ‡; moving them to be competitioners with us to the throne of grace, not properly, but improperly, as Altisiodore construes it §: how would they have digested that blasphemous Psalter of our Lady, imputed to Bonaventure; and those styles of mere deification, which are given to her ‖; and the division of all offices of piety to mankind, betwixt the Mother and the Son? How had their ears glowed, to hear *Christus oravit, Franciscus exoravit;* "Christ prayed, Francis prevailed!" How would they have brooked that, which Ludovicus Vives freely confesses ¶, *Multi Christiani &c:* "Many Christians worship *divos divásque*, the Saints of both sexes, no otherwise than God himself?" Or that, which Spalatensis professes to have observed **, that "the ignorant multitude are carried with more entire religious affection to the Blessed Virgin or some other Saint, than to Christ their Saviour?"

These foul superstitions are not more heinous, than new; and such, as wherein we have justly abhorred to take part with the practisers of them.

* Chrysost. Homil. de Pœnitentiâ. Hom. 4. Which place the margin of the Latin Edition of Venice, set forth by the authority of the Inquisition, tells us (and we must believe it) makes nothing against Invocation of Saints.

† Vide ibid. ‡ Spalat. l. vii. c. 12. sect. 26.

§ Gul. Altis. in 4. Sent. &c.

‖ *Dea, Primas Cœli, &c. præcipe Angelis ut nos custodiant.* In Rosar. Canon. Reg. Anonym. *Dividunt coram Patre inter se Mater et Filius pietatis officia, et condunt inter se reconciliationis nostræ inviolabile testamentum.* Arnold. Carnot. de Laudibus 5 Virg.

¶ Lud. Vives in Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. viii. c. ult.

** *Nam et plebem rudiorem religiosè, &c. Et magis plurimos internè religioso affectu erga Beatam. Virg. &c. quàm erga Christum.* Spalat. de Rep. Eccl. l. vii. c. 12. sect. 28.

SECT. 2.

Invocation of Saints, against Scripture.

As for the better side of this misopinion, even thus much colour of antiquity were cause enough to suspend our censures, according to that wise and moderate resolution of learned Zanchius *, were it not, that the Scriptures are so flatly opposite unto it, as that we may justly wonder at that wisdom, which hath provided antidotes for a disease, that, of many hundred years after, should have no being in the world.

The ground of this Invocation of Saints, is, their notice of our earthly condition and special devotions. And, behold, *Thou prevailest ever against man, and he passeth: thou changest his countenance, and sendest him away. His sons come to honour, and he knows it not: and they are brought low, and he perceiveth it not*; saith Job; Job xiv. 20, 21. *The dead know nothing at all*, saith wise Solomon; Eccl. ix. 5. *Also, their love, and their hatred, and their envy is now perished: neither have they any more a portion for ever, in any thing that is done under the sun*; v. 6: no portion, in any thing; therefore, not in our miseries, not in our allocutions. If we have a portion in them, for their love and prayers in common for the Church; they have no portion in our particularities, whether of want or complaint. *Abraham, our father, is ignorant of us*, saith Isaiah, *and Israel acknowledges us not*; Isa. lxiii. 16. Lo, the Father of the Faithful, above, knows not his own children, till they come into his bosom; and he, that gives them their names, is to them as strangers. Wherefore should good Josiah *be gathered to his fathers*, as Huldah tells him; but, that his *eyes might not see all the evil, which should come upon Jerusalem?* 2 Kings xxii. 20.

We cannot have a better commenter, than St. Augustin. "If," saith he †, "the souls of the dead could be present at the affairs of the living, &c. surely my good mother would no night forsake me, whom, while she lived, she followed both by land and sea. Far be it from me, to think that a happier life hath made her cruel, &c. But, certainly, that, which the holy Psalmist tells us, is true, *My father and my mother have forsaken me, but the Lord took me up.* If, therefore, our parents have left us, how are they present, or do interest themselves in our cares or businesses? and, if our parents do not, who else among the dead know what we do, or what we suffer? Isaiah, the Prophet, saith, *Thou art our father; for Abraham is ignorant of us, and Israel knows us not*: if so great Patriarchs were ignorant, what became of that people, which came from their loins; and which, upon their belief, was promised to descend from their stock? How shall the dead have ought to do,

* *Ego certè ab Antiquitate non recedo, nisi coactus.* Zanc. in Coloss.

† Aug. de Cura pro Mort. Gerend. c. 13.

either in the knowledge or aid of the affairs or actions of their dearest survivors? How do we say, that God provides mercifully for them, who die before the evils come; if, even after their death, they are sensible of the calamities of human life, &c.? How is it, then, that God promised to good King Josiah for a great blessing, that he should die beforehand, that he might not see the evils which he threatened to that place and people?" Thus that divine Father.

With whom agrees St. Jerome: *Nec, enim, possumus &c:* "Neither can we," saith he *, "when this life shall once be dissolved, either enjoy our own labours, or know what shall be done in the world afterwards."

But, could the Saints of heaven know our actions; yet our hearts they cannot. This is the peculiar skill of their Maker: Thou art the searcher of the hearts and reins, O righteous God: God only knows *abscondita animi, the hidden secrets of the soul* †. Now, the heart is the seat of our prayers: the lips do but vent them to the ears of men: Moses said nothing, when God said, *Let me alone*, Moses. *O*, therefore, *thou that hearest the prayers, to thee shall all flesh come.* Solomon's argument is irrefragable: *Hear thou in heaven, thy dwelling-place; and do, and give to every man according to his ways, whose heart thou knowest: for thou, even thou only, knowest the hearts of all the children of men;* 1 Kings viii. 39. He only should be implored, that can hear: he only can hear the prayer, that knows the heart.

Yet, could they know our secretest desires, it is an honour, that God challengeth as proper to himself, to be invoked in our prayers: *Call upon me in the day of thy trouble; and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me;* Ps. l. 15. *There is one God, and one Mediator betwixt God and man, the man Jesus Christ;* 1 Tim. ii. 5: one, and no more; not only of redemption, but of intercession also: for, *through him*, only, *we have access by one Spirit unto the Father;* Eph. ii. 18: and he hath invited us to himself, *Come to me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden.*

SECT. 3.

Invocation of Saints, against Reason.

How absurd, therefore, is it, in Reason, when the King of Heaven calls us to him, to run with our petitions to the guard or pages of the court! Had we to do with a finite prince, whose ears must be his best informers, or whose will to help us were justly questionable, we might have reason to present our suits by second hands; but, since it is an Omnipresent and Omniscious God with whom

* Hier. in Eccles. iii. ad fin.

† Ps. vii. 9. xliv. 21. cxxxix. 1. &c. Prov. xv. 11. xvii. 3. xxiv. 12. Jer. xi. 20. xvii. 10. xx. 12.

we deal, from whom the saints and angels receive all their light and love to his Church, how extreme folly is it, to sue to those courtiers of heaven, and not to come immediately to the Throne of Grace! That one Mediator *is able*, and willing also, *to save them to the utmost, that come unto God by him; seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them;* Heb. vii. 25.

Besides, how uncertain must our devotions needs be, when we can have no possible assurance of their audience! for, who can know, that a Saint hears him? That God ever hears us, we are as sure, as we are unsure to be heard of Saints. Nay, we are sure we cannot be all heard of them: for, what finite nature can divide itself betwixt ten thousand suppliants, at one instant, in several regions of the world; much less impart itself whole to each? Either, therefore, we must turn the Saints into so many Deities; or, we must yield, that some of our prayers are unheard: and, *whatsoever is not of faith, is sin.*

As for that heavenly glass of St. Gregory, wherein the Saints see us and our suits, confuted long since by Hugo de Sancto Victore *, it is as pleasing a fiction, as if we imagined, therefore to see all the corners of the earth, because we see that sun which sees them. And the same eyes, that see in God the particular necessities of his Saints below, see in the same God such infinite grace and mercy for their relief, as may save the labour of their reflecting upon that divine mirror in their special intercessions.

This doctrine therefore and practice of the Romish Invocation of Saints, both as new and erroneous, against Scripture and Reason, we have justly rejected; and are, thereupon, ejected, as unjustly.

CHAP. XI.

ON SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

SECT. 1.

The Newness of Seven Sacraments.

THE late Council of Florence, indeed, insinuates this number of SEVEN SACRAMENTS; as Suarez contends †: but the later Council of Trent determines it ‡; *Si quis dixerit aut plura &c:* "If any man shall say, that there are either more or fewer Sacraments than

* Hugo de Sancto Vict. de Sacr. l. ii.
† Summa Caranzæ, &c.
‡ Concil. Trid, sess. 7. Can. 1.

Seven, viz. Baptism, Confirmation, &c. or that any of these is not truly and properly a Sacrament, Let him be Anathema."

It is not more plain, that in Scripture there is no mention of Sacraments, than that in the Fathers there is no mention of Seven. Cardinal Bellarmin's evasion, That the Scripture and Fathers wrote no Catechism, is poor and ridiculous: no more did the Councils of Florence and Trent; and yet there the number is reckoned and defined.

So as the word Sacrament may be taken; for any holy, significant rite; there may be as well seventy as seven: so strictly as it may be and is taken by us; there can no more be seven, than seventy.

This determination of the number is so late, that Cassander is forced to confess*, *Nec temerè &c:* "You shall not easily find any man, before Peter Lombard, which hath set down any certain and definite number of Sacraments."

And this observation is so just, that, upon the challenges of our writers, no one author hath been produced by the Roman Doctors, for the disproof of it, elder than Hugo, and the said Master of Sentences.

But, numbers, are ceremonies. Both Luther † and Philip Melancthon ‡ profess, they stand not much upon them. It is the number numbered, which is the thing itself mis-related into that sacred order, that we stick at. There we find, that none but Christ can make a Sacrament; for, none but he, who can give grace, can ordain a sign and seal of grace.

Now it is evident enough, that these adscititious Sacraments were never of Christ's institution. So was not Confirmation; as our Alexander of Hales, and Holcot. So was not Matrimony; as Durand. So was not Extreme Unction; as Hugo, Lombard, Bonaventure, Halensis, Altisiodore, by the confession of their Suarez §. These were ancient rites; but they are new Sacraments. All of them have their allowed and profitable use in God's Church, though not in so high a nature: except that of Extreme Unction; which as it is an apish mis-imitation of that extraordinary course which the apostolic times used in their cures of the sick, so it is grossly mis-applied to other purposes than were intended in the first institution. Then it was, *Ungebant et sanabant* ‖ *:* the oil miraculously conferring bodily recovery: but now, *Non nisi in mortis articulo adhibetur;* "It is not used, but upon the very point of death;" as Cajetan and Cassander confess, and all experience manifests; and, by Felix the Fourth, drawn to a necessity of address to eternal life ¶.

* Cassand. Consult. Art. 13. de Numero Sacr.

† Luther. de Captivit. Babyl.

‡ In Loc. Com. Cassand. ibid. Thus all Antiquity runs upon two. Clem. Recognit. l. i. Justin. Apol. 2. Tertull. de Coron. Milit. et ad Scapulam. Cypr. l. ii. Epist. 1. Cyril. Hierosol. in Catech. Ambros. August. &c.

§ Suar. Tom. 4. Dis. 39. s. 2. Vid. Mort. Appell. l. ii. c. 26. sect. 5.

‖ Mark vi. 13. James v. 14.

¶ Franc. Jun. Animadv. in Bellar. l. de. Verb. Dei. 4.

SECT. 2.

Seven Sacraments, beside Scripture.

NOT to scan particulars, which all yield ample exceptions, but to wind them all up in one bottom; whosoever shall look into the Scripture shall find it apparent, that, as in the time of man's innocence, there were but Two Sacraments, the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge; so, before and under the Law, however they had infinite rites, yet, in the proper sense, they had but Two Sacraments; the same, in effect, with those under the Gospel: the one, the Sacrament of Initiation, which was their Circumcision; paralleled by that Baptism, which succeeded it: the other, the Sacrament of our Holy Confirmation; that spiritual meat and drink, which was their Paschal Lamb and Manna, and water from the rock; prefiguring the true Lamb of God, and Bread of Life, and Blood of our Redemption.

The great Apostle of the Gentiles, that well knew the analogy, hath compared both: *Moreover, brethren, I would not have you ignorant, how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea: and all were baptized in the cloud, and in the sea: and all did eat the same spiritual meat; and all did drink the same spiritual drink: for they drank of that spiritual rock, that followed them, and that rock was Christ;* 1 Cor. x. 1—4.

What is this, in any just construction, but that the same Two Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, which we celebrate under the Gospel, were the very same with those, which were celebrated by God's ancient people under the Law: they two; and no more? *Hoc facite, Do this,* is our warrant for the one; and, *Ite, baptizate &c. Go, teach and baptize,* for the other. There is deep silence in the rest.

SECT. 3.

Seven Sacraments, against Reason.

IN Reason, it must be yielded, that no man hath power to set to a seal, but he, whose the writing is.

Sacraments, then, being the seals of God's gracious evidences, whereby he hath conveyed to us eternal life, can be instituted by no other, than the same power, that can assure and perform life to his creature.

In every Sacrament, therefore, must be a divine institution and command of an element, that signifies; of a grace, that is signified; of a word, adjoined to that element; of a holy act, adjoined to that word. Where these concur not, there can be no true Sa-

crament: and they are palpably missing, in these five adjections of the Church of Rome.

Lastly; the Sacraments of the New Law, as St. Austin often, flowed out of the side of Christ. None flowed thence, but the Sacrament of Water, which is Baptism; and the Sacrament of Blood, in the Supper: whereof the Author saith, *This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you.* The rest, never flowing either from the side or from the lips of Christ, are, as new and misnamed Sacraments, justly rejected by us; and we, thereupon, as unjustly censured.

CHAP. XII.

ON THE ROMISH DOCTRINE OF TRADITIONS.

SECT. 1.

The Newness of the Romish Doctrine of Traditions.

THE chief ground of these and all other errors in the Church of Rome, is, the over-valuing of TRADITIONS: which the Tridentine Synod professeth to receive and reverence *, with no less pious affection, than the Books of the Old and New Testament; and that, not in matter of right and history only, but of faith and manners also †.

Wherein, as they are not unwilling to cast a kind of imputation of imperfection upon the Written Word; so they make up the defects of it, by the supply of Unwritten Traditions: to which, indeed, they are more beholden, for the warrant of the greater part of their super-added Articles, than to the Scriptures of God.

Both which are points so dangerously envious, as that Antiquity would have abhorred their mention.

Neither is any thing more common with the holy Fathers of the Church, than the magnifying the complete perfection of Scripture, in all things needful, either to be believed or done.

What can be more full and clear, than that of St. Austin ‡: *In his, quæ apertè &c:* "In these things, which are openly laid forth in Scripture, are found all matters, that contain either faith or man-

* Concil. Trid. sess. 4.

† *In his rebus, de quibus nihil certi statuit Scriptura Divina, mos populi Dei vel instituta majorum pro lege tenenda sunt.* August. Epist. 86.

‡ Aug. l. ii. de Doctrinâ Christ. c. 9. *In his, quæ apertè posita sunt in Scripturâ, inveniuntur illa omnia, quæ continent fidem morésque vivendi.*

ners?" Cardinal Bellarmin's elusion * is not a little prejudicial to his own cause. He tells us, that St. Austin speaks of those points, which are simply necessary to salvation for all men: all which he acknowledges to be written by the Apostles: "But, besides these, there are many other things," saith he, "which we have only by Tradition." Will it not, therefore, hence follow, that the common sort of Christians need not look at his Traditions? that, commonly, men may be saved without them? that heaven may be attained, though there were no Traditions? Who will not now say, "Let me come to heaven by Scripture: go you, whither you will, by Traditions?" To which add, that a great, yea the greater part, if we may believe some of their own, of that, which they call religion, is grounded upon only Tradition. If, then, Tradition be only of such things as are not simply necessary to salvation, then the greater part of their mis-named religion must needs be yielded for simply unnecessary to all men: and, if we may be saved without them, and be made citizens of heaven; how much more may we, without them, be members of the True Church on earth? As for this place, St. Augustin's words are full and comprehensive; expressing all those things, which contain either faith or manners, whether concerning governors or people. If now they can find out any thing, that belongs not either to belief or action, we do willingly give it up to their Traditions; but all things, which pertain to either of those, are openly comprized in Scripture.

What can be more direct, than that of holy Athanasius †? *αὐτάρκεις μὲν γάρ εἰσιν* &c: "The Holy Scriptures, inspired by God, are, in themselves, all-sufficient to the instruction of truth:" and, if Chemnitius construe it, "all truth," this needs not raise a cavil. The word signifies no less: for, if they be all-sufficient to instruction, they must needs be sufficient to all instruction in the truth intended.

Tertullian professes openly ‡, *Adoro Scripturæ plenitudinem &c:* "I adore the fulness of Scripture. Let the skill of Hermogenes shew where it is written: if it be not written, let him fear that woe, which is pronounced against those, that add or detract." Thus he. Who can but fear, that the Cardinal shifts this evidence against his own heart? "For," saith he, "Tertullian speaks of that one point, That God created all things of nothing, and not of a pre-existent matter, as Hermogenes dreamed: now, because this truth is clearly expressed in Scripture, therefore the fulness of Scripture, as concerning this point, is adored by Tertullian; and, for that Hermogenes held another opinion contrary to Scripture, he is said to add unto Scripture, and to incur that malediction." Now, let any reader of common sense judge whether the words of Tertullian be not general, without any limitation: and, if the first

* Bell. l. iv. de Verb. Dei. c. 11.

† Athanas. l. iv. cont. Gent. Initio. *αὐτάρκεις μὲν γάρ εἰσιν αἱ ἁγίαι καὶ θεόπνευστοι γραφαὶ, πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπαγγελίαν*, &c. *Sufficiunt per se*, vertit Nannius.

‡ Tert. lib. advers. Hermogenem.

clause could be restrained; the second cannot, *Scriptum esse doceat &c.* Whatsoever therefore is not written, by this rule may not be obtruded to our belief. Neither doth he say, "If it be written against;" but, "If it be not written:" and his challenge is, *nusquam legi*, that "the words are no where read;" as if this were quarrel enough, without a flat contradiction to what is read. So as the Cardinal's gloss merely corrupts the text.

How easy were it for me to tire my reader, with the full suffrages of Origen, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Basil, Cyril, Epiphanius, Jerome, Ambrose, Theodoret, Hilary, Vincentius Lirinensis, and, in a word, with the whole stream of Antiquity! which though they give a meet place to Traditions of ceremony, of history, of interpretation, of some immaterial verities; yet reserve the due honour to the Sacred Monuments of Divine Scriptures.

Our learnd Chemnitius hath freely yielded Seven sorts of Traditions, such as have a correspondence with, or an attestation from the Written Word: the rest, we do justly, together with him, disclaim; as unworthy to appear upon that awful bench, amongst the inspired penmen of God.

SECT. 2.

Traditions, against Scripture.

It is not to be imagined, that the same Word of God, which speaks for all other truths, should not speak for itself.

How fully doth it display its own sufficiency and perfection! *All Scripture*, saith the Chosen Vessel, *is given by inspiration of God; and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness;* 2 Tim. iii. 16. "*Profitable*," saith the Cardinal *, "but not sufficient. Many things may avail to that end, whereto they suffice not: so, meat is profitable to nourish; but, without natural heat, it nourisheth not." Thus he. Hear yet what followeth, *That the man of God may be perfected, and throughly furnished unto all good works;* 2 Tim. iii. 17. Lo, it is so profitable to all these services, that thereby it perfects a Divine; much more, an ordinary Christian. That, which is so profitable, as to cause perfection, is abundantly sufficient, and must needs have full perfection in itself. That, which can perfect the teacher, is sufficient for the learner. The Scriptures can perfect the man of God; both for his calling in the instruction of others, and for his own glory.

Thou hast known the Scriptures from a child, saith St. Paul to his Timothy; *which are able*, not profitable only, *to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith, which is in Christ Jesus;* 2 Tim. iii. 15. It is the charge, therefore, of the Apostle, *not to be wise above that*

* Bellar. de Verbo Dei, l. iv. c. 10.

which is written: the same with wise Solomon's, *The whole word of God is pure. Add thou not unto his words, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar;* Prov. xxx. 5, 6. Lo, he saith not, "Oppose not his words;" but, *Add not to them:* even addition detracts from the majesty of that Word; for, *The Law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul: the Testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple. The Statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart: the Commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes;* Psalm xix. 7, 8.

As for those Traditions, which they do thus lift up to an unjust competition with the Written Word, our Saviour hath, beforehand, humbled them into the dust. *In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men;* Matt. xv. 9. Making this a sufficient cause of abhorring, both the persons and the services of those Jews, that they thrust human Traditions into God's chair; and respected them, equally with the institutions of God. Cardinal Bellarmin would shift it off with a distinction of Traditions. "These were such," saith he, *quas acceperant à recentioribus &c:* "as they had received from some later hands: whereof, some were vain; some others, pernicious: not such as they received from Moses and the Prophets." And the authors of these rejected Traditions he cites from Epiphanius *, to be R. Akiba, R. Juda, and the Asamoneans; from Jerome †, to be Sammai, Hillel, Akiba. But this is to cast mists before the eyes of the simple: for, who sees not, that our Saviour's challenge is general; to Traditions thus advanced, not to these or those Traditions? And, where he speaks of some later hands, he had forgotten, that our Saviour, upon the Mount, tells him ἐῤῥέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ‡: that these faulted Traditions were *of old.* And, that he may not cast these upon his Sammai and Hillel, let him remember, that our Saviour cites this out of Isaiah, though with some more clearness of expression, who far overlooked the times of those pretended fathers of mis-traditions: that I may not say, how much it would trouble him to shew any dogmatical Traditions, that were derived from Moses and the Prophets. In parallel whereof, let them be able to deduce any Evangelical Tradition from the Apostles, and we are ready to embrace it, with all observance. Shortly, it is clear, that our Saviour never meant to compare one Tradition with another; as approving some, rejecting others; but, with indignation, complains, that Traditions were obtruded to God's people, in a corrivality with the Written Word: which is the very point now questioned.

* Epiphan. in Hæres. Ptolom.
† Hieron. in c. 8. Isa. et in Epist. ad Algas. q. 10.
‡ Matt. v. 21. 27. 33.

SECT. 3.

Traditions, against Reason.

EVEN the very light of Reason shews us, that, as there is a God; so, that he is a most wise and most just God.

Needs, therefore, must it follow, that, if this most just and wise God will give a Word, whereby to reveal himself and his will to mankind, it must be a perfect Word: for, as his wisdom knows what is fit for his creature to know of himself; so, his justice will require nothing of the creature, but what he hath enabled him to know and do. Now, then, since he requires us to know him, to obey him; it must needs follow, that he hath left us so exquisite a rule of this knowledge and obedience, as cannot admit of any defect, or any supplement. This rule can be no other than his Written Word: therefore written, that it might be preserved entire, for this purpose, to the last date of time.

As for Oral Traditions, what certainty can there be in them? What foundation of truth can be laid upon the breath of man? How do we see the reports vary, of those things, which our eyes have seen done! How do they multiply, in their passage; and either grow or die, upon hazards!

Lastly, we think him not an honest man, whose tongue goes against his own hand. How heinous an imputation then do they cast upon the God of Truth, which plead Traditions derived from him, contrary to his Written Word! Such, apparently, are the Worship of Images, the Mutilation of the Sacrament, Purgatory, Indulgences, and the rest which have passed our agitation.

Since, therefore, the authority of Romish Traditions, is, besides novelty, erroneous; against Scripture and Reason; we have justly abandoned it; and are, thereupon, unjustly condemned.

As for those other dangerous and important Innovations, concerning Scriptures, their Canon enlarged, their faulty Version made authentical, their Fountains pretended to be corrupted, their mispleaded Obscurity, their restraint from the Laity, we have already largely displayed them in another place *.

* "Serious Dissuasive &c."

CHAP. XIII.

ON THE ENCROACHMENTS OF THE BISHOP OF ROME.

SECT. 1.

The Newness of the Universal Headship of the Bishop of Rome.

THOSE transcendent TITLES OF HEADSHIP AND UNIVERSALITY, which are challenged to the Bishop and See of Rome, are known to be the upstart brood of noted ambition *. Simple and holy Antiquity was too modest, either to require or tolerate them.

Who knows not the profession of that holy Martyr in the Council of Carthage †? *Neque, enim, &c.*: "There is none of us, that makes himself a Bishop of Bishops; or, by a tyrannous fear, compels his underlings to a necessity of obedience."

But, perhaps, at Rome, it was otherwise:—Hear, then, with what zeal their own Pope, Gregory the Great, inveighs ‡ against the arrogance of John, Bishop of Constantinople, for giving way to this proud style. His Epistles are extant in all hands; so clear and convictive, as no art of sophistry can elude them: wherein he calls this title (affected by the said John, and Cyriacus, after him,) "a new name, a wicked, profane, insolent name, the general plague of the Church, a corruption of the faith, against Canons, against the Apostle Peter, against God himself §;" as if he could never have branded it enough.

And, lest any man should cavil that this style is only cried down in the Bishops of Constantinople, which yet might be justly claimed by the Bishops of Rome; Gregory himself meets with this thought, and answers beforehand ‖, *Nunquam pium virum &c.*: That "Never any godly man, never any of his predecessors, used those titles;" and, more than so, That "whosoever shall use this proud style, he is the very fore-runner of Antichrist." If, in a foresight of this usurpation, Gregory should have been hired to have spoken for us, against the pride of his following successors; he could not have set a keener edge upon his style.

Consonant whereto, it is yet extant in the very Canon Law, as

* *Hæreseos mater est principatûs cupiditas.* Chrysost. in Gal. v.

† *Neque, enim, quisquam nostrûm Episcopum Episcoporum se constituit; aut, tyrannico terrore, ad obsequendi necessitatem suos adigit.* Orat. Cypr. in Syn.

‡ Greg. Epist. l. iv. Epist. 32. et 34. et l. vi. Epist. 24.

§ *Novum, sceleștum, profanum, &c.* Et l. iv. Epist. 38, 39. &c.

‖ *Nunquam pium virum hujusmodi titulis usum esse, &c. nullum prædecessorum meorum, &c.*

quoted by Gratian out of the Epistle of Pope Pelagius the Second *, *Universalis autem nec etiam Romanus Pontifex appelletur*: "Not the Bishop of Rome himself may be called Universal."

Yet how famously is it known to all the world, that the same Gregory's next successor, save one, Boniface the Third, obtained this title of Universal Bishop from the Emperor Phocas; which the said Emperor gave him, in a spleen against Cyriacus, Patriarch of Constantinople, for delivering Constantina, the wife of Mauritius and her children †; or, as some others relate it, upon a worse occasion! And, accordingly, was this haughty title communicated by the same power to the See of Rome; and, by strong hand, ever since maintained.

This qualification, their Registrar Platina confesses ‡, was procured, not without great contention. And Otho Frisingensis fully and ingenuously writeth thus §: "Gregory departed hence, to the Lord: after whom, the next save one, Boniface, obtained of Phocas, that, by his authority, the Roman Church might be called the Head of all Churches: for, at that time, the See of Constantinople (I suppose, because of the seat of the empire translated thither) wrote herself the first." Thus, their Bishop Otho.

Now, if any man shall think, that hence it will yet follow, that the See of Rome had formerly enjoyed this honour, however the Constantinopolitan, for the present, shouldered with her for it; let him know the ground of both their challenges: which, as it was supposed by Otho, so is fully, for the satisfaction of any indifferent judgment, laid forth in the General Council of Chalcedon. "The same," say those Fathers ‖, "we determine of the privileges of the most holy Church of Constantinople, called New Rome. For the Fathers have justly heretofore given privilege to the Throne of Old Rome, because that city was then the Governess of the World: and, upon the same consideration, were the hundred and fifty Bishops, men beloved of God, moved to yield equal privileges to the Throne of New Rome; rightly judging, that this city, which is honoured with the empire and senate, and is equally privileged with Old Rome, the then Queen of the World, should also, in ecclesiastical matters, be no less extolled and magnified." Thus they.

And this Act is subscribed, *Bonifacius, Presbyter Ecclesiæ Romanæ, statui et subscripsi*: "I, Boniface, Presbyter of the Church of Rome, have so determined and subscribed:" *Et cæteri &c.* And the rest of the Bishops of divers provinces and cities subscribed.

What can be more plain? This Headship of the Bishop was in regard of the See; and this Headship of the See was in regard of the preeminence of the City; which was variable, according to the changes of times, or choice of emperors.

* Pelag. II. Omnibus Episcopis illicitè à Joan. et Decret. p. 1. Dist. 99. c. 4. *Nullus &c.*

† Baron. An. 606. ‡ Plat. in Vitâ Bonif. III.

§ *Gregorius migravit ad Dominum, &c. A quo, &c. ut, ipsius authoritate, &c.* Otho Frising. l. v. c. 8.

‖ Concil. v. Gener. Act. 15.

But Binius wrangleth here. Can we blame him, when the freehold of their Great Mistress is so nearly touched? "This Act," saith he *, "was not Synodical; as that which was closely and cunningly done, in the absence of the Pope's Legates, and other Orthodox Bishops; at the instance of Anatolius, Patriarch of Constantinople, an ambitious man, by the Eastern Bishops only." How can this plea stand with his own confessed subscription? Besides, that their Caranza, in his Abridgment, shews † that this point was long and vehemently canvassed in that Council, between Lucentius and Boniface, Legates of the Roman Church; and the rest of the Bishops: and, at last, so concluded, as we have related; not, indeed, without the protestation of the said Legates ‡: *Nobis præsentibus, &c:* "The Apostolic See must not, in our presence, be abased." Notwithstanding, this Act then carried; and, after this, Pope Simplicius, succeeding to Hilarius, made a decree to the same purpose, not without allusion to this contention for precedency, that Rome should take place of Constantinople §.

Yea, so utterly unthought of was this absolute Primacy and Headship, of old; as that, when the Roman Dition was brought down to a Dukedom, and subjected to the Exarchate of Ravenna, the Archbishop of Ravenna, upon the very same grounds, stuck not, as Blondus tells us, to strive with the Bishop of Rome, for priority of place. So necessarily was the rising or fall of the Episcopal Chair annexed to the condition of that city, wherein it was fixed.

But, in all this, we well see what it is, that was stood upon; an arbitrable precedency of these Churches, in a priority of order.

And, according thereunto, the Bishop of Rome ‖ is determined to be *Primæ Sedis Episcopus*, "The Bishop of the First See:" a style, which our late learned sovereign professed, with Justinian, not to grudge unto the modern Bishops of that See.

But, as for a Primacy of Sovereignty over all Churches; and such a Headship, as should inform and enliven the body, and govern it with infallible influences ¶; it is so new and hateful, as that the Church, in all ages, hath opposed it to the utmost: neither will it be endured, at this day, by the Greek Church; notwithstanding the colourable pretence of subscription hereunto, by their dying Patriarch Joseph of Constantinople, in the late Florentine Council **; and the Letters of Union subscribed by them, anno 1539.

Yea, so far is it from that, as that their Emperor Michael Paleologus, for yielding a kind of subjection of the Eastern Bishops to the Roman, would not be allowed the honour of Christian Burial; as

* Sever. Bin. in Notis Concil. Chalced. † Caranz. Epitom. Concil.

‡ *Sedes Apostolica, nobis præsentibus, humiliari non debet.* Ibid.

§ *Constantinopolitano Episcopo damnato, Ecclesiarum omnium primam esse Romanam.* Caranz. Epit. Concil. Carthag. iii. Can. 26.

‖ Decr p. 1. d. 99. πρωτεδρίας privilegium concessum à Justiniano. *Sancimus sententia Romæ Papam primum esse omnium Sacerdotum.* Prærog. ante alios residendi. Cod. de sacros. Eccl. decernimus.

¶ *Influentia vitæ.* Capistran. *Influentia regiminis.* August. Triumph.

** Bin. in Concil. Florent.

Æmylius hath recorded *. And, in our time, Basilius, the Emperor of Russia, which challengeth no small part in the Greek Church, threatened to the Pope's Legate, as I have been informed, an infamous death and burial, if he offered to set foot in his dominions; out of a jealous hate of this usurpation.

SECT. 2.

The Newness of challenged Infallibility.

THE particulars of this new arrogation of Rome are so many, that they cannot be pent up in any strait room. I will only instance in some few.

The Pope's INFALLIBILITY OF JUDGMENT is such a paradox, as the very histories of all times, and proceedings of the Church, do sufficiently convince.

For, to what purpose had all Councils been called, even of the remotest Bishops; to what purpose were the agitations of all controversial causes in those assemblies, as Erasmus justly observes; if this opinion had then obtained?

Or, how came it about, that the sentences of some Bishops of Rome were opposed by other Sees, by the successors of their own, by Christian Academies; if this conceit had formerly passed for current with the world?

How came it to pass, that whole Councils have censured and condemned some Bishops of Rome for manifest heresies; if they were persuaded, beforehand, of the impossibility of those errors? Not to speak of Honorius, of Liberius, and others; the Council of Basil shall be the voice of common observation: *Multi Pontifices &c:* "Many Popes," say they †, "are recorded to have fallen into errors and heresies."

Either all stories mock us, or else this parasitical dream of impeccancy in Judgment, is a mere stranger: and his disguise is so foul, that it is no marvel, if *Errare non possum*, "I cannot err," seemed to Eberhardus, Bishop of Saltzburgh ‡, no other than the suit of an Antichrist.

SECT. 3.

The Newness of the Pope's Superiority to General Councils.

How bold and dangerous a Novelty is that, which Cardinal Bellarmin, and with him the whole Society, and all the late fautors of that

* P. Emyl. Hist. Gall.

† *Multi Pontifices in errores et hæreses lapsi esse leguntur.* Concil. Basil. in Ep. Synod.

‡ Aventin. l. vii.

See (after the Florentine Synod) stick not to avouch *! *Summus Pontifex &c:* "The Pope is absolutely ABOVE THE WHOLE CHURCH, AND ABOVE A GENERAL COUNCIL; so as he acknowledges no judge on earth over himself."

How would this have relished, with those well near a thousand Fathers in the Council of Constance; who punctually determined thus †; *Ipsa Synodus &c:* "This Synod, lawfully assembled in the Holy Ghost, making a General Council representing the Catholic Church militant upon earth, hath immediately power from Christ; whereunto every man, whosoever he be, of what state or dignity soever, although he be the Pope himself, is bound to obey in those things, which pertain to faith or to the extirpation of schism?"

And, fifteen years after that ‡, the General Council of Basil, wherein was president Julianus, Cardinal of St. Angelo, the Pope's Legate, defined the same matter in the same words.

It is no marvel, if Cardinal Bellarmin, and some others of that strain, reject these, as unlawful Councils. But they cannot deny, first, that this decree was made by both of them: secondly, that the Divines there assembled, were, in their allowance, Catholic Doctors; and such, as, in other points, adhered to the Roman Church; insomuch as they were the men, by whose sentence John Huss and Jerome suffered no less than death: and yet, even so lately, did these numerous Divines, in the voice of the Church, define the superiority of a Council above the Pope.

What speak we of this, when we find that the Bishops of the East excommunicated in their assembly Julius, the Bishop of Rome himself, amongst others, without scruple; as Sozomen reporteth §.

How ill would this doctrine or practice now be endured! Insomuch as Gregory of Valence dare confidently say, that whosoever he be, that makes a Council superior to the Pope, fights directly, though unawares, against that most certain point of faith, concerning St. Peter's and the Roman Bishop's Primacy in the Church.

SECT. 4.

The New Presumption of Papal Dispensations.

FROM the opinion of this supereminent power, hath flowed that common course of DISPENSATIONS with the Canons and Decrees of Councils, which hath been, of late, a great eye-sore to moderate beholders.

Franciscus à Victoria makes a woeful complaint of it ‖, professing to doubt, whether, in the end of the year, there be more that have leave by this means to break the laws, than those that are tied to keep them: thereupon wishing, for remedy, that there were a re-

* Bell. l. ii. de Concil. c. 17. † Concil. Const. sess. 4. et 5. Caranz. anno 1415.
‡ Anno 1431. § Sozom. l. iii. c. 11.
‖ Fr. Victor. Relect. de Potest. Papæ et Concil. p. 151.

straint made of those now-boundless Dispensations: and, at last, objecting to himself that such a decree of restriction would be new and not heard of in any former Council, he answers, *Tempore Conciliorum antiquorum &c:* "In the time of the ancient Councils, Popes were like to the other Fathers of those Councils; so as there was no need of any Act, for holding them back from this immoderate licence of dispensing: yea, if we do well turn over the laws and histories of the Ancients, we shall find, that Popes did not presume so easily and commonly to dispense with Decrees of Councils; but observed them, as the Oracles of God himself: yea, not only did they forbear to do it, ordinarily; but, perhaps not once, did they ever dispense at all against the Decrees of Councils; but now," saith he, "by little and little are we grown to this intemperance of Dispensations, and to such an estate as that we can neither abide our mischiefs nor our remedies." Thus that learned Spaniard, in an honest confession of the degenerate courses of the late Popes, from the simple integrity of their predecessors.

What should I add unto these, the presumptuous Dispensations with vows and oaths, with the Laws of God himself, with the Law of Nature? a privilege, ordinarily both yielded and defended by flattering Canonists *; and that, which meets with us, at every turn, in Hostiensis, Archidiaconus, Felinus, Capistranus, Triumphus, Angelus de Clavasio, Petrus de Ancorano, Panormitan; as is largely particularized by our learned Bishop of Derry †.

SECT. 5.

The New Challenge of Popes' domineering over Kings and Emperors.

I MAY well shut up this scene, with that notorious Innovation of the Pope's SUBDUCING HIMSELF FROM THE DUE OBEDIENCE OF HIS ONCE-ACKNOWLEDGED LORD AND SOVEREIGN; and endeavouring to reduce all those imperial powers to his homage and obedience.

The time was, when Pope Gregory could say to Mauritius ‡, *Vobis obedientiam præbere desidero:* "I desire to give you due obedience;" and, when Pope Leo came with cap and knee to Theodosius, for a Synod to be called, with *Clementia vestra concedat*, as Cardinal Cusanus cites it from the history.

The time was, when *Nemo Apostolicæ &c.:* "No man did offer to take upon him the steering of the Apostolic Bark, till the authority of the Emperor had designed him;" as their Balbus, out of their own law §. That of Pope Gregory is plain enough: *Ecce, serenis-*

* *Pontificalis authoritas à juramento fidelitatis absolvit.* Decr. p. 2. 15. q. 6. *Alius.* Almain de Potest. Eccl. et Laica. c. 12. ἄχρι τοῦ μὴ ἐπιοχεῖν was the rule of old.

† Diatrib. Papa Antichr. l. iv. c. 9.

‡ Greg. l. iv. Ep. 32. *et serenissimis jussionibus obedientiam præbeo.* Ibid.

§ Hieron. Balb. de Cor.

simus &c: "Behold," saith he *, speaking of his own advancement to the Bishopric of Rome, "our gracious Lord, the Emperor, hath commanded an ape to be made a lion: and, surely, at his command, it may be called a lion; but it cannot be one: so as he must needs lay all my faults and negligences, not upon me; but upon his own piety, which hath committed this ministry of power to so weak an agent †."

The time was, when the Popes of Rome dated their Apostolic letters, with the style of the reign of their Lords, the Emperors ‡: now, ever since Pope Paschal, they care only to note the year of their own Apostleship or Papacy §.

The time was, when the holy Bishops of that See professed to succeed St. Peter, in homely simplicity, in humble obedience, in piety, in zeal, in preaching, in tears, in sufferings: now, since the case is altered, the world sees and blushes at the change. For now ‖, *Quanta inter solem et lunam, &c:* "Look how much the sun is bigger than the moon, so much is the Papal power greater than the Imperial." Now, *Papa est Dominus Imperatoris:* "The Pope is the Emperor's Lord;" saith their Capistranus ¶: and, "The Emperor is subject to the Pope, as his minister or servant;" saith Triumphus **.

And, lest this should seem the fashionable word of some clawing Canonist only, hear what Pope Adrian himself saith ††: *Unde habet &c:* "Whence hath the Emperor his empire, but from us? all, that he hath, he hath wholly from us. Behold, it is in our power, to give it to whom we list."

And, to the same purpose, is that of Pope Innocent the Fourth ‡‡: *Imperator est Advocatus &c:* "The Emperor is the Pope's Advocate; and swears to him; and holds his empire of him."

But, perhaps this place is yet too high for an Emperor: a lower will serve §§: *Fit Canonicus &c:* "The Emperor is," of course, "made a Canon," and brother of the Church of Lateran.

Yet lower, he shall be the Sewer of his Holiness's Table, and set on the first dish, and hold the bason for his hands ‖‖.

Yet lower, he shall be the Train-bearer to the Pope, in his walking processions ¶¶: he shall be the Equerry of his Stable; and hold

* *Ecce, serenissimus dominus, Imperator, fieri simiam leonem jussit, &c.* Greg. Ep. 5.

† *Qui virtutis ministerium infirmo commisit.* Ibid.

‡ Guicciard. l. iv. Hist. *Imperante Carolo, domino nostro.*

§ *Paschalis, anno Evangel.* 1070, *primus, omissis Imperatoris annis, sui pontificatûs annos subscripsit. In dat. Apostolatûs nostri anno* I. *dein Pontificatûs.* Lib. Sacr. Cerem.

‖ Greg. l. i. de Major. et Obed. ex Innoc. ¶ Capistr. 77.

** Aug. Triumph. q. 41. 1.

†† Vid. Diatr. Derens. Episc. l. iv. c. 3. sect. 2. *Unde habet Imperator Imperium, nisi à nobis? Imperator quod habet, totum habet à nobis. Ecce, in potestate nostrâ est, ut demus illud cui volumus.* Hadrian. Epist. apud Aventin. l. vi.

‡‡ Innoc. IV. in cap. *Licet de foro compet.* §§ Lib. Sacr. Cerem.

‖‖ *Etiam Imperator aut Rex aquam ad lavandas ejus manus ferre debet; primum item ferculum, &c.* Ibid.

¶¶ *In processionibus, &c.* ib

his stirrup in getting upon his horse *: he shall be, lastly, his very Porter, to carry his Holiness on his shoulder †. And all this, not out of will; but out of duty.

Where now is *Augustus, ab Augendo*, as Almain derives him ‡, when he suffers himself thus diminished? Although there is more wonder in the other's exaltation: *Papæ!* Men are too base to enter into comparison with him. "His authority is more than of the Saints in heaven," saith one: yet more, "He excelleth the Angels in his jurisdiction," saith another: yet, more once, "The Pope seems to make one and the same Consistory with God himself:" and, which comprehends all the rest, *Tu es omnia, et super omnia;* "Thou art all, and above all;" as the Council of Lateran under Julius §.

Oh strange alteration, that the great Commanders of the World should be made the drudges of their subjects! that order and sovereignty should lose themselves, in a pretence of piety! that the professed successor of him, that said *Gold and silver have I none*, should thus trample upon crowns! that a poor silly worm of the earth should raise up itself above all that is called God, and offer to crawl into the glorious Throne of Heaven!

CHAP XIV.

THE EPILOGUE, BOTH OF EXHORTATION AND APOLOGY.

NOT to weary my reader with more particularities of innovation, let now all Christians know and be assured, that such change as they sensibly find in the head, they may as truly, though not so visibly, note in the body of the Roman Church; yea, rather in that soul of religion, which informeth both.

And if, thereupon, all our endeavour, as we protest before God and his holy angels, hath been, and is, only to reduce Rome to itself; that is, to recal it to that original truth, piety, sincerity, which made it long famous through the world, and happy; how unjustly are we ejected, persecuted, condemned!

But, if that ancient Mistress of the World shall stand upon the terms of her honour; and will needs plead the disparagement of her retractations, and the age and authority of these her impositions; let me have leave to shut up all, with that worthy and religious contestation of St. Ambrose with his Symmachus.

That eloquent patron of idolatry had pleaded hard for the old rites of heathenism; and brings in ancient Rome, speaking thus

* *Stapham equi papalis tenet, &c.* Ibid.

† *Sellam ipsam cum Pontifice humeris suis aliquantulum portare debet.* Ibid.

‡ Alm. de Potest. Eccl.

§ Cassan. 4. part. Consid. 7. C. de libellis 20. Dist. Aug. Triumph. de Pot. Ecc. q. 18. Vid. Derens. ubi supra. Cassan. Glor. mundi 4. part. Cons. 7. Innocent. et Host. in c. 4. de Transl.

for herself *: *Optimi Principes &c:* "Excellent Princes, the Fathers of your Country, reverence ye my years, into which my pious rites have brought me. I will use the ceremonies of my ancestors: neither can I repent me. I will live after mine own fashion, because I am free. This religion hath brought the world under the subjection of my laws: these sacred devotions have driven Hannibal from our walls, from our Capitol. Have I been preserved for this, that, in mine old age, I should be reproved? Say, that I did see what were to be altered; yet late and shameful is the amendment of age †." To which that holy Father no less wittily and elegantly answers, by way of retortion, bringing in Rome to speak thus ‡: "Rather, I am not ashamed, in mine old age, to be a convert, with all the rest of the world. It is surely true, that, in no age, it is too late to learn. Let that old age blush, that cannot mend itself. It is not the gravity of years, but of manners, that deserves praise. It is no shame, to go to the better §." And, when Symmachus urges, *Majorum servandus est ritus*, "We must observe the rites of our forefathers;" *Dicant igitur*, saith St. Ambrose, "Let them as well say, that all things should remain in their own imperfect principles; that the world, once overcovered with darkness, offends in being shined upon by the glorious brightness of the sun: and how much more happy is it, to have dispelled the darkness of the soul, than of the body; to be shined upon by the beams of faith, than of the sun!" Thus he, most aptly to the present occasion: whereto, did that blessed Father now live, he would, doubtless, no less readily apply it.

Nec erubescas mutare sententiam, saith Jerome to his Ruffinus: "Never blush to change your mind: you are not of such authority, as that you should be ashamed to confess you have erred ‖."

Oh, that this meek ingenuity could have found place in that once famous and orthodox Church of Christ! How had the whole Christian World been *as a city at unity in itself;* and triumphed over all the proud hostilities of Paganism!

But, since we may not be so happy, we must sit down and mourn, for our desolations, for our divisions.

In the mean time, we wash our hands in innocence. There are none of all these instanced particulars, besides many more, wherein the Church of Rome hath not sensibly erred, in corrupt additions to the faith; so as, herein, we may justly, before heaven and earth, warrant our disagreement of judgment from her. The rest is their act, and not ours. We are mere patients in this schism; and therefore go, because we are driven. That we hold not communion with that Church, the fault is theirs; who both have deserved this strangeness by their errors, and made it by their violence. Contrary to that rule, which Cato in Tully gives of unpleasing friend-

* Inter Epistolas Ambrosii. l. ii. Ep. 11.

† *Sera tamen et contumeliosa est emendatio senectutis.* Ibid.

‡ Ambros. Epist. l. ii. Ep. 22. § *Nullus pudor est ad meliora transire.* Ibid.

‖ *Non es tantæ auctoritatis, ut erasse te pudeat, &c.* Hier. Apol. adv. Ruffin.

ship, they have not ripped it in the seam, but torn it in the whole cloth.

Perhaps I shall seem unto some to have spoken too mildly, of the estate of that debauched Church. There are, that stand upon a mere nullity of her being; not resting upon a bare depravation. For me, I dare not go so far. If she be foul, if deadly diseased, (as she is) these qualities cannot utterly take off her essence, or our relations.

Our Divines indeed call us out of Babylon, and we run: so as here is an actual separation on our parts: True; but from the corruptions (wherein there is a true confusion), not from the Church. Their very charge implies their limitation. As it is Babylon, we must come out of it: as it is an Outward Visible Church, we neither did nor would. This dropsy, that hath so swollen up the body, doth not make it cease to be a true body, but a sound one *.

The true principles of Christianity, which it maintains, maintain life in that Church: the errors, which it holds, together with those principles, struggle with that life, and threaten an extinction †. As it is a Visible Church then, we have not detrected to hold communion with it; though the contemptuous repulse of so many admonitions have deserved our alienation: as Babylon, we can have nothing to do with it. Like as, in the course of our life, we freely converse with those men in civil affairs, with whom we hate to partake in wickedness.

But, will not this seem to savour of too much indifferency? "What need we so vehemently labour, to draw from either part, and triumph in winning proselytes, and give them for lost on either side, and brand them for apostates that are won away; if, which way soever we fall, we cannot light out of a True Visible Church of Christ? What such necessity was there of martyrdom, what such danger of relapses, if the Church be with both?"

Let these sophisters know, that true charity needs not abate any thing of zeal. If they be acquainted with the just value of truth, they shall not enquire so much into the persons, as into the cause.

Whatever the Church be, if the errors be damnable our blood is happily spent in their impugnation; and we must rather choose to undergo a thousand deaths, than offend the Majesty of God, in yielding to a known falsehood in religion. Neither doth the outward visibility of the Church abate ought of the heinousness of misopinions, or the vehemence of our oppositions. Were it St. Peter himself, if he halt in Judaizing, St. Paul must resist him to the face: neither is his fault less, because an Apostle's.

Yea, let me say more, were the Church of Rome and ours laid upon several foundations, these errors should not be altogether so detestable: since the symbolizing in many truths makes gross errors more intolerable; as the Samaritan idolatry was more odious to the

* Fr. Jun. de Ecclesiâ.

† *Capitis autem malè sani et deliri contagia vitanda sunt, ne et ipsi artus pestilenti humore labefierent.* F. Pic. Mirand. Theor. 23.

Jews, than merely Paganish *. If the dearest daughter of God upon earth should commit spiritual whoredom, her uncleanness is so much more to be hated, as her obligations were greater.

Oh, the glorious crowns therefore of those blessed martyrs of ours, who rather gave their bodies to be burnt to ashes, than they would betray any parcel of divine truth.

Oh, the woeful and dangerous condition of those souls, which, shutting their eyes against so clear a light, either willingly sit down in palpable darkness, or fall back from the sincerity of the Gospel into these miserable enormities both of practice and doctrine. It is not for me to judge them: that I leave unto that high and awful tribunal, before which I shall once appear with them: but, this I dare say, that, if that Righteous Judge shall punish either their obstinacy or relapses with eternal damnation, he cannot but be justified in his judgments; while, in the midst of their torments, they shall be forced to say, *Thou, O God, art just in all that is befallen us: for thou hast done right; but we have done wickedly;* Neh. ix. 33.

For us, as we would save our souls, let us carefully preserve them from the contagion of Romish Superstition. Let us never fear, that our discretion can hate error too much. Let us awaken our holy zeal to a serious and fervent opposition, joined with a charitable endeavour of reclamation.

Shortly, let us hate their opinions, strive against their practice, pity their misguiding, neglect their censures, labour their recovery, pray for their salvation.

* Maldon, in iv. Joan

AN APOLOGETICAL

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

READER:

NOTHING can be so well said or done, but may be ill taken. While I thus sincerely plead for truth, the well-meaning ignorance of some mistakers hath passed as deep, as unjust censures upon me: as if preferment had changed my note; and taught me to speak more plausible language concerning the Roman Church, than I either did or ought. Wherein, as I pity their uncharitableness, so I earnestly desire to rectify their judgment; lest their prejudice may turn more to their sin, than to my wrong.

The main ground of the exception is, That I yield the Church of Rome a True Visible Church.

Wherein, the harsh noise of a mis-construed phrase offends their ear, and breeds their quarrel. For this, belike, in their apprehension seems to sound no less than as if I had said, "The Church of Rome is a true-believing Church," or "a true part of the mystical body of Christ:" a sense, which is as far wide from my words or thoughts, as from truth itself. Wherefore serves this book, but to evince the manifold corruptions of that foul Church? That she is truly visible, abates nothing of her abominations: for, who sees not, that "visible" refers to outward profession; "true," to some essential principles of Christianity; neither of them to soundness of belief? So as these two may too well stand together, A True Visible Church, in respect of outward profession of Christianity; and, A heretical, apostatical, antichristian Synagogue, in respect of doctrine and practice. Grant the Romanists to be but Christians, how corrupt soever; and we cannot deny them the name of a Church. Outward Visibility gives them no claim either to Truth or Salvation.

Shortly, then, in two things I must crave leave to vindicate myself: one, that I do no whit differ from myself; the other, that I differ not from the judgment of our best, orthodox, and approvedly-classical Divines. Both which cleared, what have I done?

It is a grievous challenge, this of Inconstancy: for though, while we are here in this region of mutability, our whole man is subject to change; yet we do all herein affect a likeness to the God of Truth, *in whom there is no shadow by turning;* especially in reli-

gion, so much more as that doth more assimilate and unite us to that Unchangeable Deity.

"Lo," say they, "the man, that once wrote, 'No Peace with Rome,' now cries nothing, but, Peace with Rome, while he proclaims it a True Visible Church, and allows some communion with it."

Alas, brethren, why will ye suffer a rash and ignorant zeal thus to lie palpably in your way to truth? Be but pleased to cast your eyes upon the first chapter of that book of mine, which is thus objected to me in a causeless exprobration, that which long since I wrote, of the Irreconcileableness of Rome *; and see if that Section be not a full expression of the same truth, and that in the same words, which I have here published. There shall you find taught, That there is no other difference betwixt us and Rome, than betwixt a Church miserably corrupted, and happily purged; betwixt a sickly, languishing, dying Church, and one that is healthful, strong, and flourishing: That Valdus, Wickliff, Luther, did never go about to frame a new Church, which was not; but to cleanse, restore, reform that Church, which was: That they meant only to be Physicians, to heal; not parents, to beget a Church. There you shall find, That we are all the same Church, by virtue of our outward vocation, whosoever, all the world over, worship Jesus Christ the only Son of God, the Saviour of the World, and profess the same common Creed: That some of us do this more purely; others, more corruptly: That, in the mean time, we are all Christians; but sound Christians we are not. There ye shall find this very objection so fully answered, as if it had been either formerly moved, or so long since prevented.

The words are these: "But how harshly doth this sound to a weak reader, and more than seems to need reconciliation with itself, that the Church should be one; and yet cannot be reconciled! Certainly, yet so it is. The dignity of the outward form, which comprehends this unity in itself, avails nothing to salvation, nothing to grace, nothing to the soundness of doctrine. The net doth not straight make all to be fish, that it hath dragged together: ye shall find in it vile weeds; and whatsoever else, that devouring element hath disgorged. The Church is, at once, one, in respect of the common principles of faith; and yet, in respect of consequences, and that rabble of opinions which they have raked together, so opposed, that it cannot, (as things now stand) by any glew of concord, as Cyprian speaketh, nor bond of unity, be conjoined. That, which Rome holds with us, makes it a Church: that, which it obtrudes upon us, makes it heretical. The truth of principles makes it one: the error and impiety of additions makes it irreconcileable, &c. Look on the face, therefore, of the Roman Church, she is ours, she is God's: look on her back, she is quite contrary, antichristian. More plainly, Rome doth both hold the foundation, and

* "No Peace with Rome:" et, "Roma irreconciliabilis," Sect. 1. AUTHOR. See pp. 29—32 of this Volume. EDITOR.

destroy it: she holds it directly, destroys it by consequent. In that she holds it, she is a True Church, howsoever impured: in that she destroys it, what semblance soever she makes she is a *Church of Malignants*. If she did altogether hold it, she should be sound and orthodox: if altogether she destroyed it, she should be either no Church, or devilish: but, now that she professes to hold those things directly, which by inferences she closely overthrows, she is a truly visible Church, but an unsound one *."

Thus I wrote well-near twenty years ago, without clamour, without censure. And, since that, in my Latin Sermon to the Convocation, did I vary ought from this hold? Did I not there call heaven and earth to record, of our innocence, in separating from the Roman Church? Did I not cast the fault upon their violence, not our will? Did I not profess, *Lubentes quidem discessimus &c.* "We willingly indeed departed from the communion of their errors; but, from the communion of the Church, we have not departed. Let them abandon their errors, and we embrace the Church: let them cast away their soul-killing Traditions, and false appendances of their new faith; we shall gladly communicate with them in the right of the same Church, and hold with them for ever†?"

This I freely both taught and published, with the allowance, with the applause of that most Reverend Synod; and now, doth the addition of a Dignity bring envy upon the same truth? Might that pass commendably from the pen or tongue of a Doctor, which will not be endured from the hand of a Bishop? My brethren, I am where I was: the change is yours. Ever since I learned to distinguish betwixt the right hand of verity and the left of error, thus I held; and shall, I hope, at last send forth my soul in no other resolution. And, if any of you be otherwise minded, I dare boldly say, he shall do more wrong to his cause, than to his adversary.

That I differ not from myself, you have seen: see, now, that I differ not from our learned, judicious, approved Divines.

That the Latin or Western Church, subject to the Romish Tyranny, unto the very times of Luther, was a true Church, in which a saving profession of the truth of Christ was found, and wherein Luther himself received his Christianity, Ordination, and power of Ministry, our learned Doctor Field hath saved me the labour to prove, by the suffrages of our best and most renowned Divines‡: amongst whom, he cites the testimony of Calvin, Bucer, Melanchthon, Beza, Mornay, Deering. And if, since that time, it be foully corrupted, so as now that acute author is driven to the distinction of *Verè Ecclesia*, and *Vera Ecclesia*; yet, at last, he thus concludes: "But will some man say, 'Is the Roman Church at

* See and compare the passage at p. 31 of this volume. EDITOR.

† "Columba Noæ." See vol. v. p. 170 of this edition. The author's translation varies a little from that of his son. EDITOR.

‡ Append. to the Book of the Church: iii. part. chap. 2.

this day no part of the Church of God?' Surely, as Austin noteth * that the societies of heretics, in that they retain the profession of many parts of heavenly truth and the ministration of the Sacrament of Baptism, are so far still conjoined with the Catholic Church, and the Catholic Church in and by them bringeth forth children unto God: so, the present Roman Church is still, in some sort, a part of the Visible Church of God; but, no otherwise, than other societies of heretics are, in that it retaineth the profession of some parts of heavenly truth, and ministereth the true Sacrament of Baptism to the salvation of the souls of many thousand infants, &c." Thus he.

Junius, distinguishing betwixt the Church and Papacy, determines the Church of Rome to be a truly-living, though sick, Church; whereof the Papacy is the disease, marring the health, threatening her life: and punctually resolves †, *Ecclesia Papalis, quâ id habet &c.* "The Popish Church, in that it hath in it that, which pertains to the definition of a Church, is a Church."

Doctor Raynolds makes it his position, That the Church of Rome is neither the Catholic Church, nor a sound member of the Catholic; yielding it a member, while he disproves it sound ‡.

Paræus: *Accusant nos &c.* "They accuse us," saith he §, "that we have made a division, in departing from the Church:" *Nos verò &c.* "But we have not departed from the Church, but from the Papacy."

Master Hooker is most pregnant for this point. "Apparent it is," saith he ‖, "that all men are, of necessity, either Christians or not Christians. If, by external profession, they be Christians, they are of the Visible Church of Christ: and Christians by external profession they are all, whose mark of recognisance hath in it those things which we have mentioned ¶; yea, although they be impious idolaters, wicked heretics, persons excommunicable, yea and cast out for notorious improbity." Thus he; and, going on, he shews how it is possible for the self-same men to belong to the Synagogue of Satan, and to the Church of Jesus Christ. The passages are too long to transcribe, and the books are obvious.

Doctor Crakenthorp, in his learned answer to Spalatensis, defends heretical Churches to be truly members of the Catholic Church, though unsound ones; subscribing herein to the determination of Alphonsus: and, descending to this particular, concludes **, *Hæc tamen ipsa tua Romana &c.* "This your Roman Church must be accounted both to be in the Church, and to be a Church: not simply, not according to the integrity of faith, not according to any inward virtue, not so effectually that it should avail to Salvation for a man to be in it; but yet a Church it is, in some respects, according to the external profession of faith and of the

* Aug. de Baptis. contr. Donatist. lib. i. c. 8. et 10.
† Jun. de Eccl. lib. sing. c. 17. ‡ Thes. Rain. 5. § Par. in Rom. xvi.
‖ Hook. Book mid. of Eccl. Pol. c. 1. ¶ *One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism.*
** Crak. Defen. Eccles. Angl. c. 10.

Word of God, according to the administration of the Sacraments, according to some Doctrines of true belief, by which, as by so many outward ligaments, she is yet knit to the Orthodox and Catholic Church." Thus he, fully to my words and meaning.

I might swell up the bulk with many more: a catalogue whereof Brierley hath, for his own purpose, fetched up together *. I will only shut up this scene with our late most learned Sovereign, King James; who, in the Conference at Hampton Court, with the acclamation of all his judicious hearers, avowed, that no Church ought further to separate itself from the Church of Rome in doctrine or ceremony, than she hath departed from herself when she was in her flourishing and best estate, and from Christ her Lord and Head.

Well, therefore, doth my reader see, that I have gone along with good company, in this assertion: although I am not ignorant, that some worthy Divines of ours † speak otherwise; in the height of zeal denying the Church of Rome to be a True Church, to be a Church at all; whose contradiction gives colour to this offence. But, let my reader know, that, however their words are opposite, yet not their judgment: a mutual understanding shall well accord us in the matter, however the terms sound contrary. Our old word is, "Things are as they are taken." The difference is, in the acceptation of "True" and "Church;" both which have much latitude, and variety of sense. While, by True, they mean right believing; and, by Church, a company of Faithful, which have the Word of God rightly understood and sincerely preached, and the Sacraments duly administered ‡: it is no marvel, if they say the Church of Rome is neither True nor Church: who would, who can say otherwise? But, while we mean, by a True Church, a multitude of Christians professing to agree in the main principles of religion, how can they but subscribe to us; and, in this sense, yield the Church of Rome both a Church, and Truly Visible? So as, shortly, in a large sense of "True Church," these Divines cannot but descend to us; in a strict sense of both, we cannot but ascend to them: in fine, both agree in the substance, while the words cross. Certainly, in effect, Master Perkins saith no other §, while he defines his Reformed Catholic to be one, that holds the same necessary heads of religion with the Roman Church; yet so as he pares off and rejects all errors in doctrine, whereby the same religion is corrupted: wherein that well-allowed author speaks home to my meaning, though in other terms. That the Roman Church

* Pet. Baro, Conc. ad Clerum. Bunny, Treat. of Purif. D. Some, against Penry. Peter Mart. Epistle. Answer to Machiavel, p. 8. D. Covel. Fregevil. Polit. Ref. B. of St. David's Chap. D. Williams of the Church. Confer. p. 75.

† Zanch. Miscell. de Eccles. Whitak. Quæs. 6. c. 1. pp. 414, 445. in quar. Perk. in 1. ad Galat. Cameron.

‡ Zanch. ubi suprà. *In quo purum Dei Verbum Orthodoxè intellectum et sincerè prædicatum, Sacramenta sola et legitimè juxta institutum Christi administrata, &c.*

§ M. Perk. Ref. Cath.

holds the necessary heads of religion, gives it a right, in my sense, to a true visibility: that it holds foul errors, whereby the doctrine is corrupted, makes it false in belief, while it hath a true being.

This, then, may give sufficient light to that passage in my sixth page *, whereat some have heedlessly stumbled. That, which I cited from Luther out of Cromerus, I find also alleged by Doctor Field † out of Luther himself. The words are, that "under the Papacy is the very kernel of Christianity; much good, yea all." Know, Reader, the words are Luther's, not mine: neither doth he say, "in" the Papacy, but "under" it; under it, indeed, to trample upon, not to possess; or, if to possess, yet not to enjoy. Their fault is not in defect of necessary truths, but in excess of superfluous additions. Luther explicates himself: for his "kernel" is the several Articles of Christian Belief; his "all good," is Scriptures, Sacraments, Creeds, Councils, Fathers: all these they have; but, God knows, miserably corrupted. That they thus have them, is no whit worse for us, and little better for themselves: would to God they were theirs, as well in true use as in possession!

It was an ill descant, that a nimble Papist made upon those words of Luther, which yield them the Kernel of Christianity. "If we have the kernel," saith he, "let them take the shell." Soft, friend, you are too witty. Luther did not give you the kernel, and reserve us the shell: he yielded you both kernel and shell, such as it is; but the shell rotten, the kernel worm-eaten. Make much of your kernel; but, as you have used it, it is but a bitter morsel. Swallow that if you please; and save the shell in your pocket.

Neither think to go away with an idle misprision: "We are a True Visible Church: what need we more? why should we wish to be other than we are?"—Alas, poor souls! a true visibility may, and doth, stand with a false belief. Ye may be of a True Visible Church, and yet never the nearer to heaven. It is your interest in the true mystical body of Christ, that must save your souls; not in the outwardly visible: your errors may be, and are, no less damnable, for that ye are by outward profession Christians; yea, so much the more. Woe is me, your danger is more visible than your Church. If ye persist wilfully in these gross corruptions, which do by consequent raze that foundation, which ye profess to lay, ye shall be no less visible spectacles of the wrath of that Just God, whose Truth and Spirit ye have so stubbornly resisted. The God of Heaven open your eyes, to see the glorious light of his truth; and draw your hearts to the love of it: and make your Church as truly sound, as it is truly visible!

Thus, in a desire to stand but so right as I am in all honest judgments, I have made this speedy and true Apology; beseeching all readers in the fear of God, before whose bar we shall once give an account of all our overlashings, to judge wisely and uprightly of what I have written; in a word, to do me but justice in their opinions; and, when I beg it, favour. Farewell, Reader; and God make us wise and charitable!

* See page 230 of this Volume. EDITOR. † Append. ubi supra.

THE

RECONCILER.

AN

EPISTLE PACIFICATORY

OF THE

SEEMING DIFFERENCES OF OPINION,

CONCERNING THE

TRUENESS AND VISIBILITY OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.

BY JOSEPH, BISHOP OF EXETER.

THE RECONCILER.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND TRULY RELIGIOUS, MY SINGULAR GOOD LORD,

EDWARD,

EARL OF NORWICH.

MY EVER HONOURED LORD:

I CONFESS my charity led me into an error. Your Lordship well knows, how apt I am, to be overtaken with these better deceits of an overkind credulity. I had thought, that any dash of my pen, in a sudden and easy Advertisement *, might have served to have quitted that ignorant scandal, which was cast upon my mistaken assertion of the true visibility of the Roman Church. The issue proves all otherwise. I find, to my grief, that the misunderstanding tenacity of some zealous spirits hath made it a quarrel.

It cannot but trouble me, to see that the position, which is so familiarly current with the best Reformed Divines, and which hath been so oft and long since published by me without contradiction, yea not without the approbation and applause of the whole representative body of the Clergy of this Kingdom, should now be quarrelled, and drawn into the detestation of those that know it not.

As one, therefore, that should think it corrosive enough, that any occasion should be taken by ought of mine to ravel but one thread of that seamless coat, I do earnestly desire, by a more full explication, to give clear satisfaction to all readers; and, by this seasonable Reconcilement, to stop the floodgates of contention.

I know it will not be unpleasing to your Lordship, that, through your honourable and pious hands, these welcome papers should be transmitted to many. Wherein, I shall first beseech, yea adjure, all Christians under whose eyes they shall fall, by the dreadful Name of that God who shall judge both the quick and the dead, to lay aside all unjust prejudices; and to allow the words of truth and peace. I dare confidently say, Let us be understood, and we are agreed.

The Searcher of all Hearts knows how far it was from my

* Alluding to the "Apologetical Advertisement," immediately preceding.
EDITOR.

thoughts, to speak ought in favour of the Roman Synagogue. If I have not sufficiently branded that strumpet, I justly suffer. Luther's broad word is by me already both safely construed, and sufficiently vindicated.

Obj. "But, do you not say, It is a True Visible Church? Do you not yield some kind of communion with these clients of Antichrist? What is, if this be not, Favour?"

Resp. Mark well, Christian Reader, and *the Lord give thee understanding in all things.*

To begin with the latter. No man can say, but the Church of Rome holds some truths: those truths are God's; and, in his right, ours: why should not we challenge our own, wheresoever we find it? If a very Devil shall say of Christ, *Thou art the Son of the Living God,* we will snatch this truth out of his mouth, as usurped; and, in spite of him, proclaim it for our own. Indeed, there is *no communion betwixt light and darkness;* but there is communion betwixt light and light. Now, all truth is Light; and therefore symbolizeth with itself: with that light therefore, whose glimmering yet remains in their darkness, our clearer light will and must hold communion. If they profess Three Persons in one Godhead, Two Natures in one Person of Christ; shall we detract to join with them in this Christian Verity? We abhor to have any communion with them in their errors, in their idolatrous or superstitious practices: these are their own, not ours. If we durst have taken their part in these, this breach had not been: now, who can but say, that we must hate their evil, and allow their good? It is no countenance to their errors, that we embrace our own truths: it is no disparagement to our truths, that they have blended them with their errors. Here can be no difference then, if this communion be not mistaken. No man will say, that we may sever from their common truths: no man will say, that we may join with them in their hateful errors.

For the former; he, that saith a thief is truly a man, doth he therein favour that thief? He, that saith a diseased, dropsied, dying body is a true, though corrupt, body, doth he favour that disease, or that living carcase? It is no other, no more, that I say of the Church of Rome. Trueness of being and outward visibility are no praise to her: yea, these are aggravations to her falsehood. The advantage, that is both sought and found in this assertion, is only ours; as we shall see in the sequel, without any danger of their gain. I say then, That she is a True Church; but I say, withal, she is a False Church: true, in existence; but false, in belief. Let not the homonymy of a word breed jars, where the sense is accorded. If we do not yield her the true being of a Church, why do we call her the Church of Rome? What speak we of? or where is the subject of our question? Who sees not, that there is a moral trueness, and a natural? He, that is morally the falsest man, is in nature as truly a man as the honestest; and therefore, in this regard, as true a man. In the same sense therefore, that we say the Devil is a true, though false, spirit; that a cheater is a true, though false, man; we may and must say, that the Church of Rome is a

true, though false, Church. Certainly, there hath been a true error and mistaking of the sense, that is guilty of this quarrel. As for the visibility, there can be no question. Would God that Church did not too much fill our eye; yea, the world! There is nothing, wherein it doth more pride itself, than in a glorious conspicuity; scorning, in this regard, the obscure paucity of their opposers.

Obj. But, you say, "What is this, but to play with ambiguities? That the Church of Rome is itself, that is, a Church, that it is visible, that it is truly existent, there can be no doubt: but is it still a part of the truly existent visible Church of Christ? Surely, no otherwise than a heretical and apostatical Church is and may be."

Resp. Reader, whosoever thou art, for God's sake, for thy soul's sake, mark where thou treadest; else thou shalt be sure to fall, either into an open gulf of uncharitableness, or into a dangerous precipice of error. There is no fear nor favour to say, that the Church of Rome, under a Christian face, hath an Antichristian heart: overturning that foundation, by necessary inferences; which, by open profession, it avoweth. That face, that profession, those avowed principles are enough to give it claim to a true outward visibility of a Christian Church; while those damnable inferences are enough to feoff it in the true style of Heresy and Antichristianism. Now this Heresy, this Antichristianism makes Rome justly odious and execrable to God, to angels, and men; but cannot utterly dis-church it, while those main principles maintain a weak life, in that crazy and corrupted body.

"But, is not this language different from that, whereto our ears and eyes have been inured, from the mouths and pens of some Reverend Divines and Professors of our Church?"

Know, Reader, that the stream of the famous Doctors, both at home and abroad, hath run strongly my way. I should have feared and hated to go alone. What reason is there then, to single out one man in a throng? Some few worthy authors have spoken otherwise, in the warmth of their zealous contention; yet so, as that even to them durst I appeal, for my judges: for, if their sound differ from me, their sense agrees with me: that, which as I touched in my Advertisement, so I am now ready to make clear by the instance of learned Zanchius; whose pregnant testimonies, compared together, shall plainly teach us how easy a reconcilement may be made betwixt these two seemingly-contrary opinions.

That worthy author, in his "Profession of Christian Religion," which he wrote and published in the seventieth year of his age, having defined the Church of Christ in general, and passed through the properties of it, at last descending to the sub-division of the Church Militant, comes to enquire, how particular Churches may be known to be the True Churches of Christ: whereof he determines thus, *Illas, igitur, &c.* "Those Churches, therefore, do we acknowledge for the True Churches of Christ, in which, first of all, the pure Doctrine of the Gospel is preached, heard, admitted; and so only admitted, that there is neither place nor ear given to

the contrary: for, both these are the just property of the flock or sheep of Christ; namely, both to hear the voice of their own Pastor, and to reject the voice of strangers; John x. 4. In which, secondly, the Sacraments instituted by Christ are lawfully, and, as much as may be, according to Christ's institution, administered and received; and, therefore, in which the Sacraments devised by men are not admitted and allowed. In which, lastly, the Discipline of Christ hath the due place: that is, where, both publicly and privately, charitable care is had, both by admonitions, corrections, and at last, if need be, by excommunications, that the commandments of God be duly kept; and that all persons live soberly, justly, and piously, to the glory of God, and edification of their neighbour." Thus he: wherein who sees not how directly he aims, both at the justifying of our Churches, and the cashiering of the Roman, which is palpably guilty of the violation of these wholesome rules? And, indeed, it must needs be said, if we bring the Roman Church to this touch, she is cast for a mere counterfeit: she is as far from truth, as truth is from falsehood.

Now, by this time, you go away with an opinion, that learned Zanchy is my professed adversary, and hath directly condemned my position, of the Trueness and Visibility of the Roman Church.

Have but patience, I beseech you, to read what the same excellent author writes in his golden Preface to that noble work, *De Naturâ Dei*, where this question is clearly and punctually decided. There you shall find, that, having passed through the woeful and gloomy offuscations of the Church of God in all former ages, he, descending to the darkness of the present Babylon, concludes thus, *Deinde non potuit Satan &c.* "Moreover, Satan could not in the very Roman Church do what he listed, as he had done in the Eastern; to bring all things to such pass, as that it should no more have the form of a Christian Church: for, in spite of Satan, that Church retained still the chief foundations of the faith, although weakened with the doctrines of men: it retained the public preaching of the Word of God, though in many places mis-understood and mis-construed; the invocation of the Name of Christ, though joined also with the invocation of dead men; the administration of Baptism, instituted by Christ himself, howsoever defiled with the addition of many superstitions. So as, together with the symbol of the covenant, the covenant itself remained still in her, I mean in all the Churches of the West; no otherwise than it did in the Church of Israel, even after that all things were in part prophaned by Jeroboam and other impious and idolatrous kings, upon the defection made by them from the Church and Tribe of Judah. For, neither do I assent to them, which would have the Church of Rome to have no less ceased to be the Church of Christ, than those Eastern Churches which afterwards turned Mahometan. What Church was ever more corrupt than the Church of the Ten Tribes? yet we learn from the Scriptures, that it was still the Church of God. And how doth St. Paul call that Church, wherein Antichrist, he saith, shall sit, *The Temple of God?* Neither is it any

Baptism at all, that is administered out of the Church of Christ. The wife, that is an adulteress, doth not cease to be a wife; unless, being despoiled of her marriage-ring, she be manifestly divorced. The Church of Rome therefore is yet the Church of Christ: but, what manner of Church? Surely, so corrupted and depraved, and with so great tyranny oppressed, that you can neither with a good conscience partake with them in their holy things, nor safely dwell amongst them." Thus he, again: wherein you see he speaks as home for me, as I could devise to speak for myself; and as appositely professeth to oppose the contrary.

Look now how this learned author may be reconciled to his own pen; and, by the very same way, shall my pen be reconciled with others. Either he agrees not with himself, or else, in his sense, I agree with my gainsayers. Nothing is more plain, than that he, in that former speech, and all other classic authors that speak in that key, mean, by a "True Church," a sound, pure, right-believing Church; so as, their *vera* is rather *verax*. Zanchy explicates the term, while he joins *veram* and *puram* together*: so as, in this construction, it is no True Church, that is an unsound one; as if truth of existence were all one with truth of doctrine. In this sense, whosoever shall say the Church of Rome is a True Church, I say he calls evil good; and is no better than a teacher of lies. But, if we measure the true being of a Visible Church by the direct maintenance of fundamental principles, though by consequences indirectly overturned; and by the possession of the Word of God and his Sacraments, though not without foul adulteration; what judicious Christian can but, with me, subscribe to learned Zanchius, that the Church of Rome hath yet the true Visibility of a Church of Christ?

What should I need to press the latitude and multiplicity of sense of the word Church? there is no one term, that I know, in all use of speech, so various. If, in a large sense, it be taken to comprehend the Society of all that Profess Christian Religion through the whole world, howsoever impured, who can deny this title to the Roman? If, in a strict sense, it be taken, as it is by Zanchius here and all those Divines who refuse to give this style to the Synagogue of Rome, for the Company of Elect Faithful Men gathered into one Mystical Body under one Head Christ, washed by his Blood, justified by his Merits, sanctified by his Spirit, conscionably waiting upon the true Ordinances of God in his pure Word and holy Sacraments, who can be so shameless, as to give this title to the Roman Church? Both these sentences, then, are equally true, "The Church of Rome is yet a True Church, in the first sense;" "The Church of Rome long since ceased to be a True Church, in the second."

As those friendly soldiers, therefore, of old, said to their fellows, τί μαχόμεθα; "Why fight we?" stay, stay, Dear Brethren, for God's sake, for his Church's sake, for your soul's sake, stay these

* Ibid. Præfat. de Nat. Dei.

busy and unprofitable litigations: put up, on both sides, your angry pens: turn your swords into scythes, to cut down the rank corruptions of the Roman Church; and your spears into mattocks, to beat down the walls of this Mystical Babylon. There are enemies enough abroad: let us be friends at home.

But, if our sense be the same, you will ask why our terms vary; and why we have chosen to fall upon that manner of expression, which gives advantage to the adversary, offence to our own.

Christian Reader, let me beseech thee, in the bowels of Christ, to weigh well this matter; and then tell me, why such offence, such advantage should be rather given by my words, than by the same words in the mouth of Luther, of Calvin, of Zanchy, Junius, Plessee, Hooker, Andrews, Field, Crakenthorp, Bedell, and that whole cloud of learned and pious authors, who have, without exception, used the same language; and why more by my words now, than twenty years ago, at which time I published the same truth, in a more full and liberal expression. Wise and charitable Christians may not be apt to take offence, where none is given.

As for any advantage, that is hereby given to the adversaries, they may put it in their eye, and see never the worse. "Lo," say they, "we are of the True Visible Church: this is enough for us: why are we forsaken? why are we persecuted? why are we solicited to a change?"—

Alas, poor souls! do they not know, that hypocrites, lewd persons, reprobates, are no less members of the True Visible Church? What gain they by this, but a deeper damnation? To what purpose did the Jews cry, *The Temple of the Lord*, while they despited the Lord of that Temple? Is the sea-weed ever the less vile, because it is dragged up together with good fish? They are of the Visible Church, such as it is: what is this, but to say, they are neither Jews, nor Turks, nor Pagans; but misbelievers, dammably heretical in opinion, shamefully idolatrous in practice? Let them make their best of this just eulogy, and triumph in this style: may we never prosper, if we envy them this glory. Our care shall be, that, besides the Church sensible, as Zuinglius distinguisheth *, we may be of the Church spiritual; and, not resting in a fruitless visibility, we may find ourselves lively limbs of the mystical body of Christ: which only condition shall give us a true right to heaven; while fashionable profession in vain cries, *Lord, Lord*; and is barred out of those blessed gates, with an *I know you not.*

Neither may the reader think, that I affect to go by-ways of speech: no, I had not taken this path, unless I had found it both more beaten and fairer. I am not so unwise, to teach the adversary what disadvantage I conceive to be given to our most just cause, by the other manner of explication. Let it suffice to say, that this form of defence more fully stops the adversary's mouth, in those two main and envious scandals, which he casts upon our Holy Religion; Defection from the Church, and Innovation: than

* Epist. l. ii. Resp. ad Catabaptist.

which, no suggestion hath wont to be more prevalent with weak and ungrounded hearts. What we further win by this not more charitable than safe tenet, I would rather it should be silently conceived by the judicious, than blazoned by my free pen.

Shortly, in this state of the question, our gain is as clear as the adversary's loss; our ancient truth triumphs over their upstart errors; our charity, over their merciless presumptions.

Fear not therefore, Dear Brethren, where there is no room for danger: suspect not fraud, where there is nothing but plain, honest simplicity of intentions: censure not, where there is the same truth, clad in a different, but more easy, habit of words.

But, if any man's fervent zeal shall rather draw him to the liking of that other rougher and harder way, so as, in the mean time, he keep within the bounds of Christian charity, I tax him not: let every man abound in his own sense; only let our hearts and tongues and hands conspire together, in peace with ourselves, in war with our common enemies.

Thus far have I, Right Honourable, in a desire of peace, poured out myself into a plain explication and easy accordance. Those, whom I strive to satisfy, are only mistakers: whose censures, if some man would have either laughed out or despised; yet I have condescended to take off, by a serious deprecation and just defence.

It is an unreasonable motion, to request minds, prepossessed with prejudice, to hear reason. Whole volumes are nothing, to such, as have contented themselves only to take up opinions upon trust; and will hold them, because they know where they had them: in vain should I spend myself in beating upon such anvils. But, for those ingenuous Christians, which will hold an ear open for justice and truth, I have said enough, if ought at all needed.

Alas, my Lord, I see, and grieve to see it; it is my Rochet that hath offended, and not I: in another habit, I long since published this, and more, without dislike: it is this colour of innocence, that hath bleared some over-tender eyes. Wherein I know not whether I should more pity their error, or applaud my own sufferings. Although I may not say, with the Psalmist, *What hath the righteous done?* let me, I beseech your Lordship, upon this occasion, have leave to give a little vent to my just grief in this point.

The other day I fell upon a Latin pamphlet, homely for style, tedious for length, zealously uncharitable for stuff; wherein the author (only wise in this, that he would be unknown) in a grave fierceness flies in the face of our English Prelacy: not so much inveighing against their persons, which he could be content to reverence, as their very places. I blest myself to see the case so altered. Heretofore, the person had wont to bear off many blows from the function: now, the very function wounds the person. In what case are we, when that, which should command respect, brands us! What black art hath raised up this spirit of Ærius from his pit? Woe is me, that zeal should breed such monsters of conceit! It is the honour, the pomp, the wealth, the pleasure, he saith,

of the Episcopal Chair, that is guilty of the depravation of our calling; and, if himself were so overlaid with greatness, he should suspect his own fidelity. Alas, poor man, at what distance doth he see us! Foggy air useth to represent every object far bigger than it is. Our Saviour, in his Temptation upon the Mount, had only the glory of those kingdoms shewed to him by that subtle Spirit; not the cares and vexations: right so are our dignities exhibited to these envious beholders: little do these men see the toils and anxieties, that attend this supposedly-pleasing eminence.

All the revenge, that I would wish to this uncharitable censurer, should be this, that he might be but for a while adjudged to this so glorious seat of mine; that so his experience might taste the bewitching pleasures of this envied greatness: he should well find more danger of being over-spent with work, than of languishing with ease and delicacy.

For me, I need not appeal to heaven: eyes enough can witness, how few free hours I have enjoyed, since I put on these robes of sacred honour. Insomuch as I could find in my heart, with holy Gregory, to complain of my change; were it not, that I see these public troubles are so many acceptable services to my God, whose glory is the end of my being. Certainly, my Lord, if none but earthly respects should sway me, I should heartily wish to change this palace, which the Providence of God and the bounty of my gracious Sovereign hath put me into, for my quiet cell at Waltham; where I had so sweet leisure to enjoy God, your Lordship, and myself. But I have followed the calling of my God, to whose service I am willingly sacrificed; and must now, in a holy obedience to his Divine Majesty, with what cheerfulness I may, ride out all the storms of envy, which unavoidably will alight upon the least appearance of a conceived greatness. In the mean time, whatever I may seem to others, I was never less in my own apprehensions; and, were it not for this attendance of envy, could not yield myself any whit greater than I was. Whatever I am, that Good God of mine make me faithful to him; and compose the unquiet spirits of men, to a conscionable care of the public peace: with which prayer, together with the apprecation of all happiness to your Lordship and all yours, I take leave, and am

Your Lordship's truly devoted,

In all hearty observance and duty,

JOSEPH EXON.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

*THOMAS**,

LORD BISHOP OF COVENTRY AND LITCHFIELD.

MY LORD:

May your leisure serve you to read over this poor sheet of paper, and to censure it. Your name is left out in the catalogue of some other famous Divines mentioned in the body of it, that you might not be forestalled. I suffer for that, wherein yourself, amongst many renowned Orthodox Doctors of the Church, are my partner.

As if you had not already said it enough, I beseech your Lordship, say once more what you think of the True Being and Visibility of the Roman Church. Your excellent and zealous writings have justly won you a constant reputation of great learning and no less sincerity, and have placed you out of the reach of suspicion: no man can, no man dare misdoubt your decision.

If you find any one word amiss in this explication, spare me not: I shall gladly kiss your rod, and hold your utmost severity a favour. But, if you here meet with no other than the words of a commonly-professed truth, acquit me so far as to say, there is no reason I should suffer alone. And let the wilful or ignorant mistakers know, that they wound innocency; and, through my sides, strike their best friends.

I should not herein desire you to tender my fame, if the injury done to my name did not reflect upon my holy station, upon my well-meant labours, upon almost all the famous and well-deserving authors that have stood for the truth of God; and, lastly, if I did not see this mistaken quarrel to threaten much prejudice to the Church of God, whose peace is no less dear to us both than our lives.

In earnest desire and hope of some few satisfactory lines from your Reverend Hand, in answer to this my bold, yet just, suit, I take leave, and am

Your much devoted and loving Brother,

JOSEPH EXON.

* Thomas Morton, Bishop of Chester 1615, translated to Litchfield and Coventry 1618, and to Durham 1632, died Sep. 22, 1659, aged 95 years. EDITOR.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, MY VERY GOOD LORD AND BROTHER,

JOSEPH,

LORD BISHOP OF EXON, THESE.

RIGHT REVEREND, AND AS DEARLY BELOVED, BROTHER:

I HAVE, I confess, been too long in your Lordship's debt for these Letters, which are now to apologize for me; that, although I had my payment ready and *in numeratis* at the first reading of your "Reconciler," yet I reserved my answer until I had perused the two other books and seconds, that so I might return my payment *cum fœnore.*

In that your Lordship's Tractate, I could not but observe the lively image of yourself; that is, according to the general interpretation of all sound professors of the Gospel of Christ, of a most Orthodox Divine.

And now, remembering the accordance your Lordship hath with others touching the argument of your book, I must needs reflect upon myself, who have long since defended the same point in the defence of many others.

I do, therefore, much blame the petulcity of whatsoever author, that should dare to impute a Popish affection to him, whom, besides his excellent Writings and Sermons, God's visible, eminent, and resplendent graces of illumination, zeal, piety, and eloquence have made truly honourable and glorious in the Church of Christ.

Let me say no more: I suffer in your suffering; not more in consonancy of judgment, than in the sympathy of my affection. Go on, Dear Brother, with your deserved honour in God's Church with holy courage, knowing that the dirty feet of an adversary, the more they tread and rub, the more lustre they give the figure graven in gold. Our Lord Jesus preserve us to the glory of his saving grace!

Your Lordship's

unanimous Friend and Brother,

THOMAS COVENT. and LITCHFIELD.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JOHN *,

LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

MY LORD:

I SEND you this little pamphlet for your censure. It is not credible, how strangely I have been traduced, every where, for that, which I conceive to be the common opinion of Reformed Divines; yea, of reasonable men: that is, for affirming the True Being and Visibility of the Roman Church. You see how clearly I have endeavoured to explicate this harmless position; yet I perceive some tough misunderstandings will not be satisfied.

Your Lordship hath, with great reputation, spent many years in the Divinity-Chair of the famous University of Cambridge. Let me, therefore, beseech you, whose learning and sincerity is so thoroughly approved in God's Church, that you would freely, how shortly soever, express yourself in this point: and, if you find that I have deviated but one hair's breadth from the truth, correct me: if not, free me by your just sentence.

What need I to entreat you to pity those, whose desires of faithful offices to the Church of God are unthankfully repayed with suspicion and slander? Whose may not this case be? I had thought I had sufficiently, in all my writings, and in this very last book of mine whence this quarrel is picked, shewed my fervent zeal for God's Truth against that Antichristian Faction of Rome; and yet, I doubt not, but your own ears can witness what I have suffered.

Yea, as if this calumny were not enough, there want not those, whose secret whisperings cast upon me the foul aspersions of another sect, whose name is as much hated as little understood.

My Lord, you know I had a place with you, though unworthy, in that famous Synod of Dort: where, howsoever sickness bereaved me of the honours of a conclusive subscription; yet your Lordship heard me, with equal vehemency to the rest, crying down the unreasonableness of that way. God so love me, as I do the tranquillity and happiness of his Church: yet can I not so overaffect it, that I would sacrifice one dram of truth to it. To that Good God do I appeal, as the witness of my sincere heart to his whole truth, and no-less-than-ever-zealous detestation of all Popery and Pelagianism.

Your Lordship will be pleased to pardon this importunity, and to vouchsafe your speedy answer to

Your much devoted and faithful Brother,

JOSEPH EXON.

* John Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury 1621, died April 20th, 1641, aged about 70 years. EDITOR.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JOSEPH,

LORD BISHOP OF EXON, THESE.

MY LORD.

You desire my opinion concerning an assertion of yours, whereat some have taken offence. The proposition was this, "That the Roman Church remains yet a True Visible Church."

The occasion, which makes this an ill-sounding proposition in the ears of Protestants, especially such as are not thoroughly acquainted with School Distinctions, is the usual acceptation of the word "true" in our English Tongue: for, though men skilled in metaphysics hold it for a maxim, *Ens, Verum, Bonum convertuntur;* yet, with us, he, which shall affirm such a one is a true Christian, a true Gentleman, a true Scholar, or the like, he is conceived not only to ascribe trueness of being unto all these, but those due qualities or requisite actions whereby they are made commendable or praise-worthy in their several kinds.

In this sense, the Roman Church is no more a True Church in respect of Christ, or those due qualities and proper actions which Christ requires, than an arrant whore is a true and loyal wife unto her husband.

I durst, upon mine oath, be one of your compurgators, that you never intended to adorn that Strumpet with the title of a True Church in this meaning. But your own writings have so fully cleared you herein, that suspicion itself cannot reasonably suspect you in this point.

I therefore can say no more concerning your mistaken proposition, than this, If, in that Treatise wherein it was delivered, the antecedents or consequents were such as served fitly to lead the reader into that sense, which under the word True comprehendeth only Truth of Being or Existence, and not the due Qualities of the thing or subject, you have been causelessly traduced. But, on the other side, if that proposition comes in *ex abrupto*, or stands solitary in your Discourse, you cannot marvel though, by taking the word True according to the more ordinary acceptation, your true meaning was mistaken.

In brief, your proposition admits a true sense; and, in that sense, is, by the best learned in our Reformed Church, not disallowed: for, the Being of a Church does principally stand upon the gracious action of God, calling men out of darkness and death unto the participation of light and life in Christ Jesus. So long as God continues this Calling unto any people, though they, as much as in

them lies, darken this light, and corrupt the means which should bring them to life and salvation in Christ; yet, where God calls men unto the participation of life in Christ by the Word and by the Sacraments, there is the true Being of a Christian Church, let men be never so false in their expositions of God's Word, or never so untrusty in mingling their own traditions with God's Ordinances.

Thus, the Church of the Jews lost not her Being of a Church when she became an Idolatrous Church.

And thus, under the government of the Scribes and Pharisees, who voided the Commandments of God by their own Traditions, there was yet standing a True Church, in which Zacharias, Elizabeth, the Virgin Mary, and our Saviour himself was born, who were members of that Church, and yet participated not in the corruptions thereof.

Thus, to grant that the Roman was and is a True Visible Christian Church, though in Doctrine a False and in Practice an Idolatrous Church, is a true assertion; and of greater use and necessity in our controversy with Papists about the perpetuity of the Christian Church, than is understood by those who gainsay it.

This in your "Reconciler" is so well explicated, as if any shall continue in traducing you in regard of that proposition so explained, I think it will be only those, who are better acquainted with wrangling than reasoning, and deeper in love with strife than truth. And, therefore, be no more troubled with other men's groundless suspicions, than you would be in like case with their idle dreams.

Thus I have enlarged myself beyond my first intent. But my love to yourself, and the assurance of your constant love unto the truth, enforced me thereunto. I rest always

Your loving Brother,

Jan. 30, 1628.

JOHN SARUM.

TO THE REVEREND AND LEARNED

MASTER DOCTOR PRIDEAUX,

PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN OXFORD, AND RECTOR OF EXETER COLLEGE.

WORTHY MASTER DOCTOR PRIDEAUX:

All our little world here takes notice of your worth and eminency, who have long furnished the Divinity Chair in that famous University, with mutual grace and honour.

Let me entreat you, upon the perusal of this sorry sheet of paper, to impart yourself freely to me in your censure; and to express to me your clear judgment, concerning the true Being and Visibility of the Roman Church.

You see in what sense I profess to hold it; neither was any other ever in my thoughts: say, I beseech you, whether you think any learned Orthodox Divine can, with any colour of reason, maintain a contradiction hereunto. And, if you find, as I doubt not, much necessity and use of this true and safe tenet, help me to add, if you please, a further supply of antidotes to those Popish Spiders, that would fain suck poison out of this herb.

It was my earnest desire, that this satisfactory "Reconcilement" might have stilled all tongues and pens, concerning this ill-raised brabble: but I see, to my grief, how much men care for themselves, more than peace. I suffer, and the Church is disquieted: your learning and gravity will be ready to contribute to a seasonable pacification.

In desire and expectation of your speedy answer, I take my leave, and am

Your very loving Friend

and Fellow-labourer,

JOSEPH EXON.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,

JOSEPH,

BISHOP OF EXETER.

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD:

Upon the receipt of your "Reconciler," which it pleased you to send me, I took occasion, as my manifold distractions would permit, to peruse what had been said on both sides, concerning the now-being of the Roman Church.

Wherein I must profess, that I could not but wonder at the needless exceptions against your tenet; you affirming no new thing, in that passage misliked in your "Old Religion." And this your "Advertisement," afterward, so fully and punctually cleareth, and your "Reconciler" so acquitteth it, with such satisfying ingenuity, that I cannot imagine they have considered it well, or mean well, that shall persist to oppose it.

For, who perceives not, that your Lordship leaves no more to Rome than our best Divines ever since the Reformation have granted? If their speeches have been sometimes seemingly different, their meaning hath been always the same: That, in respect of the common truths yet professed among the Papists, they may and ought to be termed a True Visible Church, in opposition to Jews, Turks, and Pagans, who directly deny the foundation; howsoever their Antichristian additions make them no better than the Synagogue of Satan.

This being agreed upon by those, whose judgment we have good reason to follow, cited in your "Advertisement" and by others, they do an ill office to our Church, in my opinion, who set them at odds in this point that are so excellently reconciled; and give more advantage to the adversary by quarrelling with our Worthies, than the adversary is like to get by our acknowledgment, that they are such a miserable Church as we discover them to be.

What I have thought, long since, in this behalf, it appeareth in my Lecture "De Visibilitate Ecclesiæ;" and, as often as this hath come in question in our public disputes, we determine here no otherwise than your Lordship hath stated it: and yet we trust to give as little advantage to Popery, as those that do detest it; and are as circumspect to maintain our received Doctrine and Discipline, without the least scandal to the weakest, as those that would seem most forward.

That distinction of Rome's case before and since the Council of Trent, holds not to dis-Church it; but shews it rather to be more incurable now, than heretofore.

Neither find I any particulars objected, which those worthy men have not sufficiently cleared, that have justified your assertion.

Not to trouble therefore your weightier affairs, with my needless interposition: as that controversy about the altar, Joshua xxii. had presently a fair end upon the full understanding of the good meaning on both sides; so I trust in God this shall have. In which I am s oprsuaded, that, if it were to be discussed there after our Scholastical manner, it might well be defended either *pro* or *con*, without prejudice to the truth, according to the full stating which your "Advertisement" and "Reconciler" have afforded.

And thus, with tender of my due observance and prayers for your happiness, I rest

Your Lordship's

in Christ to be commanded,

JOHN PRIDEAUX.

From Exon Coll. Martii 9. No.

TO MY REVEREND AND LEARNED FRIEND,

MASTER DOCTOR PRIMROSE,

PREACHER TO THE FRENCH CHURCH IN LONDON.

WORTHY MASTER DOCTOR PRIMROSE:

You have been long acknowledged a great light in the Reformed Churches of France; having, for many years, shined in your orb, the famous Church of Bourdeaux, with notable effects and singular approbation both for judgment and sincerity: both which also your learned writings have well approved; so as your sentence cannot be liable to the danger of any suspicion.

Let me entreat you to declare freely what you hold, concerning the Trueness and Visibility of the Roman Church, as it is by me explicated; and, withal, to impart your knowlege of the common tenet of those foreign Divines, with whom you have so long conversed, concerning this point, which, if I mistake not, only a stubborn ignorant will needs make litigious. It grieves my soul to see the peace of the Church troubled with so absurd a misprision.

In expectation of your answer I take leave, and commend you and your holy labours to the blessing of our God. Farewell. From

Your loving Brother

and Fellow-labourer,

JOSEPH EXON.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,

JOSEPH,

BISHOP OF EXETER.

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD:

I HAVE been so busied about my necessary studies for preaching on Sunday, Tuesday, and this Thursday, that I could not give sooner a full answer to your Lordship's Letter, which I received

on Friday last at night; whereby I am desired to declare freely, what I think concerning the Trueness and Visibility of the present Roman Church, as it is by your Lordship explicated; and what is the common tenet of the foreign Divines, with whom I have so long conversed beyond the seas, concerning that point.

I might answer, in two lines, that I have read your "Reconciler;" and judge your opinion, concerning that point, to be learned, sound, and true.

Though that, if I durst favour an officious lie, I would willingly give my suffrage to those Divines, which, out of a most fervent zeal to God and perfect hatred to idolatry, hold that the Roman Church is in all things Babel, in nothing Bethel. And, as they, which seek to set right a crooked tree, bow it the clean contrary way to make it straight: so, to recover and pull out of the fire of eternal damnation the Roman Christians, I would gladly pourtray them with sable colours; and make their religion more black in their own eyes, than they are in ours; the hellish-coloured faces of the flat-nosed Ethiopians; or, to the Spaniard, the monstrous Sambenit of the Inquisition.

But, fearing the true reproach cast by Job in his friends' teeth, *Will ye speak wickedly for God, and talk deceitfully for him?* Job xiii. 7: and, knowing that we must not speak a lie, no not against the Devil which is *the Father of Lies;* I say that the Roman Church is both Babel and Bethel. And, as God's temple was in Christ's days at once *the House of Prayer*, and *a Den of Thieves;* Matt. xxi. 13: so she is, in our days, *God's Temple* (2 Thess. ii. 4.) and *the Habitation of Devils, the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird;* Rev. xviii. 2.

Which I prove thus:

The Church is to be considered three manner of ways. First, according to God's right, which he keepeth over her, and maintaineth in her by the common and external Calling of his Word and Sacraments. Secondly, according to the pure Preaching of the Word, and external obedience in hearing, receiving, and keeping the Word sincerely preached. Thirdly, according to the Election of Grace, and the Personal Calling, which hath perpetually the inward working of the Holy Ghost joined with the outward preaching of the Word, as in Lydia; Acts xvi. 14. Thence cometh *the answer of a good conscience toward God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ;* 1 Pet. iii. 21.

To begin with the last consideration. These only are God's Church, which are *Jews inwardly in the spirit*, as well as *outwardly in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God;* Rom. ii. 28, 29. who are Nathanaels, and *true Israelites, in whom there is no guile;* John i. 47: invisible to all men; visible to God alone, who *knoweth them that are his;* 2 Tim. ii. 19. and each of them to themselves, because they *have received the Spirit which is of God, that* they *might know the things which are freely given* them *of God* (1 Cor. ii. 12.), and *the white stone and new name, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it;* Rev. ii. 17. Of this Church, called by

the Apostle *the people which God foreknew;* Rom. xi. 2. there is no controversy amongst our Divines.

In the second consideration, these only are the True Visible Church of God, amongst whom the Word of God is truly preached without the mixture of human traditions, the Holy Sacraments are celebrated according to their first institution, and the people consenteth to be led and ruled by the Word of God. As when Moses laid before the faces of the people, *all the words which the Lord commanded him; And all the people answered together, All that the Lord hath spoken we will do:* Exod. xix. 7, 8. xxiv. 3. *The Lord said unto Moses, Write thou these words: for after the tenor of these words, I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel;* ch. xxxiv. 27. And Moses said to the people, *Thou hast avouched this day the Lord to be thy God, and to walk in his ways, and to keep his statutes and his commandments and his judgments, and to hearken unto his voice: And the Lord hath avouched thee this day to be his peculiar people, as he hath promised thee, and that thou shouldest keep all his commandments;* Deut. xxvi. 17, 18. This condition of the commandment, God did often inculcate into their ears, by his prophets: as when he said to them by Jeremiah, *This thing commanded I them, saying, Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people; and walk ye in all the ways that I have commanded you, that it may be well unto you;* Jer. vii. 23. xi. 4.

So, in the Gospel, Christ saith, *My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me;* John x. 27. But *a stranger will they not follow, but will fly from him, for they know not the voice of strangers;* v. 5. where he giveth the first mark of the Visible, True, and Pure Church, to wit, the pure Preaching and Hearing of Christ's Voice. As likewise St. John saith, *He, that knoweth God, heareth us: Hereby know we the Spirit of Truth, and the spirit of error;* 1 John iv. 6.

Again, the Lord saith, *By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another;* John xiii. 35: pointing out the concord and holy agreement, which is among the brethren, as another mark of the Orthodox Church. As, likewise, when he saith, *Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven,* (Matt. v. 16.) he sheweth that Good Works are the visible mark of the True Orthodox Church.

The true Preaching and Reverend Hearing of the Gospel, is a visible mark of our Faith and Hope; our Concord in the Lord, is a mark of our Charity; our Good Works, are real and sensible testimonies of our inward Faith, Hope, and Charity. Where we find these three signs, we know certainly that there is Christ's True Church; and judge charitably, that is probably, that every one, in whom we see these outward tokens of Christ's True and Orthodox Church, is a true member of the mystical body of the Lord Jesus. I say charitably, because outward marks may be outwardly counterfeited by hypocrites; as it is said of Israel, *They did flatter with their mouth, and they lied unto him with their tongues: for their heart was*

not right with him, neither were they stedfast in his covenant; Ps. lxxviii. 36, 37: and, of many of those that followed our Saviour, *Many believed in his Name, when they saw the miracles which he did: but Jesus did not commit himself unto them, because he knew all men;* John ii. 23, 24.

Therefore, when the people of Israel departed from the covenant; and, by their idolatry, brake, as much as in them lay, the contract of marriage between them and God; they ceased, in that behalf, to be God's true spouse and people, though still they called him their Husband and their God. When they made a molten calf in the wilderness, and worshipped the works of their own fingers, God said to Moses, *Thy people, which thou broughtest out of the land of Egypt, have corrupted themselves*, and not "my people;" Exod. xxxii. 7: and Moses, to shew that, on their part, they had broken the covenant, broke the Tables of the Covenant; v. 19. When, under Ahaz, they did worse, Isaiah called them *children that are corrupted;* ch. i. 4: their prince and governors, *rulers of Sodom;* themselves, *people of Gomorroh;* v. 10: their holy city, *a harlot;* v. 21. And God, about the same time, cried unto them, by Micah, *Thou, that art named the house of Jacob;* thou, that wast *of late my people;* Micah ii. 7, 8: and to the Ten Tribes, by Hosea, *Ye are not my people, and I will not be your God;* Hosea i. 9. After the same manner, Christ said to the Jews, which gloried and made their boast that God was their Father, *If God were your Father, ye would love me: Ye are of your father the Devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do;* John viii. 42, 44.

If we speak of the Romish Church according to this distinction, defining the Church by the Keeping of the Covenant in Pureness of Doctrine and Holiness of Life, God himself hath stript her of that glorious name, calling her *spiritually Sodom, Egypt;* Rev. xi. 8. and *Babylon;* ch. xiv. 8: *Sodom*, in the pollution of her most filthy life; *Egypt*, in the abominable multitude of her filthy idols; *Babylon*, in the cruel and bloody oppression and persecution of the Saints. And, because she was to call herself as falsely as arrogantly, the Mother-Church, the angel calleth her THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH; ch. xvii. 5. Because also she was to bring and magnify herself in the multitude of her Saints, he saith that she is *drunk with the blood of the Saints, and with the blood of the Martyrs of Jesus;* v. 6. And, taking from her the name of the Church, which she challengeth privatively to all other Christian Congregations, he nameth her, as I have already said, *The Habitation of Devils, the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird;* ch. xviii. 2.

In the first sense, Moses said to God, *Why doth thy wrath wax hot against thy people?* Exod. xxxii. 11. because, although they had broken the covenant on their part, by the works of their hands, God had not as yet broken it on his part. Jeremiah, in the greatest heat of their monstrous idolatries, prayed, after the same manner, *Do not abhor us, for thy Name's sake: do not disgrace the throne of thy glory: remember, break not thy covenant with us;* Jer. xiv. 21:

and Isaiah, *Thou art our Father: we are* ALL *thy people;* Is. lxiv. 8, 9. For, so long as God calls a people to him by his Word and Sacraments and honours them with his Name, so long as they consent to be called by his Name professing it outwardly, they remain his people, although they answer not his calling, neither in soundness of faith, nor in holiness of life: even as rebellious subjects are still true subjects on the king's behalf, who loseth not his right by their rebellion; nay, on their own also in some manner, because they still keep and profess his name, and give not themselves to any foreign prince. Did David lose his right, by the rebellion of the people under his son Absalom? And, therefore, when the king subdueth these traitors, he carrieth himself towards them, both in forgiving and in punishing, as their lawful and natural prince, and not as a conqueror of new subjects. So as a strumpet is a true wife, so long as her husband consents to dwell with her, and she is named by his name: and, as Hagar, when she fled from her mistress Sarai, was still Sarai's maid, as she confessed, saying, *I flee from the face of my mistress Sarai;* Gen. xvi. 8: in like manner, a rebellious, fugitive, and whoring Church, is still a True Church, so long as God, keeping the right of a King, of a Master, of a Husband over her, giveth her not the bill of divorcement; but consents that his Name be called upon her, and she still calleth herself his Kingdom, his Maid, his Wife. Thus, God calleth the Jews His people, even then when he said they were not his people; Is. lviii. 1. because he had not broken the band of marriage with them, and put them away by divorcement. Therefore he said unto them, *Where are the letters of your mother's divorcement, whom I have put away?* ch. l. 1: meaning, he had not given unto them a writing of divorcement, but did still acknowledge them to be his spouse, notwithstanding their manifold and most filthy whoredoms with false gods, which he charged them with, saying unto them by Jeremiah, *Thou hast polluted the land with thy whoredoms, and with thy wickedness: Thou hast a whore's forehead, and refusest to be ashamed. Wilt thou not for this time cry unto me, my Father, thou art the guide of my youth? Turn, O backsliding children, saith the Lord, for I am married unto you;* or, according to the French Translation, *I have the right of a husband over you;* Jer. iii. 2, 3, 4, 14. So, after he had called the Ten Tribes *Lo-ruhamah* and *Lo-ammi*, saying he would no more have mercy upon them, and that they were not his people, he calleth them his people; Hos. i. 6, 9. *My people*, saith he, *asketh counsel at their stocks, and their staff answereth them;* ch. iv. 12.

But, after that God had scattered them among the Medes and other nations of Assyria, and broken his covenant with them, they became not only in the second, but also in the first sense, *Jezreel*, and no more *Israel; Lo-ruhamah*, and no more *Ruhamah; Lo-ammi*, and no more *Ammi*. Then was fulfilled the prophecy, *Plead with your mother, plead: for she is not my wife, neither am I her husband;* Hos. ii. 2. So the Jews, which were God's people in the midst of their idolatry, since they have denied Christ to be

the Messiah, the Mediator between God and them, and have crucified the Lord of Glory, are no more God's people, although they beg still that name. They are, saith Christ, *the Synagogue of Satan:* They *say they are Jews, and are not, but do lie;* Rev. iii. 9. For, seeing God hath broken them off, and grafted the Gentiles in their room (Rom. xi. 17.), they qualify themselves God's people as falsely and injuriously, as a whore, lawfully divorced by her husband, calleth herself his wife.

To apply this to the Roman Church, which hath adulterated and corrupted the whole service of God, and is more adulterous than was at any time Judah or Ephraim, and therefore is not a True, Visible Church in the second sense; I say she is one, in some sort, in the first. In her, God doth still keep his true Word in the Old and New Testament, as the contract of his marriage with her. In her, is the true Creed, the true Decalogue, the true Lord's Prayer, which Luther calleth "the kernel of Christianity." In her, Christ is preached, though corruptly. In her, the Trinity and Incarnation of Christ are believed. In her, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are prayed unto; though in an unknown tongue to the most part. In her, the little children are Baptized, in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: and no Divine will deny that their Baptism is a true Sacrament, whereby their children are born to God; seeing we do not rebaptize them, where leaving her, they adjoin themselves to us: who then can deny, that she is a True Church? for, out of the Church, there is no Baptism, and the Church alone beareth children to God. In her, sitteth *the man of sin, the son of perdition, who sitteth in the temple of God* (2 Thess. ii. 3, 4.) which is the Church. It is granted, that she is *Babylon*, in the second sense: and God's people is commanded to come out of Babylon; Rev. xviii. 4. What is God's people but God's Church, which forsaketh her successively; as, of old, the typical people came out of the typical Babylon, not at once, but at many several times? If, then, we apply unto her God's commandment, exhorting her to come out of Babylon, either we understand not what we say, or we acknowledge her to be God's people, that is, God's Church, though idolatrous, rebellious, and disobedient. Neither shall she cease to be God's people in this sense, till the coming of that blessed day, when the air shall rebound with the shouting of the Saints, *Babylon is fallen, she is fallen, that great city, because she made all nations drunk with the wine of the wrath of her fornication;* Rev. xiv. 8.

I say then, that, as Jerusalem was, at the same time, *the holy city* and *a harlot;* the Temple was *Bethel* and *Bethaven*, God's house and a house of iniquity; the Jews were *God's people* and *no people*, God's children and the Devil's; Ephraim was *Ammi* and *Lo-ammi*, in divers respects: even so, the Romish Church is both Bethel and Babel; Bethel from God, calling her to the communion of his grace in Christ by his Word and Sacrament of Baptism; Babel from herself, because she hath made a gallimaufrey of the Christian Religion: confounding, pell-mell, her own Traditions, with God's

Word: her own merits, with Christ's; the blood of Martyrs, with the blood of *the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world*; John i. 29; Purgatory, with the same *blood which purgeth us from all sin*; 1 John i. 7; Justification by Works, with Justification *by Faith only*; Gal. ii. 16; praying to the creatures, with praying to the Creator; idols of men, women, beasts, angels, with God's worship; the mediation of Saints, with the mediation of him who is *the Surety of the New Testament*, and *is able to save to the uttermost all those that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them*; Heb. vii. 22, 25. Nay, as Calvin said truly, in the Romish Church Christ is scarcely known among the Saints: of whom, some are in heaven, as the Apostles, &c. some on earth, as the Pope; some in hell, as St. Dominic the firebrand of the war against the Albigeois, St. Garnet whom Tyburn sent to his own place to be rewarded of the Gun-Powder Treason; some did never die, because they had never the honour to live, as St. Christopher, St. Ursule, St. Longin who was a spear, St. Eloi who was two couple of sharp nails; and many more, of the same stuff. In a word, the roaring of the Gamards of Baal is so loud in that Church, that Christ's voice is scant heard in her: and yet heard, both in the mouth of these Babylonian Builders, which understand not one another; and in the mouths of the people halting between Christ and the Pope their Baal. And therefore, in that behalf, not THE true, but A true Christian Church.

This testimony is the praise of the most wonderful patience of God, who suffereth so long that common hackney to bear his Name.

It is her shame: as it is the shame of a quean married to a good husband, to be convicted of running up and down after strangers.

It is a 'vantage to us, in our employment for her conversion: for, as when Hagar had confessed truly, that she was Sarai's maid, the angel took her at her word, saying, *Return to thy mistress, and submit thyself to her*, and persuaded her; Gen. xvi. 9. even so we take the Roman Church by the neck, when she confesseth that she is Christ's Church, as she is indeed, exhorting her to return unto Christ, to obey his word, to submit herself unto him, and to follow the true faith of the ancient Catholic and Apostolic Church.

Neither is it any 'vantage to her against us, to enforce us to return to her, or to upbraid us for forsaking her: for, as Moses, when the people had committed idolatry, *took his Tabernacle, and pitched it without the camp, afar off from the camp;* Exod. xxxiii. 7. breaking off all communication with those which had broken the covenant of the Lord their God, till they repented; as God said to Jeremiah of the Jews, which had *opened* their *legs to every one that passed by, and multiplied* their *whoredoms*, (Ezek. xvi. 25.) *Cast them out of my sight, and let them go forth: Let them return unto thee, but return not thou unto them*; Jer. xv. 1, 19. as Hosea said of Ephraim, *Ephraim is joined to idols, let him alone*; Hos. iv. 17: so Christ saith unto us, *Come out* of Babylon, *my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues*; Rev. xviii. 4. Her sins are a spiritual leprosy: and we run away from leprous men, though true men, and our nearest and dearest friends;

crying, what they are loth to cry, *Unclean, unclean,* (Lev. xiii. 45.) lest their breath should infect us. Her sins are infidelity, not negative, but privative; not in whole, but in part: as St. Paul, a believing Jew, was in unbelief when he persecuted the Church: and St. Paul saith unto us, *Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers, &c. Come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty;* 2 Cor. vi. 14—18. A faithful subject will not take a traitor, though a subject, by the hand; nor I, a Papist, in matter of his religion: neither will honest women go unto the stews with the greatest lady, though she be a great one's wife.

This I have ever taught privately, preached publicly, published in printed books against Papists, during these thirty three years of my ministry in the French Churches, without any advantage to our adversaries, without any contradiction of our Divines, without any exception taken against it by our Churches, or any particular among the brethren; which all, in their name, preach and publish that they are of the same mind, calling themselves "The Reformed Churches," and our religion "The Reformed Religion." For, as the good kings of Judah did not build a new Temple, call to God a new people, set up a new religion, but repurge and cleanse the old Temple, restore the ancient religion, exhorted God's people to shake off the new inventions of the new-patched religion, and to return to the Lord their God by the old way which their fathers had beaten, and Moses had traced unto them in the law; and as Zerubbabel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Jeshua, builded the walls of Jerusalem upon the ancient foundation, every man building next himself; Neh. iii. and iv: even so, the Protestant Divines have every one next himself, not builded a new Church upon a new foundation, but repurged the ancient Church of idolatry, superstition, false interpretations of the Scriptures, and traditions of men, whereof she was fuller than ever Augeas's Stable was full of muck; but beaten down, and burned with the fire of God's Word, the walls *of wood, hay, stubble,* which the Babylonian builders had raised upon the old foundation, which is Christ Jesus, and edified upon it a fair palace *of silver, gold, precious stones;* 1 Cor. iii. 12. This same is the opinion also of my colleagues of the French Church of this city of London.

If any self-conceited Christian thinketh this an advantage, rather than a disparagement and disgrace, to that punk the Roman Church; and taketh thereby occasion to persevere to be her bawd or stallion, and to run a whoring with her; I say, with the Psalmist, *The wicked hath left off to be wise, and to do good;* Ps. xxxvi. 3. and, with the angel, *He, that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and he, which is filthy, let him be filthy still;* Rev. xxii. 11. For, neither must an honest heart speak a lie, for the good that may come of it; nor conceal in time and place a necessary truth, for any evil that may ensue of it. If it harden more and more the flinty hearts of some unto death, it will soften and melt the iron hearts of

others unto life; that, seeing among us the mud and dirt of human traditions, wherewith the Pope and his Clergy had furred and soiled the bright-shining glass of the Gospel, wiped away from this heavenly mirror of God's favour, they may come unto us, and, *beholding, with open face, as in a glass, the glory of the Lord,* may be *changed* with us *into the same image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord;* 2 Cor. iii. 18.

Which last effect I pray, with my heart, your "Reconciler" may have, with those, that are children of peace. And so recommending your Lordship, with all your learned, eloquent, sound, and useful labours to God's most powerful blessing, and myself to the continuance of your godly prayers and old friendship, I remain for ever

Your Lordship's most humble

and affectionate Servant,

From London, the 26th of February, 1629.

GILBERT PRIMROSE.

TO MY WORTHY AND MUCH RESPECTED FRIEND,

MR. H. CHOLMLEY.

MASTER CHOLMLEY;

I HAVE perused your learned and full Reply to Master Burton's Answer: wherein you have, in a judicious eye, abundantly righted yourself, and cleared a just cause; so, as the reader would wonder where an adversary might find ground to raise an opposition.

But, let me tell you, were it a book written by the pen of an angel from heaven in this subject, I should doubt whether to wish it public. How true, how just soever the plea be, I find, such is the self-love and partiality of our corrupt nature, the quarrel is enlarged by multiplying of words. When I see a fire quenched with oil, I will expect to see a controversy of this nature stinted by public altercation. New matter still rises in the agitation, and gives hint to a fore-resolved opposite of a fresh disquisition: so as we may sooner see an end of the common peace, than of an unkindly jar in the Church; especially such a one, as is fomented with a mistaken zeal on the one side, and with a confidence of knowledge on the other.

Silence hath sometimes quieted such like mis-raised brabbles; never, interchange of words. This very question was on foot, some forty years ago, in the hot chase of great authors; but, whether through the ingenuity of the parties, or some over-ruling act of Divine Pro-

vidence, it soon died without noise: so I wish it may now do. Rather, let the weaker title go away with the last word, than the Church shall be distracted.

For that position of mine which occasioned your vindication, you see it sufficiently abetted and determined by so Reverend Authority as admits no exception. I dare say, no Learned Divine of our own Church or the foreign can but subscribe, in this our sense, to the judgment of these Worthies. To draw forth, therefore, this cord of contention to any further length, were no less needless, than prejudicial to the public peace. He is not worthy to be satisfied, that will yet wrangle.

As for those personal aspersions, that are cast upon you by malice, be persuaded to despise them. These Western parts, where your reputation is deservedly precious, know your zeal for God's truth no less fervent, though better governed, than the most fiery of your censurer's. No man more hateth Popish Superstition: only your fault is, that you do not more hate error than injustice; and cannot abide wrong measure offered to the worst enemy.

Neither be you troubled with that idle exprobration of a Prebendary retribution. Who would care for a contumely, so void of truth? God knows that worthless gift was conferred upon you, ere this task came into either of our thoughts: and whoso knows the entire respects betwixt us from our very cradles till this day, may well think that a Prebend of three pounds by the year need not go for a fee, where there is so much and so ancient cause of dearness. I am sorry to see such rancour under the coat of zeal.

Surely, nothing but mere malice can be guilty of this charge: no less than of that other envious challenge, of your decay of graces; of falling from your first love, from industry to ease, from a weekly to a monthly preaching: when those, that know the state of your Tiverton, the four-parted division of that charge, and your forced confinement to your own day by public authority, both spiritual and temporal, must needs acquit you, and cry down the wrong of an accuser. As for the vigour of God's good graces in you, both common and sanctifying, all the country are your ample witnesses. I, that have interknown you from our childhood, cannot but profess to find the entrance of your age no less above the best of your youth in abilities, than in time; and still no less fruitful in promises of increase, than in eminent performances.

What need I urge this? your adversaries do enough feel your worth: so as, to speak seriously, I cannot sufficiently wonder at the liberty of those men, who, professing a strict conscience of their ways, dare let their pens or tongues loose to so injurious and uncharitable detraction, whereof they know the just Avenger is in Heaven. It should not be thus betwixt brethren; no, not with enemies.

For the main business, there wants not confidence, on either side. I am appealed to by both; an unmeet judge, considering my so deep engagements. But, if my umpirage may stand, I

award an eternal silence to both parts. Sit down in peace, then; you, and your worthy second, whose young ripeness, and modest and learned discourse, is worthy of better entertainment than contempt: and let your zealous opponents say, that you have overcome yourselves, in a resolved cessation of pens; and them, in a love of peace.

Farewell, from

Your loving Friend

and ancient Colleague,

JOSEPH EXON.

CERTAIN

CATHOLIC PROPOSITIONS,

WHICH

A DEVOUT SON OF THE CHURCH

HUMBLY OFFERS TO THE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION

OF ALL

INGENUOUS CHRISTIANS,

WHERESOEVER DISPERSED ALL THE WORLD OVER.

TO ALL THEM, WHO, THROUGH THE WHOLE ISRAEL OF GOD, FOLLOW ABSALOM WITH A SIMPLE HEART.

BE not deceived any longer, Dear Christian Souls: be ye free, that ye may be safe. There is a certain Sacred Tyranny, that miserably abuses you; and so cunningly beguiles you, that you chuse rather to err and perish. God hath given you reason; and, above that, faith: do not so far wrong yourselves, as to be made the mere slaves of another's will, and to think it the safest way to be willingly blind. Lay aside, for a while, all prejudice and superstitious side-taking; and consider seriously these few words, which my sincere love to your souls and hearty ambition of your salvation hath commanded me, as before the Awful Tribunal of Almighty God, to tender unto you.

If what I say be not so clear and manifest to every ingenuous judgment, that it shall not need to borrow further light from abroad, condemn this worthless scroll; and, in your severe doom, punish the author with the loss of an hour's labour.

But, if it shall carry sufficient evidence in itself, and shall be found so reasonable, as that to any free mind it shall not persuade but command assent; give way, for God's sake and for your soul's sake, to that powerful truth of God, which breaks forth from heaven upon you; and, at last, acknowledge, besides a world of foul errors, the miserable insolence and cruelty of that once-famous and renowned Church, which, to use Gerson's word, will needs make Faith of Opinion, and, too impotently favouring her own passions, hath not ceased to persecute with fire and sword the dear and holy servants of God; and, at last, notwithstanding all the vain thunderbolts of a proud and lawless fury, make much of those your truly-Christian and religious brethren, who, according to the just liberty of faithful men, refuse and detest those false and upstart points of a new-devised faith.

But, if any of you, which God forbid, would still rather to be deceived, and dote upon his received errors; and, as angry curs are wont, shall bark and bay at so clear a light of truth; my soul shall, in silence and sorrow, pity that man in vain. I wis, we have had disputing enough, if not too much. Away, from henceforth, with all these paper-brabblings. God, from heaven, shall stint these strifes. Wonder, O Catholics; and ye, whom it concerns, repent.

CERTAIN

CATHOLIC PROPOSITIONS,

WHICH A

DEVOUT SON OF THE CHURCH

HUMBLY OFFERS TO THE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF ALL INGENUOUS CHRISTIANS, WHERESOEVER DISPERSED ALL THE WORLD OVER.

I. EVERY true Christian is, in that very regard, properly capable of salvation; and, for matter of faith, goes on in the ready way to heaven.

II. Whosoever, being duly admitted into the Church of God by lawful Baptism, believeth and maintaineth all the main and essential points of Christian Faith, is, for matter of belief, a true Christian.

III. The sum of the Christian Faith are those principles of Christian Religion and fundamental grounds and points of Faith, which are undoubtedly contained and laid down in the Canonical Scriptures, whether in express terms or by necessary consequence; and in the Ancient Creeds, universally received and allowed by the whole Church of God.

IV. There cannot be, now-a-days, any new Rule of Faith.

V. As there cannot be any new Rule of Faith, so there cannot now be any New Faith. It is not, therefore, in the power of any creature under heaven to make any point to be of faith, which before was not so; or to cause any point not to be of faith, which formerly was so.

VI. He cannot be a heretic, who doth not obstinately deny something which is truly a point of Faith; or hold some point, contrary to the foresaid Articles of Christian Faith.

VII. There are and may be many theological points, which are wont to be believed and maintained, and so may lawfully be, of this or that particular Church, or the Doctors thereof, or their Fol-

lowers, as godly doctrines and probable truths, besides those other essential and main matters of Faith, without any prejudice at all of the common peace of the Church.

VIII. Howsoever it may be lawful for learned men and particular Churches, to believe and maintain those probable, or, as they may think, certain points of theological verities: yet it is not lawful for them, to impose and obtrude the said doctrines upon any Church or Person, to be believed and held as upon the necessity of salvation; or to anathematize or eject out of the Church any Person or Company of men, that thinks otherwise.

IX. Notwithstanding any such unjust Anathema denounced against any such Person or Church, whosoever holds those principles and essential points of Christian Faith, however he be in place far remote from all the Visible Churches of Christ, and neither know not or receive not those other positions of theological determination, is thoroughly capable, in such condition, of Christian Communion; and, if many such be met together under a lawful pastor, there cannot be denied unto them both the truth and title of a True Visible Church of Christ.

X. The Church of Rome is only, and at the best, a Particular Church.

XI. All Christian Churches are no other than Sisters and Daughters of that great and Universal Mother, which [illegible] both heaven and earth: of equal privilege, in respect of God and his Faith; save only, that each one is so much more honourable, as it is more pure and holy. It is not, therefore, lawful for any one of them, in regard of the businesses of faith, to take upon herself the power and command over any other; or to prescribe unto any of them, what they must necessarily believe, upon pain of damnation.

XII. Those issues of controversy, in regard whereof the Reformed Catholics are wont to be condemned and anathematized by the Roman Church, are far from principles of Christian Faith; neither are any other, than their own theological positions, and the institutions and devises of that particular Church *.

* I perceive some readers have unheedily and unjustly stumbled at this proposition; as if I had herein slighted the differences betwixt us and the Roman Church: from which I am so far, as that I have ever professed to hold them to be, on their parts, no less than damnable errors; and such, as, by consequence do raze the foundation. If these words have seemed to sound otherwise, it is nothing but the reader's inconsiderate mistaking; who, if he please to bend his second and more serious thoughts upon the place, will easily see that my intention is herein, only to shew how unjustly the Church of Rome doth charge us with heresy in denying their doctrine, forasmuch as those positions of theirs, which we are condemned for refusing, are far from being principles of faith, but are things of their own devising and imposing. For example, they condemn us, for rejecting the doctrine of Transubstantiation; and refusing to hold, that the substance of the bread is, by the

XIII. The Reformed Catholics have not offered to bring in any new opinion or doctrine into the Church; but only labour and endeavour, to procure some late and superfluous additions to the Faith, to be cashiered and rejected.

XIV. Vainly, therefore, and unjustly is it required of them, that they should shew the succession of their Religion and Church, as raised upon a quite other foundation, to be derived from the Apostolic Times to the present; since all that they profess, is a desire to purge the very same Church of God from certain new errors and superstitious rites, wherewith it is miserably defiled.

XV. Out of all which premises, it necessarily followeth, that the Roman Church, which, upon these grounds, sticketh not to exclude true Christians, differing from them in matter of such doctrines, from the Church of God and Eternal Salvation, is justly guilty of great insolency, and horrible breach both of charity and peace; and, that the Reformed, notwithstanding this rash and unjust censure of theirs, forasmuch as they do inviolably hold all the points of the truly ancient and Christian Faith, do justly claim unto themselves a most true and perfect interest in the communion of all Christian Churches, and Eternal Salvation.

XVI. There is no less danger, in adding to the Articles of Christian Faith, than in diminishing them or detracting from them.

XVII. Those points, which the Roman Church is wont to add, and forcibly to put upon all Catholics, as well the Reformed as those whom they term their own, are such as are grounded on her own mere authority.

XVIII. The Reformed Catholics do justly complain, and prove that those points which the Roman Church imposeth and urgeth as the meet additions both of faith and divine worship, are neither safe, nor agreeable to the holy Word of God; and plead it to be utterly unjust, that those accessory points, of their devising or determining, wherein every Church should be left free and at her due liberty, should be imperiously thrust upon them, notwithstanding their vehement and just resistance.

XIX. It argues a palpable self-love in the Roman Church, and must needs at the last draw down a grievous judgment from God

force of the words, truly and really turned into the very Flesh, Blood, and Bone of Christ: now, I say, this their doctrine of Transubstantiation is far from being any principle of faith; but only a point of their own divinity, devised and maintained by themselves. They condemn us, for refusing to pray to Saints, or to worship Images: I say, that this doctrine, that Saints ought to be invoked or Images worshipped, is far from being a principle of faith; but only one of their own theological positions, devised and imposed by themselves. The like may be and must be said of all their other points obtruded on the Church; wherein I hope no wise Reformed Catholic will think he hath reason to dissent from me, or to misdoubt my proposition.

upon her, that this Particular Church will needs make herself uncapable of any better condition : in that she vainly brags, that she cannot err ; and fearfully accurseth and sends down to hell all those, that proffer her the least endeavour of the means of her remedy and redress.

XX. Upon all these grounds, it is plain that the Reformed Catholics are in a safe estate ; and that, contrarily, the Roman are in a miserable error and fearful danger ; and, lastly, that it is only through their default, that the Church of God is not reduced to a happy purity and peace.

2 Tim. ii. 7.

Consider what I say, and the Lord give you understanding in all things.

INURBANITATI PONTIFICIÆ

RESPONSIO

JOSEPHI EXONIENSIS.

AN

ANSWER

TO

POPE URBAN'S INURBANITY:

EXPRESSED IN A

BRIEF SENT TO LEWIS THE FRENCH KING,

EXASPERATING HIM AGAINST THE PROTESTANTS IN FRANCE.

WRITTEN IN LATIN BY THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JOSEPH, LORD BISHOP OF EXETER.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY HIS SON, ROBERT HALL, MASTER OF ARTS, IN EXETER COLLEGE, IN OXFORD.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

THE first edition of this piece was printed in 1629, in 4to. In this edition the Title-page says "Translated into English by B. S." and the following couplet is given:

"Pardon the faults this English style affords,
"A Child interpreted the Father's words."

The next edition appears to have been that printed in the Second Folio, in 1634: in this, the translation is said to be by the Bishop's Son, as expressed in the preceding page. The translation of the "Answer," and of the Letter to Doctor Primrose, is, in this edition, a great improvement on that of the quarto: but the translation of the "Brief" is the same in both editions.

URBANI VIII. PONTIFICIS ROMANI

BREVE,

AD LUDOVICUM XIII. GALLIARUM REGEM SUPER RUPELLA CAPTA.

CHARISSIME in Christo Fili noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Vox exultationis et salutis in tabernaculis justorum: videat peccator et irascatur; et Synagoga Satanæ contabescat. Militat Rex Christianissimus pro religione: militat Deus Exercituum pro rege. Nos certè, in hâc Orbis Patriâ, sacro gaudio triumphamus: gratulamur Majestati tuæ victoriam, cujus trophæa constituuntur in cœlo, cujus gloriam generatio ventura nunquam conticescet. Rupellam arcem, non minùs obstinatione perfidiæ quàm naturæ munimentis inexpugnabilem, vidit tandem hæc ætas Regi et B. Petro subditam. Neque sanè quisquam adeò desipit, ut tàm gloriosam

---

A BRIEF

OF

POPE URBAN THE EIGHTH,

SENT TO LEWIS THE FRENCH KING, UPON THE TAKING OF ROCHELLE.

OUR most dear Son in Christ, we send you greeting an apostolical benediction. The voice of rejoicing and salvation is in the tabernacles of the righteous: let the wicked see this and fret; and let the Synagogue of Satan consume away. The Most Christian King fighteth for religion: the Lord of Hosts fighteth for the king. We verily, in this Mother-City of the World, triumph with holy joy: we congratulate this your Majesty's victory, the trophies whereof are erected in heaven, the glory whereof the generation that is to come shall never cease to speak of. Now, at the length, this age hath seen the tower of Rochelle, no less impregnable by the obstinacy of treachery than strength of nature, surrendered to the King and St. Peter. Neither is any so foolish, as to ascribe this glorious vic-

palmam acceptam referat felicitati potiùs quàm virtuti. Diuturnâ tot mensium obsidione, docuisti Europam Gallicis Legionibus, te regnante, debere non minorem constantiæ laudem, quàm celeritatis. Tibi autem, periculorum contemptu et incommodorum patientiâ, clarè victor exercitus vitam devovet, et perfectum profligatæ hæresis triumphum auguratur. Sonuerunt et turbatæ sunt aquæ oceani, militantis obsessis perduellibus. Mors deditione potior videbatur. Ad ipsa Majestatis tuæ castra cuniculos egit perfidia. Omnino dilatavit os suum Infernus, evomens scelerum et periculorum turmas, ne tam opulentum propugnaculum impietati eriperetur. Stetit Dominus à dextris tuis: non modò devicisti hostium copias, sed ipsi etiam auxiliari oceano potuisti frænum injicere. Gratias agamus omnes Omnipotenti, qui eripuit te de contradictionibus populi non credentis. Cæterùm, cùm scias quâ curâ custodiendi sint victoriarum fructus, ne marcescant; nemo est, qui ambigat à te reliquias omnes hæreticorum in Gallicâ vineâ stabulantium, propediem profligatum iri. Diadema hoc perfecti Decoris imponi cupit Ecclesia illi Galeæ Salutis, quâ armatum Majestatis tuæ caput ipse protegere videtur Dominus, Potens in Prælio. Speramus, enim, fore ut, Gallià omni pacatâ, illucescant coruscationes Ludovici Triumphatoris captivæ Filiæ Sion, Francica trophæa commemoranti, et intuenti splendorem fulgurantis hastæ tuæ. Vota nostra, atque

---

tory rather to happiness than to virtue. By your long siege of many months, you have taught us, that Europe oweth your French Legions no less commendation for their constancy, than for their expedition. Your army, going clear away with the victory over your enemies, by slighting all dangers and enduring all hardness, devoteth their life unto you, and promiseth you an absolute triumph of conquered heresy. The waters of the ocean made a noise and were troubled, fighting for the besieged rebels. They made choice of death rather than a surrender. Undermining treachery approached even to your Majesty's tents. Hell all opened her mouth; vomiting out troops of mischiefs and dangers, to the end so rich a fort might not be taken away from their impiety. The Lord stood on thy right hand: thou hast not only overcome the forces of thine enemies, but thou wert able also to put a bridle upon the ocean aiding them. Let us all give thanks to Almighty God, who hath delivered thee from the contradictions of the unbelieving people. Howbeit, since you are not ignorant with what care the fruits of victories ought to be preserved, lest they perish; there is no doubt, but that, in a short time, all the remainder of the heretics, that have got stable room in the French vineyard, shall by you be utterly discomfited. The Church desireth that this Diadem of perfect Renown be put upon that Helmet of Salvation, wherewith the Lord, Mighty in Battle, seemeth to cover the head of your Majesty. For, we believe shortly, that, all tumults being appeased in France, the glistering Ensign of Lewis the Conqueror shall shine to the captive Daughter of Sion, rehearsing the French trophies, and beholding the brightness of your lightning lance. God, who

Catholicæ Ecclesiæ, secundet Deus, qui voluntatem timentium se faciet! Interea, Nuntius noster, qui regalis gloriæ spectator in castris adfuit, luculentus erit Pontificiæ gratulationis interpres Majestati tuæ, cui apostolicam benedictionem amantissimè impertimur.

Datum Romæ, apud S. Mariam Majorem, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die vigesimo octavo Novembris, anno 1628, Pontificatûs sexto.

---

performeth the desire of them that fear him, prosper our desires, and the prayers of the Catholic Church! Our Nuntio, who was an eye-witness of your princely glory in your tents, will be a faithful interpreter of our pontifical gratulation to your Majesty, on whom we most lovingly bestow our apostolical benediction.

Given at Rome, at St. Mary the Greater, under the Seal of the Fisher, the eight and twentieth day of November, in the year of our Lord 1628, and the sixth year of our Pontificate.

AMICO MIHI PLURIMUM COLENDO,

DOM^o. GILBERTO PRIMEROSIO,

S. THEOL. PROFESSORI, ECCLESIÆ GALLICÆ LONDINENSIS PASTORI, REGIÆ MAJESTATI A SACRIS.

MONSTRABAT mihi, modò, Tourvalus noster, gente Gallus, Epistolam, Latino idiomate typis editam, Urbani Papæ; pro more, tumidam et sanguinolentam; Ludovico, Galliarum Regi, pridem datam: in quâ, ubi bonus Pontifex Io Pæan canorè cecinisset Rupellensi victoriæ, regi simul ac genti abundè gratulatus, descendit illico, satis inclementer, ad sævum illud Παῖε, βάλλε; et Hæreticorum in Gallhâ stabulantium profligationem acriter urget et impellit. Continere manum non potui, quin me subitò in chartas darem.

TO MY MUCH RESPECTED FRIEND,

MR. DOCTOR PRIMROSE,

PASTOR OF THE FRENCH CHURCH IN LONDON, AND CHAPLAIN TO HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

SIR:

OUR Friend Mr. Tourvall, a Frenchman, shewed me, erewhile, a Latin printed Epistle of Pope Urban; written, as their manner is, in a swelling and bloody style; and lately sent to Lewis, the French King: wherein, after the good Pope had loudly chaunted forth a Song of Triumph for his Majesty's victory over Rochelle, abundantly congratulating both the king and nation, he thence proceeds, in most barbarous manner, to that bloody word, Παῖε, βάλλε; "Smite, Cast down;" earnestly urging and enforcing the utter extirpation of all the Heretics, as he calls them, stabling in France. When I had read it, I could not contain myself, but must suddenly

Arripio calamum: responsionem non meditor, sed effundo. Quicquid est, habe, Vir Venerande, et lege; et, vel igni trade, vel luci. Vale,

A tuo

JOSEPH. EXON.

---

vent mine indignation in these few lines. I take up pen in hand, therefore: and do not meditate, but pour forth this answer. Such as it is, receive it, Reverend Sir, and peruse it; and, at your discretion, give it either light or fire. Farewell,

From your Friend

JOSEPH EXON.

URBANO VIII. PONTIFICI ROMANO,

JOSEPHUS EXONIENSIS

SANAM MENTEM ET CHARITATEM.

QUIDNI verò Pontificem Maximum compellare ausit minimus Episcoporum? Non peto veniam; nec opus est: priscâ utor licentiâ. Non ita nimium distabat, olim, ab Eugubio Roma; aut Isca meus à Tiberi.

Audi, modò, Pontifex Urbane, quod brevi pro tremendo Christi Tribunali pallidus exaudies. Pastorem Christiani Gregis parùm decent hæ sanguineæ lituræ. Tune, ut ad arma, tristis præco, conclames? Tune, ut Christianos Principes, nimio quàm plenos cruoris, ad profligationem suorum cladémque horrendam acriter

---

TO

POPE URBAN THE EIGHTH,

JOSEPH,

BISHOP OF EXETER,

WISHETH RIGHT WITS AND CHARITY.

WHY may not the meanest Bishop be bold to expostulate with a Pope? I crave no leave; neither need I: I take our ancient liberty. I wis, there was no such distance, of old, betwixt Rome and Eugubium; or between my Ex and the channel of Tiber.

Hear now, therefore, Pope Urban, that which ere long thou shalt hear with horror and confusion of face before that dreadful Tribunal of Christ. These bloody blots of thine little beseem the Shepherd of a Christian Flock. What, is it for thee, like a grim herald, to give the summons to war? Is it for thee, to excite Christian Princes, already too much gorged with blood, to the profligation and fearful slaughter of their own subjects? Were the Keys

instiges? Ideone tibi creditæ Claves, ut ferratas belli portas eburneásque Ditis inferni aperires? Euge, Petri Umbra, numquid hi tibi Malchi videntur, quibus, dum aures præcidere voluisti, levi errore in guttura incidisti? Aut nunquid de quadrupedibus hisce in Galliâ stabulantibus dictum tibi pridem cœlitùs, "Occide et manduca?" Tune pacifice Rector Ecclesiæ, ut coruscantes galeas, hastas, gladios loquaris? Qualem verò sonum edere potuisset Lupa tui Romuli, si ista Petri caulam non dedeceat truculenta vox?

Conspue quantum lubet, et comminge cineres infelicis Rupellæ, et diffla superbo spiritu conculcatissimum miserrimæ urbis pulverem: recognosce, interim, paululùm, quàm non multa transierunt secula, ex quo, hæreditarium Ludovici, jam tui, sceptrum Romæ portas confregerit, comminuerit mœnia, cives dissipârit, præcessorémque tuum, sannis dirísque onustum, cæco carcere mulctârit.

Sed neque tot deinceps excurrent anni, nisi me præsaga futuri mens nimiùm fefellerit, antequam *cecidisse Babylonem*, et clamabit Angelus, et gratulabundus orbis obstupescet. Tuæ erunt aliquando hæ vices, urbium perditissima. *Felicem sanè illum, qui paria tibi quæque retulerit, quique parvulorum tuorum capita saxis identidem illiserit.*

---

for this cause committed to thy charge, that thou shouldest open the iron gates of war and the pale gates of death? Tell me, thou Shadow of St. Peter, didst thou take these French Protestants for Malchus, whose ears while thou wouldst have cut off, thy sword, by a light mistake, glanced upon their throats? Or was it lately voiced to thee from heaven concerning these wretched animals stabling in France, "Arise, Pope Urban, kill and eat?" Art thou the Pilot of the Church's peace, and talkest of nothing but glittering helmets, swords and spears, instruments of war and bloodshed? What noise could the howling of the She-Wolf of thy Romulus have made, if this direful note of thine become the Bell-wether of St. Peter's fold?

Well, since thou wilt bespaul, bedribble the ashes of unhappy Rochel, and scatter with thy disdainful breath the despised dust of that forlorn city: yet, withal, call to mind a little, how not many ages are past, since the time was, that the hereditary sceptre of this, thy now, Lewis broke open the gates of Rome, demolished the walls, dispersed and slew the inhabitants, and shut up thy great predecessor, laden with bitter scoffs and execrations, in his blind dungeon.

Neither shall many years run on again, unless my presaging thoughts too much deceive me, before the Angel shall shout forth, and the amazed world shall congratulate, the fall of thy Babylon. Rochel's case shall ere long be thine own, O thou most accursed city. *Blessed shall he be, that rewardeth thee, as thou hast rewarded us: yea, happy he, that shall take thy little ones, and dash out their brains against the stones.*

Fruere tu, interea, miseriis hisce nostris, arride lacrymis, exhilarare suspiriis, ejulatibus accine, applaude cruciatibus: est, qui de cœlo suo prospicit, Justus Ultor; cujus nos unà et exosculamur virgam, et inhiamus vindictæ.

Causam tu nostram age, ô Deus; imò, tuam, tuam solius. Quidni te provocet arbitrum audax innocentia? Si quid uspiam est in toto hoc Sacrosanctæ quam profitemur hactenus Religionis negotio, quod ex humani cerebri impurissimo fonte prodierit, pereat sanè nobiscum; pereat penitissimè, et ad inferos suos meritò relegetur: quòd, si nos nihil unquam Christiano Orbi propinare ausi, nisi quod tu Prophetis tuis Apostolísque inspiraveris, perque illos (fallere nescios) amanuenses populo tuo fidelissimè traditum volueris; scilicet quin aut nos tecum felicissimè erramus, ô Deus Veritatis, aut tu nobiscum Æternam hanc et unicè Evangelicam Religionem tueris.

Fallimur, verò, miselli! Pietas est, ilicet, quam nos crudelitatis insimulamus. Zelus est domûs Dei, quo, Bonus Pontifex, ita totus accenderis; ut hæreticorum ad unum omnium in Galliâ stabulantium extirpationem et optaveris et suaseris importunius!

O frontem! O viscera! Deum, Angelos, Sanctos, testes appellamus hujus tam atrocis contumeliæ. Nempe, quos tu hæreseos

---

In the mean time, sport thyself at our miseries, laugh at our tears, make merry at our sighs, sing at our groans, and applaud our torments: but know for all this, there is a Just Avenger, that looks down from his heaven upon us; whose rod we at once kiss, and expect his vengeance.

Plead thou our cause, O God; yea, thine own, only thine. Why should not our confident innocence appeal to thy judgment? If there be any thing in the whole composure of our most Sacred Religion hitherto professed by us, that hath issued out of the impure fountain of man's brain, let it even perish with the authors; yea, let it utterly perish, O Lord, and be banished into that hell whence it came: but, if we never dared to obtrude any doctrine upon the Christian World, but that alone wherewith thou didst of old inspire thy Prophets and Apostles, and by those thine infallible penmen didst faithfully deliver over to thine own people; surely then, either it must be our happiness to err with thee, the God of Truth, or thou dost and wilt still ever maintain with us this thine only True and Evangelical Religion.

But, alas, poor souls, we are mistaken all this while! It is nothing else but pure piety, forsooth, which we ignorantly condemn for cruelty. It is the zeal of God's house, wherewith, Good Prelate, thou art so inflamed; that thou hast, hereupon, both wished and importuned the utter extirpation of all those heretics stabling in the French territories!

O forehead! O bowels! For us, we call God, Angels, Saints, to witness of this foul calumniation. I wis, those, whom thou falsely

stigmate falsò inuris, audies demum ubi Ecclesia filios, Christus membra salutaverit.

Ecquid enim, per Deum Immortalem, docemus nos, quod non Scriptura, non Concilia, non Patres, non Ecclesiæ, Cathedraéque Christianæ unanimiter semper tenuerunt? Nimirum, quæ nos profitemur, vestri ipsorum probatissimi authores tenent universa.

Quid, ergo, rei est? Sunt revera quædam nupera opinionum assumenta, quæ vos avitæ fidei superadjecta voluistis: ista nos piissimè rejicimus, et constanter usque recusamus. Humana sunt: vestra sunt: denique, aut dubia sunt, aut iniqua. Ideone verò ut Christianæ animæ ex Ecclesiæ gremio ejiceremur? ut ferro flammísque absumendi traderemur illico? ut in barathrum Diaboli, fulmine Anathematis devoluti, arderemus æternùm? Ideone belluis et stabulum paratur et laniena?

Justitiam, Deus Bone, et misericordiam Pontificiam! Mera hæc temporis injuria est: non fuit ea olim hæresis, quæ nunc est. Si priscis Ecclesiæ temporibus nasci nobis contigisset, antequam Primatus iste Romanus, Iconolatria, Transubstantiatio, Sacrificium Missaticum, Purgatorium, Communio sive Singularis sive Dimidiata, Indulgentiarum Nundinatio, et hujus farinæ reliqua Orbi Christiano innotuissent; patuisset, profectò, nobis cœlum, non mi-

---

brandest for heretics, thou shalt one day hear when the Church shall embrace them for her children; Christ, for the spiritual members of his mystical body.

For what, I beseech you, do we hold, which the Scriptures, Councils, Fathers, Churches, and Christian Professors have not, in all ages, taught and published? To say the truth, all that, which we profess, your own most approved authors have still maintained.

Whence, then, is this quarrel? Shall I tell you? There are indeed certain new patches of opinion, which you would needs add to the ancient faith: these we most justly reject, and do still constantly refuse. They are human: they are your own: briefly, they are either doubtful, or impious. And must we now be cast out of the bosom of the Church, and be presently delivered up to fire and sword? must we for this be thunder-strucken to hell by your Anathemas, there to fry in perpetual torments? Is it for this, that a stall and shambles are thought good enough for such brutish animals?

Good God! see the justice and charity of these Popelings! This is nothing but a mere injury of the times. It was not wont to be heresy heretofore, that is so now-a-days. If it had been our happiness to have lived in the primitive times of the Church's simplicity, before ever that Romish Transcendency, Image-Worship, Transubstantiation, Sacrifice of the Mass, Purgatory, Single or Half-Communion, Nundination of Pardons, and the rest of this rabble were known to the Christian World; surely, heaven had been as open to us as to other devout souls of that purer age, that

nùs quàm cæteris piis simplicioris illius ævi animabus, quæ in verâ Christi fide feliciter evolârunt. Jam, verò, in eam nos servatos fuisse mundi senectam, in quâ nova quædam suboriretur Articulorum soboles, lætale nobis erit, neque minore pœnâ quàm perpetuis Gehennæ cruciatibus luendum!

Cogitate hoc, quotquot uspiam terrarum agitis Christiani, quàm sit ab omni justitiâ et charitate alienum, ut nova subinde humano arbitrio creetur fides priscis seculis inaudita, quæ morti æternæ devoveat incredulos nepotes, quos antiqua veritas cœlo adscivisset. Recentes hi scilicet politicæ religionis apices illi sunt, qui orbem universum, quaquà patet Christi nomen, immanè quantum conturbârunt. Hi sunt, qui committunt inter se pacatissimos (absque hoc foret) terræ dominos: scindunt regna; populos distrahunt; dirimunt societates; seditiones fovent; florentissimas regiones vastant; urbes denique opulentissimas in cineres redigunt. Siccine verò fieri oportuit? Putanúsne hanc justam funestissimi belli internecionísque causam, pro Summi Judicis Tribunali aliquando probatam iri?

Evigilate, Christiani Principes, tuque imprimis, Ludovice Rex, cui ista tam inurbanè crudelitérque insusurrata sunt. Evigila demum; et vide quàm tibi, sub prætextu pietatis, dira feritas, pessimis modis, imponere studuerit. Tui sunt isti, quos ad cædem de-

---

took their happy flight from hence in the orthodox faith of Christ Jesus. But, now that we are reserved to that dotage of the world, wherein a certain new brood of Articles are sprung up, it is death to us, forsooth, and to be expiated by no less punishment than the perpetual torments of Hell-fire!

Consider this, O ye Christians wheresoever dispersed upon the face of the whole earth; consider, I say, how far it is from all justice and charity, that a new faith should come dropping forth at men's pleasure, which must adjudge posterity to eternal death for mis-believers, whom the ancient truth had willingly admitted into heaven. These new points of a politic religion are they indeed, that have so much disturbed the peace of Christendom. These are they, that set at variance the mighty potentates of the earth, who otherwise perhaps would sit down in a happy peace: these are they that rend whole kingdoms, distract people, dissolve societies, nourish faction and sedition, lay waste the most flourishing kingdoms, and turn the richest cities to dust and rubbish. But should these things be so? Do we think this will one day be allowed for a just warrant of so much war and bloodshed, before the Tribunal of that Supreme Judge of Heaven and Earth?

Awake therefore now, O ye Christian Princes, and you especially, King Lewis, in whose ears these wicked counsels are so spitefully and bloodily whispered. Rouse up yourself; and see how cruel tyranny seeks to impose upon your Majesty, in a most mischievous manner, under a fair pretence of piety and devotion.

poscunt alienigenæ: Christi sunt. Tune verò ut manum gladiúmve imbueres illorum sanguine, pro quibus Christus profudit suum? qui suum, pro te ac magno parente tuo, lubentissimè prodegerunt?

Audi tu, quæso, qui "Justus," audire soles apud tuos Monarcha. Si nos alium à tuo Deum, Christum alium coleremus; si aliud ambiremus Cœlum, si Symbolum aliud, aliud Baptisma; si novam, denique, aliis innixam fundamentis Ecclesiam profiteremur; esset profectò cur hæreticos, in Galliâ stabulantes, flammis ultricibus destinares.

Si quid populus tuus vel à communi Deo sancitum, vel à te legitimè institutum violârit, non deprecamur herclè vindictam: vapulent, qui meruerunt: æquum est. Noli, interim, sævire in Dei tui servos, in cives tuos, quos ipsa religio præstat fideles. Noli sinere, ut, propter hesterna quædam planèque superflua humani ingenii adjectamenta, merámque ἐθελοθρησκείαν, pereant ii, qui tuam patrísque tui salutem ac gloriam, summo vitæ suæ discrimine, redimere voluerunt. Sine per te vivant illi, per quos tu modò regnas.

Quòd si tui non essent, memento tamen, quo te titulo maximè insignire solent tui, Christianos esse; eodem et fonte lotos, et

---

They are your own native subjects, whom these malicious foreigners require to the slaughter: yea, they are Christ's. And will you imbrue your hand and sword in the blood of those, for whom Christ hath shed his? yea, who have willingly lavished their own, in the behalf of you and your great father?

Hear, I beseech thee, O King, who art wont, amongst thine own, to be instiled "Lewis the Just." If we did adore any other God, any other Christ, but thine; if we aspired to any other Heaven, embraced any other Creed, any other Baptism; lastly, if we made profession of a new Church, built upon other foundations; there were some cause indeed, why thou shouldest condemn such heretics, stabling in France, to the revenging fury of thy flames.

If this thy people have wilfully violated any thing established by our common God, or lawfully commanded by thee, we crave no pardon for them: let them smart, that have deserved: it is but just they should. But do not, in the mean time, fall fiercely upon the fellow-servants of thy God, upon thine own best subjects, whose very religion must make them loyal. Suffer not those poor wretches to perish, for some late upstart superfluous additions of human invention, and mere *will-worship*, who were always most forward to redeem thine and thy great father's safety and honour, with the continual hazard of their own most precious lives. Let them but live then by thy gracious sufferance, by whose valour and fidelity thou now reignest.

But suppose they were not yours, yet remember that they are Christians, a title wherewith your style is wont most to be honoured; washed in the same laver of baptism, bought with the same

emptos sanguine, et Spiritu renatos; Cœlestis, denique, quicquid vanus intonet furor, Sponsæ filios, Sponsi fratres.

"At errant hi scilicet à Fide:"—Quâ tandem? Non Christianâ certè, sed Pontificiâ. Quid verò hoc monstri est! Non damnat hos Christus: damnat Pontifex. Si superesset modò magnus ille tuus Cancellarius Parisiensis, doceret is liberè Sorbonam, quod olim fecit, suam, quàm non sit penes Pontificem, propositionem aliquam, verbo utar suo, hæreticare. "Atqui Concilium fecit insuper hoc Oecumenicum:"—quodnam verò? Tridentinum. Fallor, si hoc in Galliis obtinere potuerit hactenus, meruerítve. Consule tuos integerrimæ pridem fidei authores: dicent illi tibi quàm iniquum, quàm nullum fuerit. Unius erat Pontificis, quicquid à Cœtu illo, multicipiti Romæ mancipio, factum sanctitúmve.

Cogita, denique, obsecro, quàm non alio in loco sint Reformati Pontificiis, quàm Pontificii Reformatis: atque acriter exprobrari solet Hæresis utrinque. Siccine verò agitur apud nos Romanæ Religionis asseclis? Unquámve gladio aut incendio sævitum istic in Fidem Pontificiam? Eccui unquam capitale fuit hoc miserè hallucinantis conscientiæ crimen? Est ubi comperies, rarò tamen admodum, audacem forte aliquem Sacrificum, legum publicarum contemptorem, seditionis flabellum, pœnam luisse meritissimam: sed

---

price, renewed by the same Spirit; and, whatsoever impotent malice bawl to the contrary, the beloved sons of the Celestial Spouse; yea, the brethren of that Spiritual Bridegroom, Christ Jesus.

"But they err," you will say, "from the Faith:"—from what faith? I beseech you. Not the Christian surely, but the Romish. What a strange thing is this! Christ doth not condemn them: the Pope doth. If that great Chancellor of Paris were now alive, he would freely teach his Sorbonne, as he once did, that it is not in the Pope's power, that I may use his own word, to hereticate any proposition. "Yea, but an Oecumenical Council besides hath done it:"—what Council? That of Trent. I am deceived, if that were hitherto received in the Churches of France, or deserved to be so hereafter. Consult with your own late authors of most undoubted credit: they will tell you plainly, how unjust that Council was; yea, how no Council at all. It was only the Pope's act, whatsoever was decreed or established by that packed Conclave, envassalled to the Seven Hills.

Consider, lastly, I beseech you, how the Reformed Christians stand in no other terms to the Papists, than the Papists do to the Reformed: Heresy is with equal vehemency upbraided on both sides. But do we deal thus roughly with the followers of the Roman Religion? Did we ever rage against the Popish Faith with fire and sword? Was ever the crime of a poor mis-led conscience capital to any soul? You may find perhaps, but very seldom, some audacious Mass-priest, some firebrand of sedition and contemner of our public laws, to have suffered condign punishment: but no

meræ religionis causam, fidenter dico, nemo unquam Pontificiorum, aut capite luit aut membro. Quin tu, clementissimi Henrici fili, pariter te geris erga tuos, qui Reformatam Religionem innocentissimè profitentur. Quin faxis, nemini ut fraudi siet secundum Scripturam Sacram, Veterísque Ecclesiæ πράξιν, Deum coluisse. Liceat tuis esse verè pios.

Tu verò redi ad te demum, Urbane Pontifex; et recole quàm hæc purpuram tuam probè deceat atrox sententia. Non pedum profectò, sed ensem gestârit oportet, qui istud exaraverit: neque piscatorium est hoc rete, sed theatricum et myrmillonicum. *Speciosi pedes evangelizantium pacem*, inquit Propheta: nos hîc de te paulò aliter, "Odiosæ manus præconizantium bella." Si qua tibi sors in Evangelio Jesu Christi obtigisset, facilè sentires pacem istic sonare omnia, lenitatem, mansuetudinem, concordiam: non nisi ex Inferno missa est dira Erinnys. Ne levissimus quidem mallei sonus exauditur in Templo Dei: tu verò, ô Bone, Ecclesiam Dei sanctam impleri vis clangore tubarum, ictibus cædentium, morientium ejulatibus. Audi ergò demum, tu, qui mortalium omnium judicia superbè refugis. Quod olim Robertus noster, sanctus pariter et doctus Lincolniensis Episcopus, præcessori tuo fecisse dicitur, id ego

---

Papist, I dare boldly say, ever suffered loss, either of life or limb, merely for his religion. Why dost not thou then, the son of that gracious and merciful Henry, carry thyself alike toward thy faithful subjects, who most innocently profess the Reformed Religion? Why should it prejudice any of them with thee, to have served their God, according to the Holy Scriptures, and the practice of the Ancient Church? To conclude then, Let it be but lawful for thy people to be truly religious.

And thou, Pope Urban, return at last to thyself; and consider how well this bloody advice of thine suits with those thy purple robes. A sword rather than a sheephook would become that hand, that should write thus: neither is this a net for the holy fisherman of Rome, but rather for the bloody prizes of the theatre. *Beautiful are the feet of them, that preach peace*, saith the Prophet: but we may say far otherwise of thee, "Cursed are the hands of them, that denounce war *." The least noise of a hammer must not be heard in God's Temple: but you, Good Man, would fill the holy Church of God with loud alarms, clashing of bloody weapons, and fearful groans of dying men. Give ear therefore now at last, thou, who proudly scornest the sentence of any mortal judge. That, which once our famous Robert, the holy and learned Bishop of

* The Translator has here omitted the following sentence:—"Hadst thou obtained any portion in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, thou wouldst have clearly perceived that every thing therein breathes peace, lenity, gentleness, concord: all is Hell alone, which sends forth the dire Furies." It is not omitted in the quarto.
EDITOR.

tibi nunc facio. Fas mihi sit indicere tibi verendum Omnipotentis Dei Tribunal, pro quo tremens horrénsque tibi anima brevi sistetur, sanguinolenti istius consilii rationem reddítura. Interim, si valere mavelis, Resipisce.

Lincoln, is said to have done to thy predecessor, the same do I now unto thee. Let me summon thee to that dreadful Tribunal of Almighty God, before which thy wretched soul shall one day appear, to give an account of this thy bloody advice. In the mean time, if thou wouldst rather to flee from the wrath to come, and to fare well hereafter, Repent.

REVERENDISSIMO IN CHRISTO PATRI, VIRO INCOMPARABILI

JOSEPHO HALL,

EPISCOPO EXONIENSI,

GILBERTUS PRIMEROSIUS S. P. D.

HEU quantum potuit terræ pelagique parari
Hoc quem civiles fuderunt sanguine dextræ

Gallorum? Sed paci intercedit inurbanæ frontis homo Urbanus VIII. Pontifex Romanus; qui

Exhalans fœdos fœdo de pectore ructus,

bullante diro cruore Bullâ, ferocibus minaciis venosâ, et sævâ adulatione tumente, optimo Regi, sed præpropero ac fervido in Martem ingenio, in fidissimos cives, qui nisi fuissent non esset ipse, funesta inflat classica; Brevíque grandiloquo et cruento, sub Annulo Piscatoris, asperrimam studiis belli gentem iterum in brevia et Syrtes civilis, hoc est, creperi et periculosissimi belli, cerebrosus et imperitus Nauclerus adigit* et impingit: nullâ Regis, nullâ Regionum omnium facilè Reginæ,

Quas sol exoriens curru fugiente vaporat,

nullâ Religionis majore curâ; sed magis, ut Regi et Regno anxias et inexplicabiles sollicitudines conficiat; ut humanissimos cives, non in piscatoriâ Petri naviculâ

——— *lentos incurvans gurgite remos,*

Evangelici hami felici piscatu ex undoso turbarum civilium salo Piscator Hominum humaniter ducat ad salutem, sed, in Antichristi prætoriâ navi gubernacula tenens, Bullarum et Brevium enormi harpagone piratâ nefarius Christianos inhumaniter prædetur ad cædem. Ut, solenni Pontificum Romanorum more, quod in urbium densis vicis à grassatoribus nocturnis fieri amat, belli facem accensam in vicina regna conjiciat, ut, bonis civibus ad eum restinguendum undique discurrentibus, ille impunè trahat, rapiat, popu-

* "Adigit et" is not found in the quarto of 1629. EDITOR.

letur, fœdet, conculcet omnia; et, ardente Christi Ecclesiâ, immanissimi Neronis decessoris sui instar, lætificum cum spintriis suis Trojæ pereuntis excidium canat:

——*sic sua quemque inscribit facies.*——

verùm,

——*Ut multos mensésque diésque,*
Non tamen ætatem tempestate hác scelerosi
Lætabuntur.

Nam ecce quàm opportunè Tu, Præsul Amplissime, cœlestis et infracti pectoris fervente robore, Romanum illum *miserandæ sortis onagrum* in arce Tarpeiâ stabulantem, et sono intempestivo rudentem, styli tui acumine, veluti clavis et fustibus, compescis. Tu Bestiæ bipedis, è limo et è fimo erepentis, lunata cornua elegantis libelli malleo retundis. Tu rufo Draconi

Ære ciere viros, Martémque accendere cantu *

nimis quàm bono, incestum et clamosum os suggillas. Tu Papam superbientem, et sublime caput cœlo audaci nisu inferentem, cujus ad nutum

Intereunt, labuntur, eunt rursum omnia vorsum,

modestissimo scripto humilitatem et modestiam doces. Tu marculum, qui *duri robora ferri* in Orthodoxorum perniciem

Multorum magnis tuditantium ignibu' tundit,

Cyclopum Polyphemo extorques, et pausam tuditandi facere jubes. Tu trepidantia jampridem Babylonis mœnia, à cœnosis magni illius exitialium mendaciorum architecti congesta cæmentariis,

——*Qui nihil amplius unquam*
Quàm commune lutum è paleis, cœnúmque aceratum
Rugosi passíque senes eadem omnia quærunt,

variorum librorum multis vigiliis feliciter elucubratorum, velut oscillo penduli impetus hactenus arietasti, vexasti, dissipasti. Tandem, optimæ notæ libello, non ad ostentationem sed ad utilitatem composito, et mitissimâ responsione, sulphureas omnium calamitatum fornaces, quas Nebuchadnetsar Romanus adversus Christi Confessores immitissimo edicto accendi jubet, pro virili tuâ parte à Christi Ecclesiâ prohibes et depellis. Tu † Leonum famelicorum dentes, quos indomitæ illius belluæ consiliarii atque administri in

* "*Campo:*" Quarto, of 1629. EDITOR.

† The quarto transposes this sentence:—"Tu, quos indomitæ illius belluæ consiliarii atque administri in Danieles nostros Leonum famelicorum dentes exacuunt, &c." EDITOR.

Danieles nostros exacuunt, Verbi Divini forfice comprehendis, concutis, et confringis;

——*Quos ille indocilis pacisque bonique,*

omnium malorum Fecialis et Pater Patratus, principes rerum potentes in arma feralia exequiali et tragico carmine movet et protrudit. Tu, pacis æternæ præco, ab armis discordibus revocas; et ad piam Christi pacem, Christianaéque Charitatis tranquillum portum fortiter occupandum, suavissimæ scriptionis dulci et docto celeusmate fidus celeustes provocas.

Frustrà omnia, illum si spectes qui,

Nequam et magnus homo, laniorum immanè canes ut,

distento et fulmineo rictu Christianorum sanguini inhiat, cuique cibus cadavera, potus cruor est: quibus, dum se ingurgitat, toto orbe Christiano tristibus ululante plangoribus, ille lætis ululat triumphis, *Io Pæan*, *Io Triumphe* nobis obgannions, velut

Gallinaceu' cum victor se gallus honestè
Sustulit in digitos, primorésque erigit ungues,

Coquelico canorâ voce in fimeto occinit. Ut illa Meretrix Purpurata, Martyrum sanguine ebria, quæ reges, quos philtris suis intoxicavit, Bullarum aculeatarum majoribus stimulis in cruda adversum Christum prælia suscitat; ut ille desperatæ salutis homo, peccati et Perditionis Filius, tuum illud "Resipisce" discat, spes nulla superest.

Nam si Tu hos fluctus undásque è gurgite salso
Tollere decréris, ventum prius hæmaticum Tu,
Ventum, inquam, tollas.

Illi enim neque est cor quo paveat, neque jecur quo amet, neque fel quo sibi irascatur, neque frons quâ erubescat. Illi Ganeæ, illis ingluviosis quibus cingitur raso capite ministris,

——*solis vivere fas est occipite cæco,*——

et edictis vetare,

——*ne quisquam hic faxit oletum,*

et sacra capita reprehendat.

Nam vos Romulidæ vobis ignoscitis, et quæ
Turpia Cerdoni, Papam sacrósque accebunt
Presbyteros.

At Tu, Antistes Dignissime, eos liberâ ad Urbanum responsione liberas doces audire voces, et ingratiis discere, in Angliâ et mutire

fas esse, et sine scrobe altâ voce exclamare, Auriculas Asini Papam et Cardinales habere.

Quantum autem ego fideli erga me amicitiæ tuæ debeam, Reverende Pater, quod mihi homini privato tantus eruditione, pietate, dignitate Præsul, Responsionem illam inscribere voluisti, nec rudi calamo exprimere, nec linguâ inexplanatâ expromere, nec impari mente consequi possim: scilicet, ut Episcopum decet, tui semper similis es, id est optimus: honores novos adeptus veterem amicitiam non deponis; et, magnus licet sis, omniúmque bonorum votis minor, ad minima te demittis.

Quòd verò electissimum scriptum meo arbitrio stare aut cadere, prodire aut latere, malignâ ignis flammâ extingui, aut præclarâ doctorum luce frui, publici juris, aut in mei solius bonis esse jubes; id verò modestiæ est tuæ, quæ, inter multas et claras virtutes quæ in te maximæ sunt et clarissimæ, in scriptis, in voce, in vultu, in oculis, in composito mentis habitu, in totâ vitâ tuâ fulgentibus micat radiis, *velut inter ignes Luna minores*. Macte istâ morum suavitate, quâ aperto vivens ostio, facta tua omnia ad pietatis et rectæ rationis obrussam exigis. Macte isto viri boni charactere *, qui

> *Index* † *ipse sui totum se explorat ad unguem,*
> *Quid proceres, vanique ferat quid opinio vulgi*
> *Securus.*

Teque ipsum semper verens, omnium quotquot te novere, quique tuos in scriptis et nitidâ oratione pellucentes mores vidêre, amorem tibi conciliasti. Macte iterum atque iterum præclaræ eruditionis gloriâ, altissimâ rerum divinarum et humanarum scientiâ, literatissimis variarum disciplinarum monumentis, quibus tibi jure merito jucundi et nervosi oratoris, Christiani Senecæ, clarissimi et doctissimi Theologi nomen comparasti;

> *Quod vivet seclis innumerabilibus.*

Sed age, eat

> *Qui dono meus est bonus libellus,*
> *Qui auro est carior aureus libellus* ‡ :

Eat pedibus celer, per Alpium æternis horrentium nivibus invias rupes, per Apennini ardua et prærupta juga viam sibi faciat, arcem Sanctangeli velox conscendat: angelo Satanæ, urbi ἐπιλαλόφῳ securè procul extra teli jactum incubanti in faciem narret, esse in Angliâ Episcopos haud paucos, qui inhumanæ et infestæ pecori lupæ, sub ovinâ pelle regibus et populo Christiano Romæ horrendæ hac ferinum immulgenti, personam alienam detrahere; bestiam

* The quarto, of 1629, has this passage thus:—"Macte istâ morum suavitate, quâ aperto vivens ostio, et facta tua omnia ad pietatis et rectæ rationis obrussam exigens, quod vir bonus solet, qui, &c." EDITOR.

† "*Judex*:" Quarto. EDITOR.

‡ "*Qui auro est nobilior novus libellus*:" Quarto. EDITOR.

ovium sanguinis sitientem à Christi caulis arcere; Ecclesiæ læta et pura pascua à turpi spumantium aprorum dente, et fœdo lutulentarum suum rostro pura et intemerata conservare; Æsopicam corniculam Petri et Pauli plumis insolescentem furtivis coloribus nudare; Cuculi Romani, qui Christianos omnes pro Curucis habet, ova in ipso Dei Templo posita pertundere; Meretricem Babylonicam Christiani nominis cerussâ et minio fucatam traducere; et possint, quia doctissimi, et velint, quia integerrimi, et faciant, quia vigilantissimi *. Atque, ut odor illâ morte in mortem sit quia Resipiscere dedidicit, denunciet ut totâ mente atque omnibus artubus contremiscat, appetente jam die illo decretorio, quo ardebit Babylon; Meretricis magnæ negotiatores et adulteri omnes lugebunt; Diabolus mundi seductor, Bestia et Pseudopropheta, in stagnum ignis et sulphuris præcipites abibunt, æternas justè irato Numini pœnas daturi; Filiumque Perditionis

Dignus principio exitus exodiúmque sequetur.

Interea temporis, veni, Domine Jesu, veni. Antichristum se truci in unctos tuos rabie efferentem comprime. Hostibus tuis, qui asperum paternæ castigationis tuæ vinum nobis plenis cyathis educendum dedêre, acinosas et pannosas indignationis tuæ fæces plenis doliis exhauriendas invitis et reluctantibus porrige. *Captivam Sionis Filiam*, ferreo Ægyptiacæ servitutis jugo oppressam, liberali causâ manu assere. Ludovici Regis fulgentes hastas, coruscantes enses, arma mortali fulgore crispantia, tormentorum bellicorum horrisona fulmina in ipsum Pseudoprophetam et lutosos Babylonis muros converte; ut fatidicum vatem, veri nesciuni, sua sibi mala lævâ mente verè profatum esse pudeat et pœniteat. Ecclesiis transmarinis solidam pacem, subdolis ereptam artibus, restitue. Damna nos voti, et hanc quâ Major Britannia tuo solius beneficio fruitur pacem et tranquillitatem nobis fidam, posteris verò nostris perpetuam præsta. Huic autem aureo libello da, ut vivat vigeátque, Antichristo Principum invidiam conflaturus, Ecclesiæ tuæ almam pacem coagmentaturus: ejúsque auctori largiri Beneficus, ut, vitâ honestissimè et sanctissimè in terris actâ, cœlo potiatur, ubi tecum

Immortali ævo summá cum pace fruatur

AMEN.

* "Et faciant, quia vigilantissimi," is not in the quarto. EDITOR.

A

LETTER PARÆNETICAL

TO

A WORTHY KNIGHT,

READY TO REVOLT FROM THE RELIGION ESTABLISHED.

WORTHY SIR:

When lewd and debauched persons drop away from us, we lament their loss, not our own: but, when men of worth leave us, it is not their loss more than ours.

With sō much more indignation must we needs think of those Cheaters, (for so I construe St. Paul's κυβείαν), that would fain win you from us with mere tricks of mis-suggestion: the attempt whereof hath given occasion to these warm lines, which my true zeal of your safety hath drawn from me.

So much hath been already spoken to this cavil, that, would you please but to cast your eye upon Bishop Morton's Treatise of "The Grand Imposture," and Bishop Bedell's Epistles to Wardsworth, you could not desire other satisfaction. Thither give me leave to refer you, at your best leisure.

In the mean time, lest I should seem willing to spare my own endeavours, let me shortly discover the vanity of that stale collusion, which some seducers would put upon you.

Certainly, sir, the more you look into these quarrels, the more you find that *Templum Domini* was not a more working plea amongst the Jews of old, than *Ecclesia Catholica* in this day among Christians. Those challenge it whole, that have it not: and those, that have right to it, are excluded with equal importunity.

Blessed be God, you were born and bred in a noble and renowned Daughter of that great and universal Mother, the Church of England. What reason can an enemy show you, why you should repent you of such a parentage, and spit in the face of so gracious a Mother and Nurse?

Nothing, it seems, is urged to you, but her age.

It is a killing word with those Romish Impostors, "Where was your Church before Luther?" than which, there was never any

plea more idle, more frivolous, when it falls under a wise and judicious discussion. For, consider, I beseech you. Did we go about to lay the foundations of a New Church, the challenge were most just. *Primum verum*, was the old and sure rule of Tertullian. We abhor New Churches, and New Truths: find ours either to be, or to be pretended such, and forsake us. But, when all our claim, all our endeavour is, only the reforming and repairing of an Old Church, faulty in some mouldered stones, and mis-daubed with some untempered and lately laid morter, what a frenzy is this, to ask where that Church was, which we show them sensibly thus repaired. Had it not been before, how could it have been capable of this amendment? and, if it be but reformed by us, it was formed before; and, having been since deformed by their errors, is only restored by us to the former beauty.

As sure as there is any Church, any Truth in the world, this is the true and only state of this controversy; the misprision whereof hath been guilty of the loss of many thousand souls.

To speak plainly, it is only the gross abuses and palpable innovations of the Church of Rome which we have parted from. Set these aside, they and we are and will be one Church. Let this be done, and, if their cruelty and uncharitableness would sever us, our unity of faith and Christian love shall make us one, in spite of malice. If their mis-zealous importunity will needs so incorporate those, which we can convince for new errors, as to make them essential to the very being of their Church, they are more injurious to themselves, than their enemies can be: we can but lament, to see them guilty of their own mischief.

For us, we have erred in nothing but this, that we would not err. To demonstrate this in particulars, were a longsome task; and that, which I have already performed in that my Treatise of "The Old Religion." May it please you, to let fall your eye upon that plain and moderate Discourse, you shall confess this truth made good; every parcel whereof I am ready to justify against all gainsayers.

When these men, therefore, shall ask where our Church was, answer them boldly, "Where it is."

It is with Churches, as with those several persons whereof they consist. Give me a man, that, having been Romish for opinion, is now grown wiser and reformed, he hath still the same form or essence, though not the same errors: he is the same man, then; yea, I add, he is the same Christian, that he was, while he holds firmly all those Articles of Catholic Faith, which are essential to Christianity. If he now find reason to reject those hideous novelties of the inerrability of a Man of Sin; of the new and monstrous, but invisible, incarnation of his Saviour by charm of a sinful Priest; of marting of sins; of purgatory flames; and the rest of that upstart rabble of the Tridentine Creed; while he undoubtedly believes all those truths, which carried our fathers, who lived before the hatching of these devices, safely and directly to heaven: who can deny him the honour of true Catholicism and Christianity?

No otherwise is it in whole Churches, whereof every believing soul is an abridgment. If any of them find just cause to refuse some newly obtruded opinions, which the rest are set to maintain, while, in the mean time, the foundation remains entire, this can be no ground to dis-Church that differing company of Christians: neither are they other from themselves, upon this diversity of opinion.

But, I hear what some whisperers say: "It is the determination of the Church, which makes what point she thinks fit, *de fide*, and fundamental:"—Let me confidently say this is the most dangerous innovation, that can fall into the ears, hearts, hands of Christians. If the Church can make another God, another Christ, another Heaven, other Prophets and Apostles, she may also lay another Foundation. But the old rule of the Chosen Vessel, whereon I securely cast my soul, is, *Fundamentum aliud ponere nemo potest.*

But, that you may perfectly discover the fraud, what Church is it, I beseech you, to whom this power is arrogated? and by whom is it usurped? None, but the Roman: and what is that, but a Particular Church? I speak boldly, there was never so gross a gullery in the world as this. What interest hath Rome in heaven, more than Constantinople, than Paris, than Prague, than Basil, than London, or any other city under heaven? or, what privilege hath the Italian Church, above the Greek, French, German, English? It is the charge of the Apostle, *My brethren, have not the faith of God in respect of persons:* I may, upon the same grounds, say, in respect of places, the locality of truth is the most idle and childish plea, that ever imposed upon wise men.

Away with this foppery. The true divinity of St. Peter was, and is, *In every nation, he, that feareth God and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him.* The climate makes no difference: and, if more respect have been anciently given to that See than to others, it was the sovereignty of the City, which then drew on those honours to the Church; which, upon the very same reason, were no less transmitted to Constantinople. Set those aside, and what holiness can Tiber challenge above Rhine, or Thames? Let fools be mocked with these fancies; but you, whom God hath endued with singular judgment and understanding in all things, will easily resent the fraud; and see, that there is no more reason why the English Church should conform in opinion to the Romish, were the doctrines equally indifferent, than the Roman Church to the English. They are but the several limbs of one large and universal body: and if, in respect of outward order, there have been or may be acknowledged a precedency; yet, in regard of the main substance of truth, we cannot admit of any dependance on any Church under heaven.

Here, that, which is the purer from error and corruption, must take the wall, maugre all the loud throats of acclaiming parasites. Yea, so far must we needs be from pinning our faith upon the sleeve of Rome, as that we cannot, without violence offered to our own consciences, but see and say, that there is no particular Church on earth so branded by the Spirit of God in the Scriptures, as Rome.

Insomuch as the best abettors and dearest fautors of that See are glad to plead, that Rome is St. Peter's and St. John's Babylon. We bless God for standing on our own feet; and those feet of ours stand upon the infallible grounds of the Prophets and Apostles, of Primitive Creeds, Councils, Fathers; and, therefore, we can no more deceive you, than they can deceive us.

The censure, that the enemies of our Church cast upon it, is not Untruth, but Defect. They dare not but grant what we say is true; but they blame us for not saying all is true which they say. Now that, which we say, was enough to serve those Ancient Christians, which lived before those lately-devised additions, the refusal whereof is made heinous and deadly to us. How safe, how happy is this erring! Let my soul be with those Blessed Martyrs, Confessors, Fathers, Christians, which never lived to hear of those new Articles of the New Roman Faith; and, I dare say, you will not wish yours any other where. There can be no danger, in old truths: there can be nothing but danger, in new obtrusions.

But I find how apt my pen is to overrun the bounds of a letter. My zeal of your safety carries me into this length. The errors, into which these seducers would lead you, are deadly; especially, upon a revolt. Your very ingenuity, I hope, besides grace, will suggest better things to you. *Hold that, which you have, that no man take your crown.* My soul for yours, you go right. So sure as there is a heaven, this way will lead you thither. Go on, confidently and cheerfully, in it. Let me never be happy, if you be not. You will pardon my holy importunity, which shall be ever seconded with my hearty prayers to the God of Truth, that he will stablish your heart in that eternal truth of his Gospel, which you have received; and both work and crown your happy perseverance. Such shall be the fervent apprecations of

Your much devoted Friend,

JOSEPH EXON

A

PLAIN AND FAMILIAR EXPLICATION

OF

CHRIST'S PRESENCE

IN THE

SACRAMENT OF HIS BODY AND BLOOD,

OUT OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

FOR THE SATISFYING OF A SCRUPULOUS FRIEND.

Anno 1631.

THAT Christ Jesus our Lord is truly present and received in the Blessed Sacrament of his Body and Blood, is so clear and universally agreed upon, that he can be no Christian that doubts it.

But, in what manner he is both present and received, is a point, that hath exercised many wits and cost many thousand lives; and such, as some Orthodox Divines are wont to express with a kind of scruple, as not daring to speak out.

For me, as I have learned to lay my hand on my mouth where God and his Church have been silent, and to adore those mysteries which I cannot comprehend; so I think it is possible we may wrong ourselves, in an over-cautious fear of delivering sufficiently-revealed truths. Such, I take this to be, which we have in hand. Wherein, as God hath not been sparing to declare himself in his Word; so the Church of England, our dear Mother, hath freely opened herself in such sort, as if she meant to meet with the future scruples of an over-tender posterity.

Certainly, there can be but two ways, wherein he can be imagined to be Present, and Received; either corporally, or spiritually.

That he should be corporally Present at once, in every part of every Eucharistical Element through the world, is such a monster of opinion, as utterly overthrows the truth of his Human Body, de-

stroys the nature of a Sacrament, implies a world of contradictions, baffles right reason, transcends all faith, and, in short, confounds heaven and earth: as we might easily show in all particulars, if it were the drift of my discourse to meddle with those, which profess themselves not ours: who yet do, no less than we, cry down the gross and Capernaitical expression, which their Pope Nicholas prescribed to Berengarius; and cannot but confess, that their own Card. Bellarmin advises this phrase of Christ's corporal presence should be very sparingly and warily taken up, in the hearing of their people. But my intention only is, to satisfy those sons of the Church, who, disclaiming from all opinion of Transubstantiation, do yet willingly embrace a kind of irresolution in this point; as holding it safest, not to enquire into the manner of Christ's presence. What should be guilty of this nice doubtfulness, I cannot conceive; unless it be a misconstruction of those broad speeches, which Antiquity, not suspecting so unlikely commentaries, hath, upon all occasions, been wont to let fall concerning these awful mysteries. For, what those Oracles of the Church have divinely spoken, in reverence to the Sacramental Union of the sign and the thing signified in this sacred business, hath been mistaken, as literally and properly meant to be predicated of the outward element: hence have grown those dangerous errors, and that inexplicable confusion, which hath since infested the Church. When all is said, nothing can be more clear, than that, in respect of bodily presence, the heavens must contain the Glorified Humanity of Christ, until his return to Judgment. As, therefore, the angel could say, to the devout Marys, after Christ's Resurrection seeking for him in his grave, *He is risen: he is not here;* Mark xvi. 6: so they still say to us, seeking for his glorious body here below, "He is ascended: he is not here." It should absolutely lose the nature of a human body, if it should not be circumscriptible. Glorification doth not bereave it of the truth of being what it is. It is a true human body; and, therefore, can no more, according to the natural being even of a body glorified, be many wheres at once, than, according to his personal being, it can be separated from that Godhead, which is at once every where. Let it be, therefore, firmly settled in our souls as an undoubted truth, That the Human Body of Christ, in respect of corporal presence, is in heaven; whither he visibly ascended, and where he sits on the right-hand of the Father, and whence he shall come again with glory: a parcel of our Creed, which the Church learned of the angels in Mount Olivet; who taught the gazing disciples that *this same Jesus which* was *taken up* from them *into heaven, shall so come in like manner as* they *saw him go into heaven*, which was with wonderful glory and magnificence. Far be it from us then, to think that the Blessed Humanity of the Son of God should so disparage itself, as, where there is neither necessity nor use of a bodily descent, to steal down; and convey himself insensibly from heaven to earth daily; and to hide up his whole Sacred Body in a hundred thousand several pixes, at once. It is a wonder, that Superstition itself is not ashamed of so absurd

and impossible a fancy: which it is in vain for men to think they can salve up with a pretence of Omnipotence. We question not the power of God; but his will: and do well know, he cannot will absolute contradictions: *Deus hoc potenter non potest*, as one said truly.

That, which we say of Christ's presence, holds no less of his Reception. For, so do we receive him into us, as he is present with us; neither can we corporally receive that, which is bodily absent. Although, besides the common incongruity of opinion, the corporal receiving of Christ hath in it a further prodigiousness and horror. All the novices of the Roman Schools are now ashamed of their Pope's *Dentibus teritur*: but, when their Doctors have made the best of their own tenet, they cannot avoid St. Austin's *flagitium videtur præcipere*. By how much the human flesh is and ought to be more dear, by so much more odious is the thought of eating it. Neither let them imagine, they can escape the imputation of a hateful savageness, in this act, for that it is not presented to them in the form of flesh; while they profess to know it is so, howsoever it appeareth. Let some skilful cook so dress man's flesh, in the mixtures of his artificial hashes and tasteful sauces, that it cannot be discerned by the sense; yet, if I shall afterwards understand that I have eaten it, though thus covertly conveyed, I cannot but abhor to think of so unnatural a diet. Corporally then to eat, if it were possible, the flesh of Christ, as it could, in our Saviour's own word, *profit nothing*; John vi. 63: so it could be no other, than a kind of religious cannibalism; which both nature and grace cannot but justly rise against.

Since, therefore, the Body of Christ cannot be said to be corporally present or received by us, it must needs follow, that there is no way of his presence or receipt in the Sacrament, but spiritual: which the Church of England hath laboured so fully to express, both in her Holy Liturgy and publicly-authorized Homilies, that there is no one point of divine truth, which she hath more punctually and plainly laid down before us.

What can be more evident, than that, which she hath said in the Second * Exhortation before the Communion? thus:—

"Dearly beloved, forasmuch as our duty is, to render to Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, most hearty thanks, for that he hath given his Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, not only to die for us, but also to be our spiritual food and sustenance;" as it is declared unto us, as well by God's Word, as by the Holy Sacraments of his Blessed Body and Blood, &c. Lo, Christ is in this Sacrament given to us, to be our spiritual food. In which regard also, this Sacrament is, in the same Exhortation, called a godly and "heavenly feast;" whereto that we "may come holy and clean," we must "search and examine our own consciences," not our chops

* These words are gathered, not from the Second, but the First Exhortation before the Communion. EDITOR.

and maws: that we may come, "and be received as worthy partakers," of such a Heavenly Table.

But that in the following Exhortation is yet more pregnant, that we should "diligently try and examine" our faith, "before we presume to eat of that Bread and drink of that Cup. For, as the benefit is great, if, with a true penitent heart and lively faith, we receive that Holy Sacrament, (for then we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood; then we dwell in Christ, and he in us; we be one with Christ, and Christ with us:) so is the danger great, if we receive the same unworthily." What terms can be more express? It is Bread and Wine, which we come to receive: that bread and that wine is Sacramental. It is our Heart, wherewith we receive that sacrament: it is our Faith, whereby we worthily receive. This receipt and manducation of the flesh of Christ is spiritually done; and, by this spiritual receipt of him, we are made one with him, and he with us. By virtue then, of the worthy receipt of this Sacramental Bread and Wine, we eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ spiritually; and there grows, hereby, a reciprocal union betwixt Christ and us. Neither is he otherwise one with us, than we are one with him; which can be no otherwise, than by the power of his institution, and of our faith.

And, that no man may doubt what the drift and purpose of our Blessed Saviour was, in the institution and recommendation of this Blessed Sacrament to his Church, it follows in that passage: "And, to the end that we should alway remember the exceeding great love of our Master and only Saviour, Jesus Christ, thus dying for us; and the innumerable benefits, which, by his precious blood-shedding, he hath obtained to us; he hath instituted and ordained holy mysteries as pledges of his love, and continual remembrances of his death to our great and endless comfort." If, therefore, we shall look upon and take these Sacred Elements as the pledges of our Saviour's love to us, and remembrances of his death for us, we shall not need, neither indeed can we require, by the judgment of our Church, to set any other value on them.

But, withal, that we may not slightly conceive of those mysteries, as if they had no further worth than they do outwardly show, we are taught, in that prayer, which the Minister, kneeling down at God's Board, is appointed to make, in the name of all the communicants before the consecration, That, while we do duly receive those Blessed Elements we do, in the same act, by the power of our faith, eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ: so effectual and inseparable is the sacramental union of the signs thus instituted by our Blessed Lord and Saviour, with the thing thereby signified. For thus is he prescribed to pray: "Grant us, therefore, Gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood; and that we may ever dwell in him, and he in us:" implying, that so doth our mouth and stomach receive the bread and wine, as that in the mean time our souls receive the flesh and the blood of Christ: now the

soul is not capable of receiving flesh and blood, but by the power of that grace of faith, which appropriates it.

But, that we may clearly apprehend how these Sacramental acts and objects are both distinguished and united, so as there may be no danger of either separation or confusion, that, which followeth in the Consecratory Prayer, is most evident: "Hear us, O Merciful Father, we beseech thee; and grant that we, receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most Blessed Body and Blood: who, *in the same night that he was betrayed, took bread; and, when he had given thanks, he brake it and gave it to his disciples, saying; Take, eat, this is my body, which is given for you: do this in remembrance of me.*" What more can be said? What come we to receive outwardly? the creatures of Bread and Wine. To what use? in remembrance of Christ's death and passion. What do we, the while, receive inwardly? we are thereby made partakers of his most Blessed Body and Blood. By what means doth this come about? by virtue of our Saviour's holy institution. Still, it is bread and wine, in respect of the nature and essence of it; but so, that, in the spiritual use of it, it conveys to the faithful receiver the body and blood of Christ: bread and wine is offered to my eye and hand, and Christ is tendered to my soul.

Which yet is more fully, if possibly it may be, expressed in the form of words prescribed in the delivery of the bread and wine to the communicant. "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life;" and, "Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thansgiving, &c." No gloss in the world can make the words more full and perspicuous. So do we, in remembrance of Christ's death, take and eat the sacramental bread with our mouths, as that our hearts do feed upon the body of Christ by our faith. And what is this feeding upon Christ, but a comfortable application of Christ and his benefits to our souls? Which is, as the prayer next following expresses it, then do we feed on Christ, when by the blessed "merits and death" of our Blessed Saviour, "and through faith in his blood," we do "obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion," and are "fulfilled with his grace and heavenly benediction."

Or, if we desire a more ample commentary upon this sacramental repast, and the nourishment thereby received, the prayer ensuing offers it unto us in these words: "We most heartily thank thee, for that thou hast vouchsafed to feed us, which have duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious Body and Blood of thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ; and dost assure us thereby of thy favour and goodness towards us, and that we be very members incorporate in thy mystical body, which is the blessed company of all faithful people; and be also heirs

through hope of thy everlasting kingdom, by the merits of the most precious death and passion of thy Dear Son."

This, then, is to feed upon Christ. Lo, the meat and manducation and nourishment are all spiritual, while the elements be bodily and sensible.

Which the allowed Homilies of the Church also have laboured, in most significant terms, to set forth.

"Thou must carefully search and know," saith the First Sermon concerning the Sacrament (Tome 2.), "what dignities are provided for thy soul: whither thou art come, not to feed thy senses and belly to corruption, but thy inward man to immortality and life; nor to consider the earthly creatures which thou seest, but the heavenly graces which thy faith beholdeth. For this table is not, saith Chrysostom, for chattering jays; but for eagles, who fly thither where the dead body lieth."

And, afterwards, to omit some other passages, most pregnantly thus: "It is well known, the meat we seek for in this supper is spiritual food, the nourishment of our soul, a heavenly refection, and not earthly; an invisible meat, and not bodily; a ghostly substance, and not carnal: so that, to think without faith we may enjoy the eating and drinking thereof, or that that is the fruition of it, is but to dream a gross carnal feeding, basely abjecting and binding ourselves to the elements and creatures; whereas, by the advice of the Council of Nice, we ought to lift up our minds by faith, and, leaving these inferior and earthly things, there seek it where the Sun of Righteousness ever shineth. Take this lesson, O thou that art desirous of this table, of Emissenus, a godly Father, That, when thou goest to the reverend communion to be satisfied with spiritual meats, thou look up with faith upon the holy Body and Blood of thy God, thou marvel with reverence, thou touch it with the mind, thou receive it with the hand of thy heart, and thou take it fully with the inward man." Thus that Homily, in the voice of the Church of England.

Who now shall make doubt, to say, that, in the Sacrament of the Blessed Eucharist, Christ is only present and received in a spiritual manner: so as nothing is objected to our senses, but the elements; nothing, but Christ, to our faith? and, therefore, that it is requisite we should here walk with a wary and even foot, as those, that must tread in the midst, betwixt profaneness and superstition: not affixing a Deity upon the elements, on the one side; nor, on the other, slighting them with a common regard: not adoring the creatures; nor basely esteeming their relation to that Son of God, whom they do really exhibit to us?

Let us not, then, think it any boldness, either to enquire or to determine of the Manner of Christ's presence in the Sacrament; and confidently to say, that his body is locally in heaven, spiritually offered to and received by the faith of every worthy communicant upon earth.

True it is, that, in our Saviour's speech, John vi., to believe in Christ, is to eat his flesh and to drink his blood, even besides and

out of the act of this Eucharistical Supper; so as, whosoever brings Christ home to his soul by the act of his faith, makes a private meal of his Saviour: but the Holy Sacrament superadds a further degree of our interest in the participation of Christ; for now, over and above our spiritual eating of him, we do here eat him Sacramentally also: every simple act of our faith feeds on Christ; but here, by virtue of that necessary union which our Saviour's institution hath made betwixt the sign and the thing signified, the faithful communicant doth partake of Christ in a more peculiar manner: now, his very senses help to nourish his soul; and, by his eyes, his hands, his taste, Christ is spiritually conveyed into his heart, to his unspeakable and everlasting consolation.

But, to put all scruples out of the mind of any reader concerning this point, let that serve for the upshot of all, which is expressly set down in the vth. Rubric in the end of the Communion, set forth as the judgment of the Church of England, both in King Edward's and Queen Elizabeth's time, though lately, upon negligence, omitted in the impression: in these words; "Lest yet the same kneeling might be thought or taken otherwise, we do declare, That it is not meant thereby that any adoration is done, or ought to be done, either unto the Sacramental Bread and Wine there bodily received, or unto any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood. For, as concerning the Sacramental Bread and Wine, they remain still in their very Natural Substances; and therefore may not be adored, for that were idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians: and, as concerning the Natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, they are in heaven, and not here; for it is against the truth of Christ's Natural Body to be in more places than one, at one time, &c."

Thus, the Church of England, having plainly explicated herself, hath left no place for any doubt concerning this truth. Neither is she any changeling in her judgment, however some unsteady minds may vary in their conceits. Away, then, with those nice scruplers, who, for some further ends, have endeavoured to keep us in an undue suspense, with a *non licet inquirere de modo:* and conclude we, resolutely, that there is no truth in Divinity more clear, than this of Christ's gracious exhibition, and our faithful reception of him in this Blessed Sacrament.

Babes, keep yourselves from idols. Amen.

POLEMICAL WORKS.

PART SECOND.

ON THE

QUESTIONS

BETWEEN

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

AND

THE DISSENTERS.

A

COMMON APOLOGY

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

AGAINST

THE UNJUST CHALLENGES OF THE OVER-JUST SECT,

COMMONLY CALLED

BROWNISTS.

WHEREIN THE

GROUNDS AND DEFENCES OF THE SEPARATION

ARE LARGELY DISCUSSED.

OCCASIONED BY A LATE PAMPHLET, PUBLISHED UNDER THE NAME OF

"AN ANSWER TO A CENSORIOUS EPISTLE:"

*WHICH THE READER SHALL FIND PREFIXED TO THE SEVERAL SECTIONS.**

BY JOSEPH HALL.

* "Which the reader shall find in the margin," is the expression of the original edition, 4to, 1610; as the different parts of the "Answer," were, in that edition, dispersed through the margin of the "Apology." The above expression is that of the folio; wherein the passages are collected together before each section. I have, however, placed them in the text, immediately before their respective answers. EDITOR.

TO

OUR GRACIOUS AND BLESSED MOTHER,

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND;

THE MEANEST OF HER CHILDREN DEDICATES THIS HER APOLOGY,

AND WISHETH ALL PEACE AND HAPPINESS.

*NO less than a year and a half is past, Reverend, Dear, and Holy Mother, since I wrote a loving monitory Letter * to two of thine unworthy Sons † ; which, I heard, were fled from thee in person, in affection, and somewhat in opinion : supposing them yet thine, in the main substance ; though, in some circumstances, their own.*

Since which, one of them hath washed off thy font-water, as unclean ; and hath written desperately, both against thee and his own fellows.

From the other, I received, not two months since, a stomachful Pamphlet ; besides the private injuries to the monitor, casting upon thine honourable name blasphemous imputations of Apostacy, Antichristianism, Whoredom, Rebellion.

Mine own wrongs I could have contemned in silence ; but, For Sion's sake, I cannot hold my peace : If I remember not thee, O Jerusalem, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth ‡. *It were a shame and sin for me, that my zeal should be less hot for thine innocency, than theirs to thy false disgrace.*

How have I hastened therefore, to let the world see thy sincere truth, and their perverse slanders !

Unto thy Sacred Name then, whereto I have in all piety devoted myself, I humbly present this my speedy and dutiful labour : whereby, I hope, thy weak Sons may be confirmed, the strong encouraged, the rebellious shamed. And, if any shall still obstinately accurse

* See Epistles : Decade iii. Epistle 1. at vol. vii. pp. 171—173 of this Edition. EDITOR.

† Smith and Robinson.

‡ *Meam injuriam patienter tuli ; impietatem contra Sponsam Christi ferre non potui.* Hieron. ad Vigilant.

thee, I refer their revenge unto thy Glorious Head, who hath espoused thee to himself, in truth and righteousness: let him, whose thou art, right thee.

In the mean time, we, thy True Sons, shall not only defend, but magnify thee. Thou mayest be black, but thou art comely. The Daughters have seen thee, and counted thee blessed; even the Queen, and the Concubines, and they have praised thee: thou art thy Well-beloved's, and his desire is towards thee. So let it be, and so let thine be towards him for ever; and mine toward you both, who am the least of all thy little ones,

JOSEPH HALL.

A

COMMON APOLOGY

AGAINST

THE BROWNISTS.

INTRODUCTION.

If *Truth* and *Peace*, Zechariah's two companions *, had met in our love, this controversy had never been. The severing of these two hath caused this Separation: for, while some unquiet minds have sought Truth without Peace, they have at once lost Truth, Peace, Love, us, and themselves.

God knows how unwillingly I put my hand to this unkind quarrel. Nothing so much abates the courage of a Christian, as to call his brother, Adversary. We must do it. Woe be to the men, by whom this offence cometh †.

Yet, by how much the insultation of a brotherly enemy is more intolerable, and the grief of our Blessed Mother greater for the wrong of her own; so much more cause I see to break this silence. If they will have the last words, they may not have all.

For our carriage to them: they say, when fire, the God of the Chaldees, had devoured all the other wooden deities, that Canopis set upon him a caldron full of water, whose bottom was devised with holes stopped with wax; which no sooner felt the flame, but gave way, to the quenching of that furious idol ‡. If the fire of inordinate zeal, conceit, contention, have consumed all other parts in the Separation, and cast forth (more than Nebuchadnezzar's furnace §) from their Amsterdam hither; it were well, if the waters of our moderation and reason could vanquish, yea abate it.

This little Hin of mine shall be spent that way. We may try and wish, but not hope it: the spirits of these men are too well known, to admit any expectation of yieldance ||. Since yet, both

* Zech. viii. 19. † Matt. xviii. 7.
‡ Otho Frising. ex Philon. Ur Chaldæorum. Ruffin. Eccl. Hist. l. ii. c. 25.
§ Dan. iii.
|| Vid. Treatise of Certain Godly Ministers against Barrow.

for prevention and necessary defence, this task must be undertaken, I crave nothing of my reader but patience and justice; of God, victory to the truth: as for favour, I wish no more than an enemy would give against himself.

With this confidence, I enter into these lists; and turn my pen to an adversary, God knows whether more proud or weak.

SECT. 1.

The Answerer's Preamble:

Sep.—"It is a hard thing, even for sober-minded men, in cases of controversy, to use soberly the advantages of the times: upon which, whilst men are mounted on high, they use to behold such as they oppose too overly, and not without contempt: and so are ofttimes emboldened to roll upon them, as from aloft, very weak and weightless discourses; thinking any slight and slender opposition sufficient to oppress those underlings, whom they have, as they suppose, at so great an advantage. Upon this very presumption it cometh to pass, that this Author undertaketh, thus solemnly and severely, to censure a cause, whereof, as appeareth in the sequel of the discourse, he is utterly ignorant: which had he been but half so careful to have understood, as he hath been forward to censure, he would either have been, I doubt not, more equal towards it, or more weighty against it."

Retorted:—

It is a hard thing, even for those which would seem sober-minded men, in cases of controversy, to use soberly the frowns and disadvantages of causes and times: whereby, while men are dejected and trodden down, they use to behold their opposites mounted on high, too repiningly, and not without desperate envy: and so are ofttimes moved to shoot up at them, as from below, the bitter arrows of spiteful and spleenish discourses; thinking any hateful opposition sufficiently charitable to oppugn those adversaries, which have them, as they feel, at so great an advantage. Upon this impotent maliciousness it cometh to pass, that this Answerer undertaketh, thus severely and peremptorily, to censure that charitable censure, of ignorance, which, as shall appear in the sequel, he either simply or willingly understood not; and to brand a dear Church of Christ with Apostacy, Rebellion, Antichristianism. What can be more easy, than to return accusations?

Confuted.

Your Preamble, with a grave bitterness, charges me with, first, presumption upon advantages; secondly, weak and weightless discourse; thirdly, ignorance of the cause censured.

It had been madness in me to write, if I had not presumed upon advantages: but, of the cause, of the truth; not, of the times:

though, blessed be God, the times favour the truth, and us: if you scorn them and their favours, complain not to be an underling: think that the times are wiser, than to bestow their favours upon wilful adversaries. But, in spite of times, you are not more under us in estate, than in conceit above us: so we say, "The sun is under a cloud," we know it is above it. Would * God overliness and contempt were not yours; even to them, which are mounted highest upon best desert: and now you, that have not learned sobriety in just disadvantages, tax us, not to use soberly the advantages of time. There was no gall in my pen, no insultation: I wrote to you as brethren, and wished you companions: there was more danger of flattery in my style, than bitterness. Wherein used I not my advantages soberly? Not, in that I said too much; but not enough: not, in that I was too sharp; but not weighty enough. My opposition was not too vehement; but too slight and slender: so, strong champions blame their adversary, for striking too easily. You might have forborne this fault: it was my favour, that I did not my worst: you are worthy of more weight, that complain of ease.

The discourse, that I rolled down upon you, was weak and weightless: you shall well find, this was my lenity, not my impotence. The fault hereof is partly in your expectation, not in my letter. I meant but a short Epistle; you looked belike for a volume, or nothing. I meant only a general monition: you looked for a solid prosecution of particulars. It is not for you, to give tasks to others' pens. By what law, must we write nothing but large Scholastical Discourses: such tomes as yours? May we not touch your sore, unless we will lance and search it? I was not enough your enemy: forgive me this error, and you shall smart more.

But, not only my omissions were of ignorance, but my censures, though severe and solemn. An easy imputation from so great a controuler! I pardon you, and take this as the common lot of enemies. I never yet could see any scribbler so unlearned, as that he durst not charge his opposite with ignorance. If Dr. Whitaker, M. Perkins, M. Gyfford, and that Oracle of our present times Dr. Andrews, went away content with this livery from yours †, how can I repine? If I have censured what cause I knew not, let me be censured for, more than ignorance, impudency: but, if you know not what I censured (let all my trust lie on this issue) take both ig-

* Hier. Marco. Presbyt. *De cavernis cellularum damnamus orbem. In sacco et cinere volutati, de Episcopis sententiam ferimus. Quid facit, sub tunicâ pœnitentis, regius animus.* Cypr. l. iii. Ep. 9. *Hæc sunt initia hæreticorum, ut sibi placeant, ut præpositum superbo tumore contemnant.* Harrison, once theirs, in Ps. cxxii. of Brown's Antichristian pride and bitterness. Bredw. Pref. M. Brinsly's Pref. to the 2d part of the Watch. Optat. Mil. de Donat. *Collega non eritis, si nolitis, fratres estis &c.* Disclaimed by themselves. Answer against Broughton, page 21.

† Separat. Schis. "M. Gyfford, an ignorant priest." Bar. p. 64. Confer. of D. And. and M. Hutchins. with Barrow.

norance, boldness, and malice to yourself. Is your cause so mystical, that you can fear any man's ignorance? What cobler or spinster hath not heard of the main holds of Brownism? Am I only a stranger in Jerusalem? If I know not all your opinions, pardon me: your own have not received this illumination; I speak boldly, not yourself. Every day brings new conceits; and not one day teaches, but corrects another *. You must be more constant to yourselves, ere you can upbraid ignorance, or avoid it. But, whether I knew your prime fancies, appears sufficiently by a particular discourse, which, above a year since, was in the hands of some of your clients; and I wonder if not in yours. Shortly; am I ignorant? If I were obstinate too, you might hope, with the next gale, for me, your more equal adversary, at Amsterdam. As I am, my want of care and skill shall, I hope, lose nothing of the truth by you; nor suffer any of your foul aspersions upon the face of God's Church, and ours.

Sep.—"As this Epistle is come to my hands, so I wish the answer of it may come to the hands of him that occasioned it: entreating the Christian Reader, in the name of the Lord, unpartially to behold, without either prejudice of cause or respect of person, what is written on both sides; and so, from the Court of a sound Conscience, to give just judgment."

But, while we strive, who shall be our judge? "The Christian Readers." Who are those? Presume not, ye more zealous and forward countrymen, that you are admitted to this bench. So far are we, mere English, from being allowed judges of them, that they have already judged us to be no Christians †. We are goats and swine; no sheep of God. Since then none but your parlour in the West, and Amsterdam, must be our judges, who, I beseech you, shall be our adversaries? God shall be Judge betwixt you and us, and correct this your unchristian uncharitableness.

SECT. 2.

The Parties written to, and their Crime.

I wrote not to you, alone ‡: what is become of your partner; yea, your guide? Woe is me! he hath renounced our Christendom with our Church: and hath washed off his former water, with new; and now condemns you all, for not separating further, no less than we con-

* M. Spr. 3. Considerat. Iren. lib. i. *Per singulos dies novum aliquod adfectant*, &c.

† Bar. Confer. with Hutchins. fol. 1. Brown's Estate of True Christians. Defence of True Christians against the Doct. of Oxford. Johns. against Jacob, passim. Barrow against Gyfford.

‡ "To M. Smith and M. Robinson, Ringleaders of the late Separation at Amsterdam."

demn you for separating so far *. As if you could not be enough out of Babylon, unless you be out of yourselves. Alas, miserable Countrymen, whither run you? Religion hath but his height, beyond which is error and madness. He tells you true: your station is unsafe: either you must forward to him, or back to us.

The crime of Separation, how great.

Sep.—"The crime here objected is Separation, a thing very odious in the eyes of all them from whom it is made: as evermore casting upon them the imputation of evil, whereof all men are impatient. And hence it cometh to pass, that the Church of England can better brook the vilest persons continuing communion with it, than any whomsoever separating from it, though upon never so just and well grounded reasons."

I OBJECTED separation to you: yet not so extreme, as your answer bewrays: a late separation, not the first: my charity hoped you less ill, than you will needs deserve. You grant it odious, because it casts imputation of evil upon the forsaken. Of evil? yea, of the worst; an estate incurable and desperate. He is an ill physician, that will leave his patient upon every distemper: his departure argues the disease helpless. Were we but faulty, as your Landlord Churches, your own rules would not abide your flight †. Hence the Church of England justly matches Separatists with the vilest persons. God himself doth so: who are more vile than patrons of evil? yet no greater woe is to them that speak good of evil, than those that speak evil of good; Is. v. 20. So, wise generals punish mutinous persons, worse than robbers or adulterers. So Korah and his company, a story cunningly turned upon us by your Martyr ‡, for their opposition to Moses, were more fearfully plagued, than the idolatrous Israelites; Num. xvi. 31. Exod. xxxii. 30. These sins are more directly against common society; the other, more personal: and, if both have like iniquity; yet the former have both more offence and more danger. And, if not so, yet who cannot rather brook a lewd servant, than an undutiful son, though pretending fair colours for his disobedience? At least, you think the Church of England thinks herself God's Church, as well as your Saints of Amsterdam. You, that so accurse apostacy in others, could ye expect she should brook it in you?

But, your reasons are just and well grounded: *Every way of a*

* Charact. of the Beast, written by M. Smith. Pref. "Be it known therefore to all the Separation, that we account them, in respect of their constitution, to be as very a Harlot, as either her Mother the Church of England, or her Grandmother Rome is, &c." *Iterato baptizatus scienter, iterato Dominum crucifigit.* De Consecr. Dist. 4. *Quivis &c.*

† Vid. Johnson's Preface to his Enquiry.

‡ M. Penry, in his Disc. of this subject.

man is right in his own eyes; Prov. xxi. 2. *Said we not well, that thou art a Samaritan, and hast a Devil,* say the Jews? What schism ever did not think well of itself? For us, we call heaven and earth to record, your cause hath no more justice than yourselves have charity.

SECT. 3.

The Kinds of Separation, and which is just.

Sep.—"And yet Separation from the world, and so from the men of the world, and so from the Prince of the World that reigneth in them, and so from whatsoever is contrary to God, is the first step to our communion with God, and angels, and good men; as the first step to a ladder, is to leave the earth."

YET there is a commendable and happy Separation from the world, from the Prince and men of the World, and whatsoever is contrary to God: who doubts it? There were no heaven for us, without this: no Church; which hath her name given by her Father and Husband, of calling out from other *. Out of the Egypt of the world doth God call his sons.

But this separation is into the Visible Church from the world; not, as yours, out of the Church, because of some particular mixtures with the world: or, if you would rather take it of profession, out of the world of Pagans and Infidels, into the Visible Church; not out of the world of true, though faulty, Christians, into a purer Church.

That I may here, at once for all, give light to this point of Separation, we find in Scripture a Separation either to good, or from evil.

To good. So the Levites were separated from among the children of Israel, to bear the ark, and to minister; Num. viii. 14. Num. xvi. 9. Dent. x. 8: so the firstborn, firstfruits, and cities of refuge; Exod. xiii. 12. Lev. xxiii. 10. Deut. iv. 41: so Paul was ἀφωρισμένος, *separated;* Rom. i. 1. which some would have allude to his Pharisaism, but hath plain reference to God's own words, Acts xiii. 2. *Separate me Barnabas and Saul* †. Though this is rather a destination to some worthy purpose, than a properly called separation.

From evil, whether sin or sinners.

From sin: so every soul must eschew evil, whether of doctrine or manners; and disclaim all fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, whether in himself or others: so St. Paul charges us to *hold that which is good, and abstain from all appearance of evil;* 1 Thes. v. 21, 22: so Jeremiah is charged to *separate the precious* doctrine or practice ‡ *from the vile;* Jer. xv. 19.

* ἐκκλησία † ἀφορίσατε δή μοι Σαῦλον. ‡ Vide Tremel. et Jun.

From sinners, not only practised by God himself, to omit his eternal and secret decree whereby the elect are separated from the reprobate, both in his gracious vocation, sequestering them from nature and sin; as also in his execution of judgment, whether particular as of the Israelites from the tabernacles of Korah, Num. xvi. 26. or universal and final of the sheep from the goats, Matt. xv. 46: but also enjoined from God to men, in respect either of our affection, or of our yoke and familiar society; 2 Chron. xix. 2: whereof St. Paul, *Be not unequally yoked with infidels: come out from among them, and separate yourselves* *; 2 Cor. vi. 14, 17.

In all this we agree. In the latitude of this last only we differ.

I find you call for a double separation. A first separation, in the gathering of the Church; a second, in the managing of it: the first, at our entrance into the Church; the second, in our continuance: the first, of the Church, from Pagans and Worldlings, by an initiatory profession; the second, of lewd men from the Church, by just censures.

You speak confusedly of your own separation: one while, of both; another while, of either single †.

For the first, either confess it done by our baptism, or else you shall be forced to hold, we must rebaptise: but of this constitutive separation anon.

For the second, of sinners, whether in judgment or life, some are more gross, heinous, incorrigible; others less notorious, and more tractable: those other must be separated by just censures; not these. Which censures if they be neglected, the Church is foul; and, in your Pastor's word ‡, faulty; and therefore calls for our tears, not for our flight.

Now, of Churches faulty and corrupted, some raze the foundation; others, on the true foundation, build *timber, hay, stubble:* from those, we must separate; from these, we may not. Peter's rule is eternal: *Whither shall we go from thee? thou hast the words of eternal life;* John vi. 68. Where these words are found, woe be to us, if we be not found!

Amongst many good separations then, yours cannot be separated from evil: for, that we should so far separate from the evil, that therefore we should separate from God's children in the communion of the holy things of God; that, for some, after your worst done, not fundamental corruptions, we should separate from that Church, in whose womb we were conceived, and from betwixt whose knees we fell to God; in a word, as one of yours once said §, to separate not only from visible evil, but from visible good, as all antichristian; who, but yours, can think less than absurd and impious? Grant, we should be clean separated from the world; yet if we be not, must you be separated from us? Do but stay till God

* *Nulla cum malis convivia vel colloquia misceantur; simúlque ab iis tam Separati, quàm sunt illi ab Ecclesiâ Dei profugi.* Cypr. l. i. Epist. ad Corn. 2.

† Character of Beast. Pref. ‡ Johnson's Enquiry.

§ H. Cl. Epistle before Treatise of Sin against the Holy Ghost

have separated us from himself. Will the wise husbandman cast away his corn-heap for the chaff and dust? Shall the fisher cast away a good draught, because his drag-net hath weeds *? Doth God separate from the faithful soul, because it hath some corruptions her inmates, though not her commanders? Certainly, if you could thoroughly separate the world from you, you would never thus separate yourselves from us. Begin at home: separate all self-love, and self-will, and uncharitableness from your hearts; and you cannot but join with that Church, from which you have separated.

Your Doctor would persuade us, you separate from nothing but our corruptions †: you are honester, and grant it from our Church. It were happy for you, if he lied not, who, in the next page, confutes himself; shewing that you separate from us, as Christ from the Samaritans, namely from the Church, not the corruptions only; and not as he did from the Jews, namely from their corruptions, not from their Church ‡. His memory saves our labour, and mars his discourse.

SECT. 4.

The Antiquity and Examples of Separation.

Sep.—"The Separation we have made, in respect of our knowledge and obedience, is indeed late and new: yet is it, in the nature and causes thereof, as ancient as the Gospel; which was first founded in the enmity, which God himself put betwixt the Seed of the Woman, and the Seed of the Serpent; Gen. iii. 15."

YET, if not equity, it were well you could plead age. This your Separation, in the nature and causes of it, you say, is no less ancient, than the first institution of enmity betwixt the two Seeds. You might have gone a little higher, and have said, than our first parents' running from God in the garden, or their separation from God by their sin.

But we take your time; and easily believe, that this your late Separation was founded upon that ancient enmity of the Seed of the Serpent with the Woman's. That subtle Devil, when he saw the Church breathe from the persecutions of tyrants, vexed her no less with her own divisions; seeking that by fraud, which by violence he could not effect §. Hence all the fearful schisms of the Church, whereof yours is part. This enmity hath not only been successively continued; but also too visibly manifested by the actual, but wilful, separation of heretics and sectaries from the Church, in all ages.

But I mistake you: yours is as ancient as the Gospel.

What! that *Evangelium Æternum*, of the Friars, whose name

* *Neque, propter paleam, relinquimus aream Domini; neque, propter pisces malos, rumpimus retia Domini.* Aug. Ep 48.

† Ans. Counterpoison, p. 2. ‡ Counterpoison, pp. 7 and 8, &c.

§ Euseb. Hist. Ecc.

they accursedly borrowed from Rev. xiv. 6? Or that *Evangelium Regni*, of the Familists * ? Or that *Evangelium Aliud*, whereof St. Paul taxeth his Galatians? Gal. i. 6.

None of all these, you say; but as that Gospel of Peace, of Truth, of Glory; Eph. vi. 15. Col. i. 5. 1 Tim. i. 11. So ancient, and never known till Bolton, Barrow, and Brown! Could it escape all the holy Prophets, Apostles, Doctors of the old, middle, and later world; and light only upon these your three patriarchs † ? Perhaps Novatus or Donatus, those Saints, with their Schools, had some little glimpse of it; but this perfection of knowledge is but late and new: so, many rich mines have lain long unknown; and great parts of the world have been discovered by late venturers.

Sep.—"Which enmity hath not only been successively continued, but also visibly manifested by the actual separation of all True Churches from the World, in their collection and constitution, before the Law, under the Law, and under the Gospel; Gen. iv. 13, 14, 16. and vi. 1, 2. and vii. 1, 7. with 1 Pet. iii. 20, 21. and i. 22. Lev. xx. 24, 26. Neh. ix. 2. John xvii. 14, 16. Acts ii. 40. and xix. 9. 1 Cor. vi. 17."

If this course have come late to your knowledge and obedience, not so to others: for, lo, it was practised successively in the constitution and collection of all true Churches, through all times, before the Law, under the Law, after it. We have acknowledged many Separations; but, as soon shall you find the time past in the present, as your late Separation in the ancient and approved.

You quote Scriptures; though, to your praise, more dainty indeed than your fellows. Who cannot do so? Who hath not ‡ ? Even Satan himself cites the word against Him, which was the Word of his Father.

Let us not number, but weigh your texts: the rather, for that I find these, as your master-proofs, set as challengers in every of your defences §. In Gen. iv. 13. Cain, a bloody fratricide, is excommunicated. In Gen. vi. 1, 2. the sons of God married the daughters of men. In Gen. vii. 1, and 7. Noah is approved as righteous, and enters the ark. In 1 Pet. iii. 20, 21. the rest in Noah's time were disobedient, and perished.

What of all this? Alas, what mockage is this, of the Reader and Scriptures! Surely, you even join Scriptures, as you separate yourselves.

This is right as your Pastor, to prove all members of the Visible Church elect and precious stones, cites ‖ 1 Kings vii. 9. where is

* Hen. Steph. Apol. Herod. Fox Act. et Monum. H. N. his book.

† Τεῖχ. β. βελτίστα.

‡ Iren. de Valen. l. i. *Innumerabilem multitudinem Scripturarum quas ipsi finxerunt, afferunt ad stuporem insensatorum.*

§ Vid. Preface to Master Jacob's and Johnson's Confer. and Barr. pass.

‖ Description of the True Visible Church.

speech only of Solomon's house in the forest of Lebanon, his porch for his throne, his hall, his palace for Pharaoh's daughter: and, when he comes to describe the office of his imaginary doctor, thwacks fourteen Scriptures into the margin, whereof not any one hath any just colour of inference to his purpose *: and, in his discourse of the Power of the Church, that he might seem to honour his margin with shew of texts, hath repeated six places twice over in the space of six lines †.

For these of yours, you might object the first to the Cainites ‡, not to us. Cain was cast out worthily. Do we either deny, or utterly forbear this censure? Take heed you follow him not, in your voluntary exile, to the land of Nod.

The second you might object to those mungrel Christians, that match with Turks and Pagans. There are sons of God, that is, members of the Visible Church; and daughters of men, which are without the bounds, mere Infidels. It is sin for those sons to yoke themselves with those daughters. What is this to us §?

Noah was righteous; the multitude disobedient. Who denies it? Yet Noah separated not from that corrupted Church, till the flood separated him from the earth; but continued an ancient preacher of righteousness, even to that perverse and rebellious generation. 1 Pet. iii. 19. 2 Pet. ii. 5.

But it sufficeth you, that Cain and the Giants were separated from the rest. We yield it. What will follow hence, save only that notorious malefactors must be cast out, and professed heathen not let into the Church? We hold and wish no less: your places evince no more.

These, before the Law.

In Lev. xx. 24, 26. God chose out Israel from other people: this was God's act, not theirs; a sequestering of his Israelites from the Gentiles, not of Israel from itself: yours is your own; and from men, in all main points, of your own profession. "But, therefore Israel must be holy:" if any man deny holiness to be required of every Christian, let him feel your *Maranatha*. In Neh. ix. 2. the Israelites separated themselves from the strangers, which were Infidels; whether in their marriage, or devotion: neither God's service, nor an Israelite's bed was for heathens: this was not the constituting of a new Church, but reforming of the old: if, therefore, you can parallel us with Pagans, and yourselves will be Jews, this place fits you.

Lastly, what if there be a hatred betwixt the world and Christ's true disciples; John xvii. 14, 16? What if Peter charged his auditors to save themselves from the errors and practice of that froward

* *Nihil autem mirum si et ex ipsius Instrumento aptentur argumenta, cùm oporteat hæreses esse, quæ esse non possent si non et perperàm Scripturæ intelligi possent.* Tertul. de Resurrect.

† I. ic. ‡ So Barrow terms M. Gyfford. Refut. p. 102.

§ *Christianus Judaicæ prævaricanti carnaliter conjungatur, à communione Ecclesiæ segregetur.* Dist. 28. q. 1. *Cave:* et cap. *Si quis Judaicæ, &c.*

generation, whose hands were yet freshly imbrued with the blood of Christ; Acts ii. 40? What if the same, which Peter taught, Paul practised, in separating his followers from hearing some obstinate and blasphemous Jews; Acts xix. 9? What if the Church of Corinth were Saints by calling, 1 Cor. i. 2. and therefore must be separated from the yoke of Infidels; 2 Cor. vi. 17? Are these your patterns? Are these fit matches for your brethren, baptized in the same water and name; professing every point of the same true faith; using, for substance, the same worship with you? *He, that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness;* 1 John ii. 9.

SECT. 5.

What Separation is to be made by Churches, in their Planting or Restoration.

Sep.—"Which Separation the Church of England neither hath made, nor doth make; but stands actually one with all that part of the world within the kingdom, without separation: for which cause, amongst others, we have chosen, by the grace of God, rather to separate ourselves to the Lord from it; than, with it, from him, in the visible constitution of it."

But all these examples, perhaps are not so much to warrant what you have done, as to condemn the Church of England for what she hath not done: for such a Separation she neither hath made nor doth make, but stands actually one with all that part of the world within the kingdom, without separation.

Lo here the main ground of this schism, which your Proto-Martyr Barrow hammers upon * in every page: an Ill Constitution.

Thus he comments upon your words †: "For where such profane confuse multitudes, without any exception, separation, or choice, were all of them, from public idolatry, at one instant received or rather compelled to be members of the Church, in some parish or other, where they inhabited; without any due calling to the faith, by the preaching of the Gospel going before, or orderly joining together in the faith; there being no voluntary or particular confession of their own faith and duties made or required of any, and, lastly, no holy walking in the faith amongst them: who can say, that these Churches, consisting of this people, were ever rightly gathered or built according to the rule of Christ's Testament?"

In his words and yours, I find both a Miscollection, and a Wrong Charge.

For the former: the want of noting one poor distinction, breeds all this confusion of doctrine, and separation of men. For there is

* In his Preface to the Reader: and in his Causes of Separation Defended. p. 4.

† Ejusdem, p. 10. Refutat. of M. Gyff. p. 22. and 2. Transgres. pp. 51, 52, 55, 66, 70, 85, 86, &c.

one case of a New Church to be called from Heathenism, to Christianity; another, of a Former Church to be reformed from errors, to more sincere Christianity.

In the first of these, is required indeed a solemn initiation by baptism; and, before that, a voluntary and particular confession of faith; and, therefore, a clear separation and exception of the Christian, from the Infidel.

In the latter, neither is new baptism lawful (though some of you belike of old were in hand with a rebaptization *; which, not then speeding, succeedeth now to your shame) nor a new voluntary and particular confession of faith besides that in baptism, though very commendable, will ever be proved simply necessary to the being of a Church; so long as the erring parties do actually renounce their doctrines, and in open profession embrace the truth; and, as generally in the public confession, so particularly upon good occasion give just testimonies of their repentance.

This is our case. We did not make a New Church, but mended an Old. Your Clifton is driven to this hold, by necessity of argument †: otherwise he sees there is no avoiding of Anabaptism. "Mended," saith your Doctor, "and yet admitted the misceline rabble of the profane?—"

Say now, that such Separation were not made: let some few be holy, and the more part profane: shall the lewdness of some disannul God's covenant with others? This is your mercy: God's is more; who still held Israel for his, when but few held his pure service. Let that Divine Psalmist teach you ‡ how full the tents of Israel were of mutinous rebels in the desert; yet the pillar, by day and night, forsook them not: and Moses was so far from rejecting them, that he would not endure God should reject them to his own advantage. Look into the black censures and bitter complaints of all the Prophets, and wonder that they separated not. Look into the encreased mass of corruptions in that declined Church, whereof the blessed eyes of our Saviour were witnesses, and marvel at his silent and sociable incuriousness: yea, his charge of not separating §. *Ye know not of what spirit you are.*

Now you fly to constitution; as if notorious evils weremore tolerable in the continuance, than in the collection of assemblies. Sardis had but *a few names*, that had *not defiled their garments:* God praises these; bids them not, separate from the rest ‖. Thyatira suffers a false prophetess: *the rest, that have not this learning*, yet are bidden but to hold their own; not to separate from the Angel, which hath not separated Jezebel from the Church ¶.

* Inconstance of Brown, p. 110. Enquiry into M. White, confessed by Fr. Johnson, p. 63.

† Passage betwixt Clifton and Smith: "And concerning the constitution of the Churches, &c. But the constituting of Churches, now after the defection of Antichrist, may more properly be called a repairing, than a constituting, &c." p. 60.

‡ Ps. cvi. § Matt. xxiii. ‖ Rev. iii. 4. ¶ Rev. ii. 24, 25.

SECT. 6.

What Separation the Church of England hath made.

YOUR Charge is no less injurious; That the Church of England hath made no Separation.

Concerning which you have learned of your martyr and overseers * so to speak, as if, before her late disclamation of Popery in Queen Elizabeth's time, she had not been. Her Monuments could have taught you better †, and have led you to her ancient pedigree not much below the Apostolic days; and, in many descents, have shewed you not a few worthy witnesses and patrons of truth: all which, with their holy and constant offspring, it might have pleased you to have separated from this imputation of not separating.

Will you know, therefore, how the Church of England hath separated? In her first conversion, she separated herself from Pagans: in her continuance, she separated herself from gross Heretics, and sealed her separation with blood: in her reformation, she separated herself from wilful Papists, by her public profession of truth and proclaimed hatred of error: and she daily doth separate the notoriously evil, by suspensions, by excommunications; though not so many as yours ‡: besides the particular separations of many from the acknowledged corruptions, in judgment, profession, practice. All these will be avowed, in spite of all contradiction. With what forehead then can you say, the whole Church of England hath not at all separated?

After all your shifts and idle tales of constitution, you have separated from this Church against the Lord; not, with the Lord, from it. If there be Christ with us, if the Spirit of God in us, if Assemblies, if Calling by the Word; whatsoever is, or is not else in the Constitution, there is whatsoever is required to the essence of a Church §. No corruption, either in gathering or continuance, can destroy the truth of being, but the grace of being well. If Christ have taken away his Word and Spirit, you have justly subduced: else, you have gone from him in us.

And, when you have all done, the Separatist's idol, Visible Constitution, will prove but an appendance of an external form, no part of the essence of a True Church; and, therefore, your Separation no less vain than the ground, than the authors.

Lastly, if our bounty should, which it cannot, grant, that our collection was at first deeply faulty, cannot the Ratihabition, as the Lawyers speak ‖, be drawn back? may not an after-allowance rectify and confirm it? In contracts (your own similitude) a following consent justifies an act done before consent ¶: and why not in the

* Bar. pp. 22 and 55. Fr. Johnson against M. H.
† Act. et Mon. passim.
‡ Troubles and Excom. p. 191. M. Spr. p. 1.
§ Fr. Jun. lib. de Eccles.
‖ *Ratihabitio retrahi, &c.*
¶ *Subsequens consensus Jacobi in Leam fecit eos conjuges.* d. 29. q. 1. S. *Sed objicitur.*

contract betwixt God and his Visible Church? Lo, he hath confirmed it by his gracious benedictions; and, as much as may be in silence, given us abundant proofs of his acceptation. That after-act, which makes your baptism lawful *, why can it not make our Church?

SECT. 7.

Constitution of a Church.

But, forasmuch as Constitution is the very state of Brownism, let us, I beseech you, enquire a little into the complexion of your Constitution. Whether physic, or law, or architecture have lent you it; sure I am, it is, in this use, Apocryphal. Never man used it thus scrupulously, till your times. Though, what need you the help of Fathers or Schools? New words must express new paradoxes. It is no treason, to coin terms.

What, then, is Constitution? Your Doctor can best tell us. "As the Constitution of a commonwealth or of a city, is a gathering or uniting of people together into a civil polity: so," saith he †, "the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Israel, and of the City of God, the New Jerusalem, is a gathering and uniting of people into a divine polity. The form of which polity, is Order: which order is requisite in all actions and administrations of the Church, as the Apostle sheweth; and specially in the Constitution thereof: so that, next unto faith in God, it is to be esteemed most necessary for all holy societies. Hence Paul rejoiced in the Colossians' Order and Faith; Col. ii. 5. To this Constitution, therefore, belong a people, as the matter; secondly, a calling, or gathering together, as the form, whereof the Church consisteth. The Constitution of the Church of England is false in both."

Why so? Have we not a people? Are not those people called together? To prevent this, you say our Constitution is false, not none. Why false? Because those people have neither Faith nor Order.

Faith, the First Part of Constitution.

For Faith, first. Who are you, that dare thus boldly break into the closets of God, the hearts of men ‡; and condemn them to want that, which cannot be seen by any but divine eyes? How dare you intrude thus into the Throne of your Maker?

Consider, and confer seriously. What Faith is it, that is thus ne-

* Barrow against Gyff. † H. Ainsworth. Counterp. p. 170.

‡ Tertul. de Præscript. *Tu, ut homo extrinsecus unumquemque nosti, putas quod vides, vides autem quousque oculos habes: sed oculi Domini sunt alti: homo in faciem, Deus in præcordia, contemplatur.*

cessarily required to each member in this Constitution? Your own Doctor shall define it*: "Faith, required to the receiving in of members, is the knowledge of the doctrine of salvation by Christ; 1 Cor. xii. 9. Gal. iii. 2."

Now I beseech you, in the fear of God, lay by awhile all unchristian prejudice; and peremptory verdicts of those souls, which cost Christ as much blood as your own: and tell me ingenuously, whether you dare say, that, not only your Christian brethren with whom you lately conversed, but even your forefathers which lived under Queen Elizabeth's first confused Reformation, knew not the doctrine of salvation by Christ.

If you say they did not, your rash judgment shall be punished fearfully, by him, whose office you usurp. As you look to answer before him, that would *not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoaking flax*, presume not thus, above men and angels.

If they did, then had they sufficient claim both to true Constitution and Church.

"But this faith must be testified by obedience:"—So it was. If you think not so, yours is not testified by love. Both were weak: both were true. Weakness, in any grace or work, takes not away truth. Their sins of ignorance could no more disannul God's covenant with them, than multiplicity of wives with the Patriarchs.

SECT. 8.

Order, the Second Part of Constitution, how far requisite, and whether hindered by Constraint.

WHAT wanted they, then? Nothing but Order: and not all Order; but yours.

Order, a thing requisite and excellent; but let the world judge whether essential.

Consider now, I beseech you in the bowels of Christ Jesus, whether this be a matter for which heaven and earth should be mixed: whether, for want of your Order, all the world must be put out of all order, and the Church out of life and being.

Nothing, say we, can be more disorderly, than the confusion of your Democracy; or popular state, if not Anarchy: where all, in a sort, ordain and excommunicate. We condemn you not, for no true members of the Church. What can be more orderless, by your own confessions†, than the Trineune Church at Amsterdam? which yet you grant but faulty. If there be disproportion and dislocation of some parts, is it no true human body? Will you

* Principles and Inferences concerning the Visible Church. Anno 1607. p. 13.

† D. Allis. against the Descript.—Confess. of the Brownists.—Brown, State of True Christians.—Enquiry into M. White.

rise from the feast, unless the dishes be set on in your own fashion? Is it no city, if there be mud-walls half broken, low cottages unequally built, no state-house?

But your order hath more essence than you can express; and is the same, which politicians, in their trade, call τάξιν τῆς πόλεως, an incorporating into one common civil body, by a voluntary union, and that under a lawful government *. Our Church wants both: wherein there is both constraint, and false office:—

Take your own resemblance, and your own asking. Say, that some tyrant, as Basilius of Russia, shall forcibly compel a certain number of subjects into Moscow; and shall hold them in, by an awful garrison, forcing them to new laws and magistrates, perhaps hard and bloody. They yield; and, making the best of all, live together in a cheerful communion, with due commerce, loving conversation, submissive execution of the enjoined laws. In such case, whether is Moscow a true city, or not?

Since your Doctor cites Aristotle, let it not irk him to learn of that philosopher, who can teach him †, that, when Clisthenes had driven out the tyrants from Athens, and set up a new government, and received many strangers and bondmen into the Tribes, it was doubted, not which of them were citizens, but whether they were made citizens unjustly. If you should find a company of true Christians in Utmost India ‡, would you stand upon terms, and enquire how they became so? While they have what is necessary for that heavenly profession, what need your curiosity trouble itself with the means?

SECT. 9.

Constraint requisite.

You see, then, what an idle plea Constraint is in the constitution of a city, the ground of all your exception.

"But it is otherwise in God's city, the Church:"—

Why then doth his doctorship parallel these two? And why may not even constraint itself have place, in the lawful constitution or reformation of a Church? Did not Manasseh, after his coming home to God, charge and command *Judah to serve the Lord God of Israel?* 2 Chr. xxxiii. 16. Did not worthy Josiah, when he had made a covenant before the Lord, cause *all, that were found in Jerusalem and Benjamin, to stand to it;* and compelled *all, that were found in Israel, to serve the Lord their God?* 2 Chr. xxxiv. 32, 33. What have Queen Elizabeth or King James done more? or what other? Did not Asa, upon Oded's prophecy, gather both *Judah*

* Ans. ibid. Arist. Pol. 3. cap. 1. † Arist. Pol. 3. c. 1.

‡ *Edesius et Frumentius pueri, à Meropio Tyrio philosopho in Indiam deportati, postea ibi Christianam religionem plantárunt.* Ruffin. l. i. c. 9. *Femina inter Iberos.*

and Benjamin, and all the strangers from Ephraim, Manasseh, and Simeon, and enact with them, *that whosoever would not seek the Lord God should be slain?* 2 Chr. xv. 9, 12, 13.

What means this perverseness? You, that teach * we may not stay princes' leisure to reform, will you not allow princes to urge others to reform? What crime is this, that men were not suffered to be open idolaters; that they were forced to yield submission to God's ordinances? Even your own teach †, that magistrates may compel Infidels to hear the doctrine of the Church; and Papists, you say elsewhere ‡, though too roughly, are Infidels.

But you say, "Not to be members of the Church: God's people are of the willing sort:"—True, neither did they compel them to this. They were before entered into the Visible Church, by true Baptism, though miserably corrupted. They were not now initiated, but purged. Your subtle Doctor can tell us, from Bernard §, that "Faith is to be persuaded, not to be compelled:" yet, let him remember, that the guests must be compelled to come in, though not to eat when they are come ‖: compelled, not by persuasions, for these were the first invitations; therefore by further means: though this conceit hath no place with us, where men were urged, not to receive a new faith, but to perform the old; to abandon that wicked idolatry which had defiled them, and to entertain but that truth which the very power of their Baptism challenged at their hand ¶.

But this was the old song of the Donatists: "Far be it from our conscience, to compel any man to the faith." If God did not draw us; and, by a sweet violence bend our wills to his, when should we follow him? Either you have not read, or not cared for the practice of the Ancient Church; and Augustin's resolution concerning the sharp penalties imposed upon the Donatists (would God none of your kindred) in his time; with his excellent defences of these proceedings **.

* Barr. against Gyff. Brown, Reformation without Tarrying.

† Greenwood, Conference with Cooper. Brown, Reformation without Tarrying. Conference with Doctor And. M. Hutch.

‡ Conference with Doctor Andr. Reformation without Tarrying.

§ Ber. *Fides suadenda, non cogenda.* Counterpoison.

‖ *Dixit Paterfamilias servis, Quoscunque inveneritis, cogite intrare, &c.* Aug. Epist. 48.

¶ Pless. de Eccles. c. 10.

** Aug. *Quòd si cogi per legem aliquem vel ad bona licuisset, vos ipsi miseri à nobis ad fidem purissimam cogi debuistis: sed absit à nostrâ conscientiâ, ut ad fidem nostram aliquem cogamus.* Aug. Epist. 48. & 68. *Qui phreneticum ligat, et qui letharg. excitat, ambobus molestus ambos amat.* Ibid. *Clamant, Neminem ad unitatem cogendum: quid hoc aliud, quàm quod de vobis quidam, Quod volumus sanctum est?*

SECT. 10.

Constitution of the Church of England.

But, tell us then, what should have been done?

"The Gospel should have been every where preached. All converts should have been singled out, and have given a voluntary and particular confession of their faith and repentance*."

I answer you: The Gospel was long and worthily preached, in the days of King Edward; enough to yield, both Martyrs to the stake, and Professors to the succeeding times. Were their holy sermons, their learned writings, and their precious blood (which was no less vocal) of no force? Afterwards, in the beginning of famous Queen Elizabeth's reparation, what confluence was there of zealous Confessors returning now from their late exile! How painfully and divinely did they labour in this vineyard of God! How did they, with their many holy partners which had shrouded themselves during that storm of persecution in a dangerous secrecy, spread themselves over this land; and each-where drew flocks of hearers to them, and with them? Is all this nothing to their ungrateful posterity? If you murmur that there were no more, take heed lest you forget there were so many: for us, we do seriously bless God for these, and triumph in them.

All this premised, now comes a Christian Edict from the State, that every man shall yield obedience to this truth, wherein they had been thus instructed. It was performed by the most, whose submission, what was it but an actual profession of their faith and repentance? And, since such was their face, who dares judge of their hearts? More than this, if ever can be shewed absolutely necessary in such a state of the Church to the very Constitution and repaired Being thereof, I do here vow never to take the Church of England for my Mother.

We know, and grieve to see, how scornfully your whole sect, and amongst the rest your resolute Doctor†, turns over these gracious entrances and proceedings of these two royal and blessed Reformers.

And whom should he find to raise his scoffs upon, but that saint-like historian, M. Fox?

"Now," says M. Fox‡, "a new face of things began to appear; as it were in a stage, new players coming in, the old thrust out."

"Now," saith your Doctor's comment §, "new Bishops came in; as players upon the old stage of the Popish Church;" as if the

* Barrow and Greenw. passim.
† H. Ainsworth. Counterp. ‡ Act. & Monum. Edit. 5. p. 1180.
§ Counterp. 226.

Church were no whit altered, but the men. Shall we say this is too much malice, or too little wit and conscience?

Even in the Lord Protector's days, that holy man reports, that, after the Scriptures restored and Masses abolished, greater things followed these softer beginnings, in the reformation of the Churches. Learned and godly Divines * were called for from foreign parts: a separation was made (though not so much willing, as wilful) of open and manifest adversaries from professors, whether true or dissembled. Commissioners were appointed to visit every several Diocese. Every Bench of them had several godly and learned preachers, to instruct the people in the truth, and to dissuade them from idolatry and superstition: the Pope's Supremacy not thrust, but taught down: all Will-Worship whatsoever, oppugned by public sermons: Images destroyed; Pilgrimages forbidden; the Sacraments enjoined to be reverently and holily ministered; Ecclesiastical Persons reformed in life, in doctrine; Processions laid down; Presence and Attendance upon God's Word commanded; the holy expending of Sabbath-days appointed; due Preparation to God's Table called for; set times of teaching enjoined to Bishops and other Ministers; all Shrines and Monuments of Idolatry required to be utterly taken from public and private houses. All this, before his Parliament. By that, all bloody laws † against God's truth were repealed, zealous preachers encouraged; so as, saith that worthy historian ‡, God was much glorified, and the people in many places greatly edified.

What need I go further than this first year? Hear this, and be ashamed; and assure yourselves, that no man can ever read those holy Monuments of the Church, but must needs spit at your Separation.

After that sweet and hopeful Prince, what his renowned sister, Queen Elizabeth, did, the present times do speak; and the future shall speak, when all these murmurers shall sleep in the dust. The public disputations, zealous preachings, restorations of banished religion and men, extirpations of idolatry, Christian laws, wise and holy proceedings, and renewed covenants with God, are still fresh in the memories of some, and in the ears of all: so as all the world will justly say, you have lost shame, with truth, in denying it.

Yea, to fetch the matter yet further: if the reader shall look back to the days of their puissant father, King Henry the Eighth §, he cannot but acknowledge, especially during the time of Queen Ann and before those Six Bloody Articles, a true face of a Church, though overspread with some morphew of corruptions; and some commendable forwardness of reformation: for both the Pope's Supremacy was abrogated, the true doctrine of Justification commonly taught, confidence in Saints untaught, the vanity of

* P. Martyr, P. Fagius, Bucer. &c. † Six Articles. 1547. ‡ Page 1182. col. 2. 60.

§ Act. & Monum. pp. 999 and 1000.

Pardons declared, Worship of Images and Pilgrimages forbidden, learned and godly Ministers required, their absences and misdemeanours inhibited, the Scriptures translated, publicly and privately enjoined to be read and received, the Word of God commanded to be sincerely and carefully preached. And, to all this, holy Master Fox addeth *, for my conclusion, such a vigilant care was then in the King and his Council, how by all ways and means to redress religion; to reform errors; to correct corrupt customs; to help ignorance; and to reduce the misleadings of Christ's flock, drowned in blind Popery, superstitious customs, and idolatry, to some better form of reformation: whereunto he provided not only these Articles, Precepts, Injunctions above specified, to inform the rude people; but also procured the Bishops to help forward the same cause of decayed doctrine, with their diligent preaching, and teaching of the people.

Go now, and say, that suddenly, in one day, by Queen Elizabeth's trumpet, or by the sound of a bell, in the name of Antichrist, all were called to the Church. Go, say with your Patriarch, that we erect religions, by proclamations and parliaments †.

Upon these premises I dare conclude, and doubt not to maintain against all Separatists in the world, that England, to go no higher, had, in the days of King Henry the Eighth, a True Visible Church of God: and so, by consequent, their succeeding seed was, by true Baptism, justly admitted into the bosom thereof; and, therefore, that, even of them, without any further profession, God's Church was truly constituted.

If you shall say, that the following idolatry of some of them, in Queen Mary's days, excluded them: consider, how hard it will be to prove, that God's covenant with any people is presently disannulled by the sins of the most, whether of ignorance or weakness; and, if they had herein renounced God, yet that God also mutually renounced them.

To shut up your Constitution, then, there is no remedy: either you must go forward to Anabaptism, or come back to us. All your Rabbins cannot answer that charge of your rebaptized brother ‡: If we be a True Church, you must return: if we be not (as a False Church is no Church of God) you must rebaptize. If our Baptism be good, than is our Constitution good.

Thus your own principles teach §. The outward part of the True Visible Church is a vow, promise, oath, or covenant betwixt God and the Saints. Now, I ask, Is this made by us in baptism, or no? If it be, then we have by your confession (forsomuch as is outwardly required) a True Visible Church: so your Separation is unjust. If it be not, then you must rebaptize: for the first Bap-

* Act. & Monum. Edit. 5. p. 1002.

† Barr. against Gyff.—Conference with Sperin. and M. Egerton.—Greenw. and Bar. Arg. to Master Cartw. Master Travers, Master Chark.—Brown, Reformation without Tarrying.

‡ M. Smith against R. Clifton. § Princip. and Infer. p. 11.

tism is a nullity; and, if ours be not, you were never thereby as yet entered into any Visible Church.

SECT. 11.

The Answerer's Title.

Sep.—" To the title of a Ringleader, wherewith it pleaseth this Pistler to style me, I answer, that, if the thing I have done be good, it is good and commendable to have been forward in it; if it be evil, let it be reproved by the light of God's Word: and that God, to whom I have done that I have done, will, I doubt not, give me both to see and to heal mine error by speedy repentance. If I have fled away on foot, I shall return on horseback. But, as I durst never set foot into this way, but upon a most sound and unresistible conviction of conscience by the Word of God, as I was persuaded; so must my retiring be wrought by more solid reasons from the same Word, than are to be found in a thousand such pretty pamphlets and formal flourishes as this is."

As for the title of Ringleader, wherewith I styled this pamphleteer; if I have given him too much honour in his sect, I am sorry. Perhaps, I should have put him (pardon a homely, but, in this sense, not unusual word) in the tail of this train. Perhaps, I should have endorsed my Letter " To M. Smith, and his Shadow." So I perceive he was.

Whatsoever, whether he lead or follow, God meets with him.

If he lead: *Behold, I will come against them that prophesy false dreams, saith the Lord, and do tell them, and cause my people to err by their lies*, Jer. xxiii. 32.

If he come behind: *Thou shalt not follow a multitude in evil*, saith God.

If either, or both, or neither; if he will go alone: *Woe unto the foolish prophets, saith the Lord, which follow their own spirits, and have seen nothing;* Ezek. xiii. 3.

Howsoever, your evil shall be reproved by the light of God's Word. Your conjunction, I cannot promise; your reproof, I dare. If, thereupon, you shall find grace to see and heal your errors, we should, with all brotherly humbleness, attend on foot upon your return on horseback: but, if the sway of your mis-resolved conscience be heady and unresistible, and your retiring hopeless; these not solid reasons, these pretty pamphlets, these formal flourishes shall one day be fearful and material evidences against you, before that Awful Judge, which hath already said, that *Judgments are prepared for the scorners, and stripes for the back of fools;* Prov. xix. 29.

SECT. 12.

The Apostacy of the Church of England.

Sep.—"Your pitying of us and sorrowing for us, especially for the wrong done by us, were in you commendable affections, if by us justly occasioned: but, if your Church be deeply drenched in apostacy, and you cry, 'Peace, Peace,' when sudden and certain desolation is at hand, it is you that do wrong, though you make the complaint: and so, being cruel towards yourselves and your own whom you flatter, you cannot be truly pitiful towards others whom you bewail."

I PROFESSED to bestow pity and sorrow upon you and your wrong: you entertain both harshly, and with a churlish repulse. What should a man do with such dispositions? Let him stroke them on the back; they snarl at him, and shew their teeth: let him shew them a cudgel; they fly in his face.

You allow not our actions, and return our wrong. Ours is both the injury and complaint:—How can this be? You are the agents: we sit still, and suffer in this rent.

Yet, since the cause makes the schism, let us enquire, not whose the action is, but whose the desert.

Our Church is deep drenched in Apostacy; and we cry, "Peace, peace:"—

No less than a whole Church at once; and that, not sprinkled, or wetshod, but drenched in apostacy! What, did we fall off from you, or you from us? Tell me, were we ever the True Church of God? and were we then yours? We cannot fall, unless we once stood. Was your Church before this apostacy? shew us your ancestors in opinion: name me but one, that ever taught as you do, and I vow to separate. Was it not? Then we fell not from you: every apostacy of a Church must needs be from the True Church. A True Church, and not yours? and yet can there be but one true. See now, whether, in branding us with apostacy, you have not proved yours to be no True Church.

Still I am ignorant. Queen Mary's days, you say *, had a True Church, which separated from Popery, chose them Ministers, served God holily: from thence was our apostacy:—

But, were not the same also, for the most part, Christians in King Edward's days? Did they then, in that confused allowance of the Gospel, separate? Or, I pray you, were Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and the rest, parts of that Church, or no? Was there any other Ordination of Ministers than from them? Reject these; and all the world will hiss at you: receive them; and where is our

* A Treatise of the Ministry of England, against M. H. p. 125

apostacy? What Antichristianism have we, whereof these were freed?

But you leap back, if I urge you far, from hence to the Apostles' times, to fetch our once True Church from far, that it might be dear. You shall not carve for us. We like not these bold overleaps of so many centuries. I speak boldly: you dare not stand to the trial of any Church, since theirs.

Now I hear your Doctor say *, "This challenge savours of Rome. Antiquity is with you: a Popish plea:"—

We have willingly taken up our adversaries, at this (by pretence, their own) weapon: you debar it, in the conscience of your own novel singularity. Yet your Pastor can be content to make use of Tertullian alone, against all Fathers †; That such things are justly to be charged with vanity, as are done without any precept, either of the Lord or of the Apostles: and, The Apostles did faithfully deliver to the nations the Discipline they received of Christ; which we must believe to be the tumultuary Discipline of the refined houseful at Amsterdam. What! all, in all ages and places, till now, Apostates? Say, if you can, that those famous Churches, wherein Cyprian, Athanasius, Ambrose, Jerome, Austin, Chrysostom, and the rest of those blessed lights lived, were less deep in this apostacy than ours ‡? O Apostatical Fathers, that separated not!

Yea, say, if you dare, that other Reformed Churches are not over the ankles with us in this apostacy: what hard news is this to us, when as your Oracle dare say not much less, of the Reformed Churches of Netherlands, with whom you live? Thus he writes §: "For not hearing of them in other congregations in these countries; this I answer, That, seeing, by the mercy of God, we have seen and forsaken the corruptions, yet remaining in the public ministration and condition of these Churches, if they be all like to these of this city; we cannot therefore partake with them, in such case, without declining and apostacy from the truth, which we have ourselves already received and professed." See here, to partake with them in God's service is Apostacy. If so in the accessaries, alas, what crime is in the principal? It were but apostacy, to hear an English sermon; a Dutch is no less ||. Woe is you, that you dwell still in Meshech! Good men! it were not more happy for you than the Church, that you were well in heaven.

No less than Apostacy? Let no reader be appalled at so fearful a word: this is one of the terms of art, familiar to this way. Find but any one page of a Dutch printed volume without Apostacy,

* H. Ainsworth, in his Fore-speech to his Counterpoison.

† Enqu. into Wh. Tertul. l. de Orat. Tertul. l. de Præscript. So, de Virginib. Veland. "That no continuance of time can prejudice truth."

‡ *Si me reprehendas errantem, patere me, quæso, errare cum talibus.* Aug. Hier.

§ Fr. Johnson, in his Answ. to T. Wh. p. 26.

|| Ans. against Brough. p. 17. "These Dutch Churches offend, not only in practical disorders, but in their constitution, government, worship, &c."

Excommunication, Commingling, Constitution, and suspect it not theirs. Heresy is not more frequent at Rome, than Apostacy at Amsterdam; nor Indulgences more ordinary there, than here Excommunications.

Common use makes terrible things easy. Their own Master Sl. for holding with the Dutch Baptism and Read-Prayers, is acknowledged to be cast out for an apostate *: yea, their Doctor, Master Ainsworth, is noted with this mark from themselves.

There is much latitude, as happy is, in their Apostacy: for, when Stanshal, Mercer, and Jacob Johnson were to be chosen officers in their Church, and exception was taken by some at their Apostacy, answer was made †, It was not such Apostacy as debarred them from office: it was but a slip.

John Mark (whether, as Isychius and Theophylact think, the blessed Evangelist, or some other holy Minister) is, by the whole parlour at Amsterdam, branded ‡ with this same apostacy; who departed indeed, but from Paul in his journey, not from Christ in his faith: and therefore his ἀποστάντα is expounded § by μὴ συνελθόντα; Acts xv. 38. Why do we think much, to drink of an Evangelist's cup?

Yet, let this ignorant Epistler teach his censorious Answerer one point of his own (that is the Separatist's) skill: and tell him, that he objects two crimes to one poor Church, which are incompatible; Want of Constitution, and Apostacy. Thus writes your Master of us ‖: "If it were admitted, which can never be proved, that they sometimes had been true established Churches." Lo here, we never had true Constitution: therefore we are not capable of Apostacy. If we once had it, and so were true Churches, hear what your Pastor saith ¶: "As Christ giveth to all true Churches their being, so we must leave it unto him to take it away, when and as he pleaseth." And therefore, since he hath not removed his candlestick, nor taken away his kingdom; in spite of all objected apostacies, we still continue so: and, by consequent, your Separation, upon this ground, is most unjust **.

An Apostate had wont to be the fearful surname of damned Julian. Tortus was an easy accuser, to whom yet, we may say with Elihu ††, *Num dicis regi, Apostata?* Behold now, so many apostates as men. Holy Cyprian ‡‡ describes him, by forsaking Christ's co-

* Troubles and Excom. at Amsterdam, p. 10.

† Brown charged with it by Bar. Letter to Master Egerton.

‡ G. Johnson. ibid. p. 194.

§ Fr. Johns. Enqu. Acts xv. 38. "Departing, that is, not going with them."

‖ Ba Pref. to the Separation Defended.

¶ In his Observations, p. 251. "We do not there condemn the Parish-assemblies, as separated from Christ; but prove them not as yet gathered to Christ." So, Conf. with Sperin. p. 9. Fr. Johnson's Enquiry, p. 36.

** H. Bar. Observation. 242. "No faults disannul the being of a Church, until contempt of God's Word be added thereunto, after due conviction. The faults and errors of a Church may be severely reproved and convinced, according to the quality thereof; and yet the Church not be condemned." N. B.

†† Job xiv. 19. Vulg. Edit.

‡‡ Cyp. Epist. ad Cornel.

lours, and taking up arms for Gentilism in life, or Heresy in judgment. And Augustin * tells us, "There cannot be a greater sin than Apostacy;" making, elsewhere, this sinner worse than the Infidel. And the old Vulgate can give no worse term to בליעל, where he finds it †; yea, to המורדים ‡, Rebels themselves.

What doth this brand to a Church, not Christian only, though you deny it, but famous? of whom is truly verified, after all your spleen, that, which the Spirit writes to the Angel of Ephesus; *Laborasti et non Defecisti;* Rev. ii. 3. *Thou hast laboured, and not given in.* Say, if you can, what Article of the Christian and Apostolic Faith have we renounced? What Heresy maintain we? Wherein have we run from the tents of Christ? What hold we, that may not stand with life in Christ and salvation? We challenge all men and devils, in this point, for our innocence. Distinguish, for stark shame, of so foul a word; or, which is better, eat it whole: and let not this blemish be left upon your soul and name, in the records of God and the world §; That you once said of a Church, too good for yours, "Drenched in Apostacy."

If we cry Peace, while you cry Apostacy; surely we flatter, while you rail. Betwixt these two dangerous extremes, we know a wholesome mean ‖: so to approve, that we foster not security: so to censure, that we neither revile, nor separate: and, in one word, to do that, which your Pastor could exhort ¶ the Separators from your Separation; for even this Schism hath Schisms: "If we should mislike, yet to rest in our differences of judgment, and notwithstanding peaceably to continue with the Church."

Had you taken this course, you should neither have needed to expect our pity, nor to complain of our cruelty. Surely, whether our love be cruel or not, your hatred is: whereof, take heed lest you hear from old Jacob, *Cursed be their wrath, for it was fierce; and their rage, for it was cruel;* Gen. xlix. 7.

Sep.—"But, I will not discourage you in this affection, lest we find few in the same fault: the most, instead of pity and compassion, affording us nothing but fury and indignation."

How can you expect compassion, when you breathe fire, and write gall ** ? Never mention the fury of others' indignation, till the venomous and desperate writings of Barrow and Greenwood be either worn out with time; or, by the thunderbolts of your (not

* *Non est majus peccatum, quàm apostatare à Deo.* Aug. in Psal. xviii.

† Prov. vi. 12. Job xxxiv. 18. ‡ Ezek. ii. 3.

§ Tertul. de Pat. *Si hominibus placetur, Dominus offenditur: si, verò, illud cuntimur et laboramus ut possimus Deo placere, et convitia et maledicta debemus humana contemnere.*

‖ Confessed by M. John. loc. seq.

¶ Enquir. of Th. White, p. 65.

** Cypr. de Simplic. Præl. *Quid facit in corde Christiano luporum feritas et canum rabies?* August. Confess. l. ix. c. 9. *Qualia solet eructare turgens indigesta discordia.*

rare) censures be struck down to hell, whence their maliciousness came. I forbear to recapitulate: how much rather would I help to bury, than to revive such unchristian exprobrations!

SECT. 13.

The Separatists' Acknowledgments of the Graces of the Church of England.

Sep.—"The first action laid against us, is of unnaturalness and ingratitude towards our Mother the Church of England, for our causeless Separation from her. To which unjust accusation and trivial querimony, our most just defence hath been, and is, that, to our knowledge, we have done her no wrong. We do, freely and with all thankfulness, acknowledge every good thing she hath, and which ourselves have there received."

INGRATITUDE and unnaturalness to your Mother is objected, in that you fly from her; yea, now, woe is me! that you spit in her face, and mark her for a Harlot.

Would God the accusation were as far from being just, as from being trivial! Yet, perhaps, you intend it not in the lightness of this charge, but the commonness: you have caused me to smart for my charity, yet I forbear it not.

What is your defence? That you have done her no wrong, to your knowledge. Modestly spoken, but doubtfully: we know your wrong, but we know not your knowledge. It is well, if your wrong be not wilful: an ignorant wrong is both in more hope of amends, and of mercy.

But is not this caution added, rather for that you think no hard measure can possibly be a wrong to so vile a Church? I ask, and would be denied. No, you do, freely and with all thankfulness, acknowledge every good thing she hath. Whatsoever you do to us, I will not any more, in favour of you, wilfully wrong myself: you have bidden me now to take you as a compleat Separatist; and speak this, for yourself and yours.

Let the reader now judge, whether the wrong of your sect be wilful; and acknowledgment of our good, free and thankful.

Your first false-named Martyr shall give the first witness of the titles of our Church. "Who," saith he *, "that were not drunk and intoxicate with the Whore's Cup, could affirm this confuse Babel, these cages of unclean birds, these prisons of foul and hateful spirits, to be the Spouse of Christ?" And, elsewhere †, he calls the people of our Church, "Goats and Swine." Is this any wrong, to your knowledge? The same author: "They have not,"

* H. Barr. Præf. to the Separation Defended.
† Causes of Separ. Def. p. 12. Confer. with Doctor Andr.

saith he*, "in their Churches any one thing in their practice and proceedings, not one pin, nail, or hook according to the true pattern." Do you not now freely and thankfully acknowledge our Church's good things? What is more ordinary with him, and his brother in evil J. Greenwood, than to call † our worthy Ministers "Baal's Priests," "Cainites," "the marked servants of Antichrist," "Sellers of the Whore's wares," "Worshippers of the Beast?" Is this yet any wrong, to your knowledge?

Pastor Johnson sticks not to say ‡, that "the Ministry and Worship of the Church of England were taken out of the Whore's Cup;" and plainly styles our Church (as which of you do not?) "Daughter of the great Babylon, that Mother of Whoredoms and Abominations of the Earth:" yet more §; "That Hierarchy, Worship, Constitution, and Government, which they profess and practise, being directly Antichristian, do utterly destroy true Christianity; so as their people and Churches cannot, in that estate, be judged true Christians." Do you not now freely and thankfully acknowledge our good things? What can any devil of hell say worse against us, than this, that we are no Christians? Or, what good can there be in us, if no true Christianity? If we denied every Article of the Christian Creed; if we were Mahometans, as your good Pastor sticks not to compare us ‖; if the most damned Heretics under heaven; what could he say, but no Christians?

Your Teacher and Pastor, which is a wonder, agree: for your Doctor Ainsworth makes ¶ this one head of his poisonous Counterpoison, That Christ is not the Head, Mediator, Prophet, Priest, King of the Church of England: you, their Disciple, are not yet promoted to this height of immodesty; yet what are your good things? Even to you, we are Apostates, Traitors, Rebels, Babylonish. This is well for a learner. Hereafter, if you will hear me, keep our good things to yourself, and report our evil.

Yea, that your uncharitableness may be, above all examples, monstrous, you do not only deny us any interest in the Church of Christ, but exclude us, what you may, from all hope and possibility of attaining the honour of Christendom: for, when a godly Minister protested to Master Barrow the truth of his Ministry, upon the approbation also of his people, he received this answer from him **: "Though you had such allowance, it could nothing avail, but rather overthrow your Ministry, they being as yet ungathered to Christ; and therefore neither may not in this estate chuse them a Minister, nor any exercise a Ministry unto them, without heinous sacrilege." O desperate judgment! we neither are Christians, nor can be! No Christianity, without Faith: no Faith, without the Ministry of the Word: no Word to us, without Sacri-

* Pref. to Separ. Def.
† Gyff. refuted touch. Donat. Observat. of M. H. Bar. p. 239.
‡ Fr. Johns. Reas. 9, against M. Jac. p. 74.
§ Johnson against M. Jac. Excep. 3. Nota Benè.
‖ Ibid. ¶ Counterpois. pp. 127 and 131.
** Barr. Conference with M. Sperin. as Barr. himself hath written it. p. 9.

lege. What are we, that the very offer of bringing us to God should be criminal?

These are your acknowledgments of our good; who have learned of your Pastor to kiss and kill, all at once; to bless and curse, with one breath *. Your mercies are cruel.

SECT. 14.

The Unnaturalness of some principal Separatists.

But, who can wonder at your unnaturalness to the Church, that hears what measure you mete to your own?

Error is commonly joined with cruelty.

The outrageous demeanors of the Circumcelliones in Augustin's time, and more than barbarous tyranny of the Arians before him, are well known by all histories †, and not enough by any: God forbid, that I should compare you to these.

Hear, rather, of Novatus, the father of a not-unlike sect: of whom Cyprian reports ‡, that he would neither bestow bread on his father alive, nor burial on him dead, but suffered him both to starve and stink in the street; and, for his wife, lest he should be merciful to any, he spurned her with his heel, and slew his own child in her body.

What need I seek so far? I grieve to think and report, that your own Pastor hath parallelled this cruelty. His own brother, which is no less savage, though one of your sect is the public accuser and condemner of him in this crime to all the world §: who, after a pitiful relation of his eight years' quarrels with him, and four years' excommunication, in his Epistle before a large Volume, to this purpose, writes thus ‖. "After all these, hath not our kind, careful, and old father come a long journey to make peace? Hath he not laboured with you, the Elders, and the Church, to bring you to peace? Hath he not used the help and counsel of the Reformed Churches herein? Yet will you not be reclaimed; but, adding that sin above all, have also monstrously excommunicated your father, the peace-seeker, &c." And, straight; "How oft desired he you, as if he had been the son and you the father, even with tears, that you would repent! In a word, how came he and I to your door, shewing you that it might be, upon his departing, you should see his face no more! &c. Yet you forced him, by your

* Fr. Johns. Seven Reas. against Jac. p. 64. G. Johns. Pref. to the Pastor.

† Ruffin. lib. ii. Eccles. Hist. c. 3.—Aug. Ep. et Possid. in Vitâ Aug.—Euseb. Hist. Ec. *Damnis gravissimis et cædibus afficiebant, armati diversis telis.*—Socrat. l. ii. c. 22, and 30.

‡ Cyprian. l. ii. Ep. 8. *Novati pater in vico fame mortuus, nec postea ab illo sepultus.* Sic Optat. l. i. *Purpureus Donatista occidit sororis filios &c.*

§ G. Johns. Discourse of Troubles and Excommunications at Amsterdam: printed 1605. ‖ Ibid. p. 5.

ill dealing, still to leave upon you his curse, and all the curses written in God's book against unthankful and disobedient children." Thus far a brother concerning a brother, against father and brother. Other strangely-unkind usages of both, I would rather leave to the discovery of Master White *, and this miserable plaintiff †, who have written enough to make an enemy ashamed.

But whereupon was all this fearful broil in a pure Church? for nothing, but a little lace and whalebone in his wife's sleeve. The Trojan War could not be slandered with so weighty a beginning!

As for your Elder, Daniel Studly, whom your Pastor so much extolleth ‡, if Master White's apostacy may be your shift against his relation; let him speak, who should have been a Fellow-Elder with him, banished for your truth, though ejected by your censure. "Mark," saith G. Johnson of this Studly §, "how the Lord hath judged him, with unnaturalness to his own children; suffering them to lie at other men's feet, and hang on other men's hands; while he, his wife, and her daughter ‖ fared daintily, and went prankingly in apparel, even in this place of banishment."

It is no joy to me to blazon these, or your other sins ¶. Would God they were fewer, and less in us all! Only, it was fit the world should know, as, how undutiful you are to your Common Parent; so, that father, brother, children bear part with your Mother in these your cruelties.

SECT. 15.

What the Separatists think themselves beholden to the Church of England for.

If, then, such be the good things of our Church, what good can you acknowledge to have received from her? Nothing gives what it hath not **.

A Baptism, perhaps: "Alas, but no true Sacrament," you say: "yea, the seal of gracelessness and mischief." As little are you beholden to the Church, for that; as the Church to you, for your good acceptation. Why are you not rebaptized? You, that cannot abide a False Church, why do you content yourselves with a False Sacrament? especially since our Church, being not yet gathered to Christ, is no Church, and therefore her baptism a nullity ††.

What else do you owe to the liberality of this Step-dame? You are close: your Pastor is lavish for you both; who thus speaks ‡‡

* Discovery of Brownism. † Vid. G. Johnson's book.
‡ Enq. into Th. White's Discov. § Same Epist. p. 15. ‖ They say, *Filia Sponsæ.*
¶ *Mihi accusatio etiam vera contra fratrem displicet.* Hieron. adversus Ruffin.
** Bar. Exam. before the Archbishop and L. Anderson.—Brown, State of Christians, p. 39.—*Qui non habet quod det, quomodo det? vox Donat.* Opt. lib. 1.
†† Bar. suprà. ‡‡ Fr. John. against M. Jacob. p. 41. Exc. 2.

of himself, and you, and us: "I confess, that, while I was Minister in your Church of England, I stood in an antichristian estate; yet doubt I not, but even then, being of the elect of God, I was partaker, through faith, of the mercy of God in Christ to salvation: but, as for you," M. Jacob and his fellow-Christians, "while you thus remain, you cannot, in that estate, approve yourselves to have the promise of salvation." Behold here, the Church of England gave you but an antichristian estate: if God give secret mercy, what is that to her?

Sep.—"The superabundant grace of God, covering and passing by the manifold enormities in that Church, wherewith these good things are inseparably commingled, and wherein we also through ignorance and infirmity were enwrapped."

God's superabundant grace doth neither abate ought of her antichristianism, nor move you to follow him in covering and passing by the manifold enormities in our Church, wherewith those good things are inseparably commingled. Your own mouth shall condemn you. Doth God pass over our enormities, and do you stick, yea separate? Doth his grace cover them, and do you display them? Have you learned to be more just than your Maker? Or, if you be not above his justice, why are you against his mercy? God hath not disclaimed us, by your own confession: you have prevented him. If princes' leisures may not be stayed, in reforming; yet, shall not God's, in rejecting? Your ignorance enwrapped you in our errors: his Infinite Wisdom sees them, and yet his Infinite Mercy forbears them. So might you, at once, have seen, disliked, stayed. If you did not herein go contrary to the courses of our common God, how happy should both sides have been! yea, how should there be no sides! how should we be more inseparably commingled, than our good and evil!

Sep.—"But what then? should we still have continued in sin, that grace might have abounded? If God have caused a further truth, like a light in a dark place, to shine in our hearts, should we still have mingled that light with darkness, contrary to the Lord's own practice; Gen. i. 4. and express precept; 2 Cor. vi. 14?"

But should you have continued still in sin, that grace might have abounded? God forbid! You might have continued here without sin, save your own; and then grace would no less have abounded to you, than now your sin abounds in not continuing. What need you to surfeit of another man's trencher? Others' sins need no more to infect you, than your graces can sanctify them.

As for your further light, suspect it not of God: suspect it to be mere darkness: and, *If the light in you be darkness, how great is that darkness!* What! so true and glorious a light of God, and never seen till now! No Worlds, Times, Churches, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Fathers, Doctors, Christians, ever saw

this truth look forth, besides you, until you! External light was God's first creature; Gen. i. 2, 3: and shall this spiritual light, whereby all Churches should be discerned, come thus late? Mistrust, therefore, your eyes, and your light; and fear Isaiah's woe *, and the Jews' miserable disappointment: *We wait for light; but lo, it is darkness: for brightness; but we walk in obscurity;* Isaiah lix. 9.

SECT. 16.

The Motherhood of the Church of England, how far it obligeth us.

Sep.—" But the Church of England, say you, is our Mother; and so ought not to be avoided: but, say I, we must not so cleave to Holy Mother Church, as we neglect our Heavenly Father, and his commandments; which we know in that estate we could not but transgress, and that heinously, and against our consciences; not only in the want of many Christian Ordinances, to which we are most straitly bound, both by God's Word and our own necessities:"—

THE Church of England is your Mother †, to her small comfort: she hath borne you, and repented. Alas, you have given her cause to pour out Job's curses upon your birth-day, by your not only forsaking but cursing her.

Stand not upon her faults, which you shall never prove capital. Note only, the best parent might have brought forth a rebellious son to be stoned; Deut. xxi. 18—21. What then? Do we prefer duty to piety, and so plead for our Holy Mother Church, that we neglect our Heavenly Father; yea, offend him? See what you say: it must needs be a Holy Mother, that cannot be pleased without the displeasure of God! A good wife, that opposes such a Husband! A good son, that upbraids thus unjustly! Therefore is she a Church, your Mother, Holy, because she bred you to God, cleaves to him, obeys his commandments, and commands them. And, so far is she from this desperate contradiction, that she voweth not to hold you for her son, unless you honour God as a Father.

It is a wilful slander, that you could not but heinously transgress under her. I dare take it upon my soul, that all your transgression, which you should necessarily have incurred by her obedience, is nothing so heinous, as your uncharitableness in your censures and disobedience.

Conscience is a common plea, even to those you hate: we enquire not how strong it is, but how well informed: not whether it suggest this, but whereupon. To go against the conscience is sin; to follow a mis-informed conscience is sin also: if you do not the

* Isa. v. 20. *Woe to them, that put darkness for light.*

† *Mater Ecclesia, mater est etiam matris nostræ.* Aug. Epist. 38

first, we know you are faulty in the second. He, that is greater than the conscience, will not take this for an excuse.

But, wherein should have been this transgression; so unavoidable, heinous, against conscience? First, in the want of many Ordinances, to which we are most strictly bound, both by God's Word, and our own necessities:—

SECT. 17.

The want of pretended Ordinances of God, whether sinful to us; and whether they are to be set up without Princes.

CAN you think this hangs well together? You should here want many of God's Ordinances: Why should you want them? because you are not suffered to enjoy them. Who hinders it? superior powers.

Did ever man wilfully and heinously offend, for wanting of that, which he could not have? What hath conscience to do with that, which is out of our power *? Is necessity with you become a sin, and that heinous? David is driven to lurk in the wilderness, and forced to want the use of many Divine Ordinances: it was his sorrow, not his transgression: he complains of this, but doth he accuse himself of sin? Not to desire them, had been sin; no sin, to be debarred them. Well might this be Saul's sin; but not his. Have you not sins enough of your own, that you must needs borrow of others?

But I see your ground. You are bound to have these Ordinances; and therefore without princes, yea against them: so it is your transgression, to want them in spite of magistrates.

Gaudentius, the Donatist, taught † you this of old: and this is one of the Hebrew Songs, which M. Barrow sings ‡ to us in Babylon, That we care not to make Christ attend upon princes, and to be subject to their laws and government: and his predecessor, the root of your sect, tells us §, "In this sense, the Kingdom of Heaven must suffer violence, and that it comes not with observation: that men may say, 'Lo the Parliament,' or 'Lo the Bishop's decrees:'" and, in the same Treatise; "The Lord's Kingdom must wait on your policy, forsooth; and his Church must be framed to your Civil State, &c." Just as that Donatist of old, in Augustin ‖: *Quid vobis &c?* "What have you to do with worldly emperors?" and, as that other, in Optatus ¶. *Quid imperatori cum Ecclesiâ?*

* Ἀγαρ σωμ. λωβη μαινει &c. ἀλλα ψυχῆς μολυσμος. *Nemo per exteriorem violentiam corrumpitur, si interior innocentia custodiatur.* cap. 11. q. 3. *Custodi &c.*

† *Ad docendum populum Israeliticum, Omnipotens Deus Prophetis præconium dedit; non regibus imperavit.* Aug. l. ii. contra Gau. c. 11.

‡ Barr. Causes of Separat. Def. p. 6.

§ Brown, Reformation without Tarrying.

‖ Aug. contra Petilian. lib. ii. ¶ Optatus Milevit. lib. xxx.

"What hath the emperor to do with the Church?" Yea, your Martyr fears not to teach us *, that God's servants, being as yet private men, may and must together build his Church, though all the princes of the world should prohibit the same, upon pain of death.

Belike then, you should sin heinously, if you should not be rebels. The question is not, whether we should ask leave of Princes to be Christians; but whether, of Christian Princes we should ask leave to establish circumstances of Government.

God must be served, though we suffer: our blood is well bestowed upon our Maker; but in patience, not in violence.

Private profession is one thing: public reformation and injunction is another. Every man must do that, in the main: none, may do this; but they, of whom God says, *I have said, Ye are Gods.*

And, of them, there is difference betwixt Christian and Heathen Princes; if, at least, all princes were not to you Heathen: if these should have been altogether stayed for, religion had come late: if the other should not be stayed for, religion would soon be overlaid with confusion. Lastly, the body of religion is one thing; the skirts of outward government, another. That may not depend on men to be embraced; or, with loyalty, prosecuted: these, upon those general rules of Christ, both may, and do, and must. If you cut off but one lap of these, with David, (1 Sam. xxiv. 6.) you shall be touched. To deny this power to God's deputies on earth, what is it, but *Ye take too much upon you, Moses and Aaron: all the congregation is holy: wherefore lift ye yourselves above the congregation of the Lord?* Num. xvi. 3.

See, if herein you come not too near the walls of that Rome, which ye so abhor and accurse, in ascribing such power to the Church, none to Princes.

Let your Doctor tell you †, whether the best Israelites, in the times of Abijah, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Josiah, took upon them to reform without, or before, or against their princes; 2 Chr. xiii. xiv. xv. xxix. xxx. xxxiv. Yea, did Nehemiah himself without Artahshaht, though a Heathen King, set upon the walls of God's city? Or what did Zerubbabel and Jeshua, without Cyrus? Ezra ii. and iii. 2. In whose time Haggai and Zechariah prophesied indeed, but built not. And, when contrary Letters came from above, they laid by both trowels and swords; Ezra iv. 23, 24. They would be Jews still: they would not be rebels for God. Had those letters enjoined swines' flesh or idolatry, or forbidden the use of the Law, those, which now yielded, had suffered; and, at once, testified their obedience to authority, and piety to him that sits in the assembly of these earthen gods.

I urge no more. Perhaps you are more wise, or less mutinous: you might easily therefore purge your conscience from this sin, of wanting what you might not perforce enjoy.

* Barr. Second Examination before the Lord Archbishop and Lord Chief-Justice, compar. with his Reply to M. Gyff. Art. 5.

† Counterpois. p. 230.

Say, that your Church should employ you back to this our Babylon, for the calling out of more proselytes: you are intercepted, imprisoned: shall it be sin in you not to hear the prophecies at Amsterdam? The Clink is a lawful excuse. If your feet be bound, your conscience is not bound. In these negatives, outward force takes away both sin and blame, and alters them from the patient to the actor: so that now you see your strait bonds, if they were such, loosed by obedience, and overruling power.

SECT. 18.

The Bonds of God's Word unjustly pleaded by the Separatists.

But what bonds were these strait ones? God's Word, and your own necessity:—both strong and indissoluble.

Where God hath bidden, God forbid that we should care for the forbiddance of men! I reverence, from my soul (so doth our Church, their dear sister) those worthy foreign Churches, which have chosen and followed those forms of outward government, that are every way fittest for their own condition. It is enough for your sect to censure them. I touch nothing common to them with you.

While the world standeth, where will it ever be shewed out of the Sacred Book of God, that he hath charged, "Let there be perpetual Lay-Elders in every Congregation:" "Let every Assembly have a Pastor and Doctor, distinct in their charge and offices *:" "Let all Decisions, Excommunications, Ordinations, be performed by the whole multitude:" "Let private Christians, above the first turn, in extremity, agree to set over themselves a Pastor, chosen from amongst them, and receive him with prayer; and," unless that ceremony be turned to pomp and superstition, "by imposition of hands †:" "Let there be widdowers," which you call Relievers ‡, "appointed, every where, to the Church-Service:" "Let certain discreet and able men, which are not Ministers, be appointed to preach the Gospel, and whole truth of God to the people?"

All the learned Divines of other Churches are, in these, left, yea, in the most of them, censured by you. Hath God spoken these things to you, alone? Plead not revelations; and we fear you not.

* Aug. Epist. 58. *Pastores autem et Doctores quos maximè ut discernerem voluisti, eosdem puto esse sicut et tibi visum est; ut non alios Pastores, alios Doctores intelligeremus; sed ideo cùm prædixisset Pastores subjunxisse Doctores, ut intelligerent Pastores ad officium suum pertinere doctrinam.* Barr. against Gyff. inveighs, for this cause, against the Consistory of Geneva.—Fr. Johns. Complaints of the Dutch and Fr. Churches. Description of a Visible Church, cannot make a Distinct. in the Definition of their Offices.

† State of Christians. 119.

‡ Description of Visible Church. H. Clap. Epist. before his Treatise of Sin against the Holy Ghost. Brownists' Fourth Posit on.

Pardon so homely an example: as soon, and by the same illumination, shall G. Johnson prove to your Consistory the lace of the Pastor's wife's sleeve, or ring, or whalebones; or others' amongst you, as your Pastor confesseth *, knit-stockings, or cork-shoes forbidden flatly by Scriptures; as these commanded. We see the letter of the Scriptures, with you: you shall fetch blood of them with straining, ere you shall wring out this sense.

No, no, M. R., never make God your stale. Many of your ordinances came from no higher, than your own brain: others of them, though God acknowleges, yet he imposed not. Pretend what you will, these are but the cords of your own conceit; not bonds of Christian obedience.

SECT. 19.

The Necessity of their pretended Ordinances.

THE first of these, then, is easily untwisted. Your second is Necessity.

Than which, what can be stronger? what law or what remedy is against necessity! What we must have, we cannot want.

Oppose but the public necessity to yours; your necessity of having, to the public necessity of withholding: and let one of these necessities, like two nails, drive out another.

So they have done; and your own necessity, as the stronger, hath prevailed: for that other necessity might be eluded by flight. You have sought and found elsewhere, what the necessity of our laws denied, and the necessity of your conscience required.

Beware lest unjustly. Sin is as strong bond to a good heart, as impossibility †. Christians cannot do, what they ought not. Contrary to the laws of your prince and country, you have fled, not only from us, but from our communion. Either is disobedience no sin, or might you do this evil that good may come of it?

But what necessity is this? simple and absolute, or conditional? Is there no remedy, but you must needs have such Elders, Pastors, Doctors, Relievers; such offices, such executions? Can there be no Church ‡, no Christians, without them? What shall we say of the families of the Patriarchs, of the Jewish Congregations under the Law; yea, of Christ and his Apostles? Either deny them to have been Visible Churches, or shew us your distinct offices amongst them.

"But as yet," you say, "they were not:"—Therefore, God

* Troubles and Excommunications at Amsterdam.—Fr. Johns. in a Letter to M. Smith.

† *Nulla necessitas major est charitate.* Hier. Apol. ad Ruff.

‡ Fr. Jun. de Eccl. *Sed accidunt persæpe tempora, quibus aut nova Ecclesia generatur, aut altera pars interrumpitur (scilicet περιστάμενοι) et tamen Ecclesia esse non desinit, formâ nimirum essentiali adhuc permanente.*

hath had a True Church, thousands of years, without them: therefore, they are not of the essence of the Church.

You call me to the times since Christ. I demand then, was there not a worthy Church of God in Jerusalem, from the time of Christ's Ascension, till the election of the Seven Deacons? Those *hundred and twenty Disciples;* Acts i. 15. and *three thousand Converts;* Acts ii. 41. those continual troops, that flocked to the Apostles, were they no True Church? Let the Apostles and Evangelists be Pastors and Doctors: where were their Elders, Deacons, Relievers? Afterwards, when Deacons were ordained *, (Acts vii. beg.) yet what news is there of Elders, till Acts xi. 30? Yet that of Jerusalem was more forward than the rest.

We will not, as you are wont, argue from Scriptures, negatively. No proof, yet much probability, is in St. Paul's silence. He writes to Rome, Corinth, and other Churches †. Those his Divine Letters, in a sweet Christian civility, salute even ordinary Christians. And would he have utterly passed by all mention of these Church-Officers, amongst his so precise acknowledgment of lesser titles in others, if they had been ere this ordained? yet all these, more than True Churches, famous some of them, rich, forward, and exemplary. Only the Philippian Church is styled with Bishops and Deacons ‡; but no Elders, besides them.

The Churches of Christ since these, if at least you will grant that Christ had any Church till now, have continued, in a recorded succession, through many hundreds of years. Search the monuments of her histories: shew us where ever, in particular Congregations, all these your necessary offices, as you describe them, were either found or required.

It was, therefore, a new-no-necessity, that bound you to this course; or, if you would rather, a necessity of fallibility. If, with these, God may be well served, he may be well served, without them. This is not that *unum necessarium*, that Christ commends in Mary: you might have sat still, with less trouble, and more thanks.

SECT. 20.

The Enormities of the Church, in common.

Sep.—"But also in our most sinful subjection to many Antichristian Enormities, which we are bound to eschew as hell."

But, besides that we ought to have had somewhat, which we want; we have somewhat, which we should have wanted. Some? yea, many Antichristian Enormities:—

* Cyp. l. iii. ep. 9. *Meminisse Diaconi debent quoniam Apostolos (id est) Episcopos et præpositos Dominus elegit. Diaconos autem post ascensum Domini in Cœlos Apostoli sibi constituerunt Episcopatûs sui et Ecclesiæ ministros.*

† Rom. i. 7. 1 Cor. i. 2. 1 Thess. i. 1. Gal. iv. 15. ‡ Phil. i. 1

To say we are absolute, and neither want nor abound, were the voice of Laodicea, or Tyrus in the Prophet. Our Church, as she is true, so humble; and is as far from arrogating perfection, as acknowledging falsehood. If she have enormities, yet not so many; or, if many, not Antichristian.

Your Ham hath espied * ninety-one nakednesses in this his Mother, and glories to shew them. All his malice cannot shew one fundamental error: and, when the foul mouth of your false Martyr hath said all †, they are but some spots and blemishes; not the old running issues and incurable botches of Egypt. The particulars shall plead for themselves.

These you eschew as hell:—While you go on thus uncharitably, both alike! Do you hate these more, than Master Smith, and his faction, hates yours? His character shall be judge. So do we value your detestation, as you his. It were well for you, if you eschewed these enormities less, and hell more: your sinful subjection to these unchristian humours will prove more fearful, than to our antichristian enormities.

SECT. 21.

The Church of England is the Spouse of Christ.

Sep.—"She is our Mother. So may she be, and yet not the Lord's Wife: every mother of children is not a wife. *Ammi* and *Ruhamah* were bidden to plead with their mother, apostate Israel; and plead that she was not the Lord's Wife, nor he her Husband; Hos. ii. 1, 2."

SHE may be your Mother, you say, and not the Lord's Wife ‡:—

It is a good mother, that hath children, and no husband! Why did you not call her plain whore? Your old emblem is, "As is the Mother, so is the daughter." These are the modest circumlocutions of a good son, who cares not to prove himself a bastard, that his mother may be marked for a harlot. Be you a true *Lo-ammi;* but England shall never, I hope, prove an Apostate Israel. We have no calves, in our Dan and Bethel; none of Jeroboam's idolatry. We have still called God *Ishi*, and never burnt incense to Baalim; 1 Kings xii. 29. Hos. ii. 16, 13: it is your Synagogue, that hath fallen away from us; as Israel from Judah.

But these children were bidden to plead: God's command shields them from the note of ungracious: Abraham must sacrifice his son; and this son must condemn his mother:—

Shew us either our equal desert, or your equal warrant. Where

* Fr. Johns. against M. Jacob. † Bar. Gyff. Refuted, i. Transgress. p. 28.
‡ Cypr. de Simplic. Prælator. *Adulterari non potest Sponsa Christi: incorrupta est et pudica.*

hath God proclaimed our Church not his? By whose hand hath he published her divorce? You have shamed her womb; not she her bed; not God her demeanor.

Sep.—"And, though you forbid us a thousand times, yet must we plead: not to excuse our fault, but to justify our innocency: and that, not only nor so much in respect of ourselves, as of the truth; which, without sacrilege, we may not suffer to be condemned unheard. And, if you yet hear her not, rather blame yourselves, as deaf, than us, as dumb."

YOUR tongues are your own, who can forbid you?—

We know you will plead, and excuse; and censure, and defend; till all the world be weary: we may pray, with Jerome, to this sense, that of the Psalmist, *Increpa, Domine, Bestias Calami**: yet we see your pens, tongues, and presses, busy and violent. I will not apply to you that, which Augustin of his Donatists†: "though truth compel you to be dumb, yet iniquity will not suffer you to be silent:" but, if you write whole marts and worlds of volumes, you shall never be able either to justify your innocence, or excuse your fault. In the mean time, the noise of your contentions is so great, that your truth cannot be heard. Learned Junius, and our learnedest Divines and neighbour Churches, have oft heard your clamours‡; never, your truth. So little have you of this, and so much of the other, that we are ready to wish, as he of old, either ourselves deaf, or you dumb.

SECT. 22.

How the Church of England hath separated from Babylon.

Sep.—"Is not Babylon the Mother of God's People? whom he therefore commandeth to depart out of her, lest, being partakers of her sins, they also partake of her plagues; Rev. xviii. 4."

THE spirit of your Proto-Martyr§ would hardly have digested this title of Babylon, "Mother of God's People;" a murdering Stepmother, rather. She cannot be a Mother of Children to God, and no Church of God: notwithstanding, God's people, would he say, may be in her; not, of her. So Babylon bore them not, but Sion in Babylon.

But I fear not your excess of charity. You fly to your Doctor's challenge‖; and ask what we say against you for us, which Rome will not say for herself against us. Will you justify this plea of

* Hieron. ad Eustoch. Epitaph. Paulæ, ex Psalm. lxvii.
† Aug. cont. Epist. Parmen. lib. i. ‡ Epist. Junii ad Separ.
§ Cyll. Refut. 2. Transg.
‖ Answ. Fore-speech to Counterpois.

Rome, or not? If you will, why do you revile her? If you will not, why do you object it?

Sep.—"And, to conclude, what say you more against us, for your Mother the Church of England, than the Papists do for their Mother, and your Mother's Mother, the Church of Rome, against you; whom they condemn, as unnatural bastards and impious patricides, in your Separations from her?"

HEAR, then, what we say, both to you and them; our enemies both; and yet the enemies of our enemies.

First, we disclaim and defy your pedigree, and theirs. The Church of Rome was never our Mother's Mother. Our Christian Faith came not from the Seven Hills: neither was derived, either from Augustin the Monk, or Pope Gregory. Britany had a worthy Church, before either of them looked into the world *.

It is true, that the ancient Roman Church was Sister to ours. Here was near kindred, no dependance: and not more consanguinity, than, while she continued faithful, Christian love. Now she is gone a whoring, her chaste Sister † justly spitteth at her: yet even still, if you distinguish as your learned antagonist hath taught you ‡ betwixt the Church and Papacy, she acknowledges her Sisterhood, though she refrains her conversation.

As she hath many slavish and factious abettors of her known and gross errors, to whom we deny this title; affirming them the body, whereof Antichrist is the head, the Great Whore, and Mother of Abominations: so, again, how many thousands hath she, which, retaining the foundation according to their knowledge, as our learned Whitakers had wont to say of Bernard, follow Absalom with a simple heart! all which to reject from God's Church, were no better than presumptuous cruelty.

It were well for you, before God and the World, if you could as easily wash your hands of unnatural impiety and treacherousness, as we of bastardy and unjust sequestration.

There can be no Bastardy, where was never any motherhood: we were nephews to that Church; never, sons: unless, as Rome was the mother city of the world, so, by human institution, we suffered ourselves to be ranged under her patriarchal authority, as being the most famous Church of the West: a matter of courtesy, and pretended order; no necessity, no spiritual obligation.

As for our Sequestration, your mouth and theirs may be stopped with this answer:—As all corrupted Churches, so some things the Church of Rome still holds aright: a true God, in Three Persons; true Scriptures, though with addition; a true Christ, though mangled with foul and erroneous consequences; true Baptism, though shamefully deformed with rotten traditions; and many other unde-

* *A Simone Zelota: Niceph. Alii à Jos. Arimath. cujus hic sepulchrum cernitur. Angli Pascha Græco more celebrárunt.* Jacob. Armin. Disp.

† Cant. viii. 8. ‡ F. Jun. l. sing. de Eccles.

niable truths of God. Some other things, and too many, her wicked Apostacy hath devised and maintained abominably amiss: the body of her antichristianism, gross errors, and, by just sequel, heresies; their Pope's Supremacy, Infallibility, Illimitation; Transubstantiation; idolatrous and superstitious worship; and a thousand other of this bran: in regard of all these latter, we profess to the world a just and ancient separation from this false faith and devotion of the Romish Church; which neither you will say, nor they shall ever prove, faulty: yea, rather, they have, in all these, separated from us; who still irrefragably profess to hold with the Ancient, from whom they are departed. In regard of the other, we are still with them; holding and embracing, with them, what they hold with Christ: neither will you, I think, ever prove, that in these we should differ.

As for our Communion, they have separated us, by their proud and foolish excommunications, (if they had not, we would justly have begun:) from their tyranny and antichristianism, from their miserable idolatry. But, as for the body of their poor seduced Christians, which remain amongst them upon the true foundation; as doubtless there are thousands of them which laugh at their pardons, miracles, superstitions, and their trust in merits, reposing only upon Christ: we adhere to them in love and pity, and have testified our affection by our blood; ready, upon any just call, to do it more; neither would fear to join with them, in any true service of our common God.

But the full discourse of this point that honourable and learned Plesses hath so forestalled *, that, whatsoever I say would seem but borrowed. Unto his rich Treatise, I refer my reader, for full satisfaction. Would God this point were thoroughly known and well weighed, on all parts! the neglect or ignorance whereof hath both bred and nursed your separation, and driven the weak and inconsiderate into strange extremities.

This say we for ourselves, in no more charity than truth: but, for you, how dare you make this shameless comparison? Can your heart suffer your tongue to say, that there is no more difference betwixt Rome and us, than there is betwixt us and you? How many hundred errors, how many damnable heresies have we evinced, with you, in that, so compounded, Church! Shew us but one mis-opinion in our Church, that you can prove within the ken of the foundation. Let not zeal make you impudent.

Your Doctor could say †, ingenuously sure, that "In the doctrines which she professeth, she is far better and purer than that Whore Mother of Rome:" and your last Martyr, yet better: "If you mean," saith he ‡, "by a Church, as the most do, that public profession whereby men do profess salvation to be had by the death and righteousness of Jesus Christ, I am free from denying any Church of Christ to be in this land: for I know the doctrine touch-

* Phil. Morn. du Plesses, lib. de Eccles. cap. 10. † Counterp. p. 171.
‡ I. Penry. Exam. before M. Fanshaw and Just. Young.

ing the Holy Trinity, the Natures and Offices of the Lord Jesus, free Justification by him, both the Sacraments, &c. published by her Majesty's authority and commanded by her laws, to be the Lord's blessed and undoubted truths, without the knowledge and profession whereof no salvation is to be had." Thus he, with some honesty, though little sense.

If, therefore, your will do not stand in your light, you may well see, why we should thus forsake their communion, and yet not you ours.

Yet, though their corruptions be incomparably more, we have not dared to separate so far from them, as you have done from us for less *. Still we hold them even a Visible Church; but unsound, sick, dying: sick, not of a consumption only, but of a leprosy or plague (so is the Papacy to the Church): diseases, not more deadly, than infectious. If they be not rather in Sardis' taking; of whom the Spirit of God saith, *Thou hast a name that thou livest, but thou art dead;* and yet, in the next words, bids them *awake, and strengthen the things which are ready to die;* Rev. iii. 1, 2.

And, though our judgment and practice have forsaken their erroneous doctrines and service; yet our charity, if you take that former distinction, hath not utterly forsaken and condemned their persons. This is not our coolness; but equality: your reprobation of us for them hath not more zeal, than headstrong uncharitableness.

SECT. 23.

The Separation made by our holy Martyrs.

Sep.—"And were not Luther, Zuinglius, Cranmer, Latimer, and the rest begot to the Lord in the womb of the Romish Church? Did they not receive the knowledge of his truth, when they stood actual members of it? whom, notwithstanding, afterwards they forsook; and that justly, for her fornications."

But how could you, without blushing, once name Cranmer, Latimer, and those other holy martyrs, which have been so oft objected to the conviction of your schism?

Those Saints so forsook the Romish Church, as we have done; died witnesses of God's truth in that Church, from which you are separated; lived, preached, governed, shed their blood in the communion of the Church of England, which you disclaim and condemn as no Church of God, as merely Antichristian.

Either, of necessity, they were no Martyrs, yea no Christians, or else your separations and censures of us are wicked. Choose whether you will.

They were in the same case with us: we are in the same case

* Fr. Jun. l. de Eccles. M. Hooker, Eccles. Pol. Du Plesses, l. de Eccl. Jacob. Armin. Disput. D. Reynolds, Thes. D. Field, Of the Church.

with them; no difference, but in the time. Either their blood will be upon your heads, or your own. This Church had then the same constitution, the same confusion, the same worship, the same ministry, the same government (which you brand with Antichristianism) swayed by the holy hands of these men of God: condemn them, or allow us.

For their Separation, they found many main errors of doctrine in the Church of Rome (in the Papacy, nothing but errors) worth dying for: shew us one such in ours, and we will not only approve your Separation, but imitate it.

SECT. 24.

What Separation England hath made.

Sep.—"But here, in the name of the Church of England, you wash your hands of all Babylonish abominations; which you pretend you have forsaken, and her for and with them. And, in this regard, you speak thus:—The Reformation you have made of the many and main corruptions of the Romish Church, we do ingenuously acknowledge; and do, withal, embrace with you all the truths, which to our knowledge you have received instead of them. But Rome was not built all in a day."

THE Church of England doth not now wash her hands of Babylonish abominations; but rather shews they are clean. Would God they were no more foul with your slander, than her own Antichristianism! Here will be found, not pretences, but proofs of our forsaking Babylon; of your forsaking us, not so much as well-coloured pretences.

You begin to be ingenuous; while you confess a Reformation in the Church of England: not of some corruptions, but many; and those many not slight, but main.

"The gifts of adversaries are thankless *." As Jerome said of his Ruffinus †; so may we of you, that you wrong us with praises. This is no more praise, than your next page gives to Antichrist himself. Leave out "many;" and, though your commendations be more uncertain, we shall accept it: so your indefinite proposition shall sound to us as general, That we have reformed the main corruptions of the Romish Church. None therefore remain upon us, but slight and superficial blemishes. So you have forsaken a Church of foul skin, but of a sound heart; for want of beauty, not of truth.

But you say "many," not "all;" that, if you can pick a quar-

* Ἐκ δώρων ἀδώρα.

† Hieron. Apol. advers. Ruffin. l. i. *Missa est mihi laudatio tua; id est, accusatio mea. Bonum ex integrâ naturâ: malum ex singulari defectu.*

rel with one, you might reject all. Yet shew us that one main and substantial error, which we have not reformed: and you do not more embrace those truths with us, which we have received; than we will condemn that falsehood which you have rejected, and embrace the truth of that separation which you have practised.

Sep.—"The *Mystery of Iniquity* did advance itself by degrees: and, as the rise was, so must the fall be. That *Man of Sin*, and *Lawless Man*, must languish and die away of a consumption; 2 Thes. ii. 3, 7, 8. And what though many of the highest towers of Babel and of the strongest pillars also be demolished and pulled down, yet may the building stand still, though tottering to and fro, as it doth, and only under-propped and upheld with the shoulder and arm of flesh; without which, in a very moment it would fall flat upon, and lie level with the earth."

THE degrees, whereby that Strumpet of Babylon got on horseback, you have learned of us: who have both learned and taught, that, as Christ came not abruptly into the world, but with many presages and prefigurations (the day was long dawning ere this sun arose); so his adversary, that Antichrist, breaks not suddenly upon the Church, but comes with much preparation and long expectance.

And, as his rise, so his fall must be gradual and leisurely. Why say you then, that the whole Church, every where, must, at once, utterly fall off from that Church, where that *Man of Sin* sitteth? His fall depends on the fall of others, or rather their rising from under him. If neither of these must be sudden, why is your haste?

But this must not be; yet ought: as there must be heresies, yet there ought not. It is one thing, what God hath secretly decreed; another, what must be desired of us. If we could pull that Harlot from her seat, and put her to Jezebel's death, it were happy. Have we not endeavoured it?

What speak you of the highest towers, and strongest pillars, or tottering remainders of Babylon? we shew you all her roofs bare; her walls razed; her vaults digged up; her monuments defaced; her altars sacrificed to desolation; shortly, all her buildings demolished, not a stone upon a stone, save in rude heaps, to tell that here once was Babylon. Your strife goes about to build again that her Tower of Confusion. God divides your languages. It will be well, if yet you build not more than we have reserved.

SECT. 25.

The Main Grounds of Separation.

Sep.—"You have renounced many false doctrines in Popery; and, in their places, embraced the truth."

You will now be free, both in your profession and gift.

You give us to have renounced many false doctrines in Popery, and to have embraced so many truths: we take it, until more.

You profess where you stick, what you mislike: in those four famous heads, which you have learned by heart from all your predecessors *; a hateful Prelacy, a devised Ministry, a confused and profane Communion, and, lastly, the intermixtures of grievous Errors.

The Prelacy of the Church of England.

Sep.—"But what if this truth be taught under the same hateful Prelacy, in the same devised office of Ministry, and confused Communion of the profane multitude, and that mingled with many Errors?"

What if this truth were taught under a hateful Prelacy? Suppose it were so; must I not embrace the truth, because I hate the Prelacy? What if Israel live under the hateful Egyptians? Exod. i., ii., iii., &c. What if Jeremiah live under hateful Pashur? Jer. xx. 1. What if the Jews live under a hateful Priesthood? Jer. v. 30, 31. What if the disciples live under hateful Scribes? What are others' persons to my profession? If I may be freely allowed to be a true professed Christian, what care I under whose hands?

But why is our Prelacy hateful? Actively to you, or passively from you? In that it hates you? would God you were not more your own enemies! Or, rather, because you hate it? your hatred is neither any news, nor pain.

Who or what of ours is not hateful to you? Our Churches, Bells, Cloaths, Sacraments, Preachings, Prayers, Singings, Catechisms, Courts, Meetings, Burials, Marriages! It is marvel, that our air infects not; and that our heaven and earth, as Optatus said of the Donatists, escape your hatred. Not the forwardest of our Preachers, as you term them †, have found any other entertainment. No enemy could be more spiteful: I speak it to your shame. Rome itself, in divers controversary discourses, hath bewrayed less gall, than Amsterdam. The better they are to others, you profess they are the worse ‡. Yea, would to God that of Paul were not verified of you; *hateful, and hating one another!* Tit. iii. 3.

But we have learned, that, of wise Christians, not the measure of hatred should be respected, but the desert. David is hated, for no cause; Ps. lxix 4: Micaiah, for a good cause. Your causes shall be examined in their places, onwards. It were happy, if you hated your own sins more, and peace less: our Prelacy would trouble you less, and you the Church.

* Barr. and Gr. against Gyff. Confer. et Exam. passim. Penry, in his Exam.
† Johns. Pref. to his vii. Reas. ‡ Johns. vii. Reas. p. 66.

SECT. 26.

The Truth and Warrant of the Ministry of England.

For our Devised Office of Ministry, you have given it a true title.

It was devised, indeed, by our Saviour, when he said, *Go, teach all nations, and baptize;* Matt. xxviii. 19: and performed in continuance, when *he gave some to be pastors and teachers;* Eph. iv. 11.

And not only the Office of Ministry, in general, but ours, whom he hath made both *able to teach*, and *desirous; separated* us, for this cause, *to the work;* upon due trial, admitted us; ordained us, *by imposition of hands of the Eldership, and prayer;* directed us, in the *right division of the Word* (ὀρθοτομ.); committed *a charge* to us *; followed our Ministry with power; and blessed our labours with gracious success, even in the hearts of those, whose tongues are thus busy to deny the truth of our vocation.

Behold here the Devised Office of our Ministry. What can you devise against this?

Your Pastor, who, as his brother writes †, hopes to work wonders by his logical skill, hath killed us with Seven Arguments, which he professeth the quintessence of his own and Penry's extractions; whereto your Doctor refers us ‡, as absolute.

I would it were not tedious, or worth a reader's labour, to see them scanned. I protest before God and the world, I never read more gross stuff, so boldly and peremptorily faced out; so full of tautologies, and beggings of the question never to be yielded. Let me mention the main heads of them; and, for the rest, be sorry that I may not be endless.

To prove, therefore, that no communion may be had with the Ministry of the Church of England, he uses these Seven Demonstrations: first, Because it is not that Ministry, which Christ gave, and set in his Church: secondly, Because it is the Ministry of Antichrist's Apostacy: thirdly, Because none can communicate with the Ministry of England, but he worships the Beast's Image, and yieldeth spiritual subjection to Antichrist: fourthly, Because this Ministry deriveth not their power and functions from Christ: fifthly, Because they minister the holy things of God, by virtue of a false spiritual calling: sixthly, Because it is a strange Ministry, not appointed by God in his Word: seventhly, Because it is not from heaven, but from men.

Now I beseech thee, Christian Reader, judge whether that, which this man was wont so oft to object to his brother (a cracked brain) appear not plainly in this goodly equipage of reasons. For, what

* 2 Tim. ii. 2. 1 Tim. iii. 1. Acts xiii. 2, 3. 1 Tim. iv. 14. 2 Tim. ii. 15. 1 Tim. v. 21, 22.

† Discourse of the Troubles and Excom. at Amst.—Certain Arg. against the Com. with the Minist. of England.

‡ Counterpois.

is all this, but one and the same thing tumbled seven times over? which yet, with seven thousand times' babbling, shall never be the more probable. That our Ministry was not given and set in the Church by Christ, but Antichristian, what is it else to be from men, to be strange, to be a false spiritual calling, not to be derived from Christ, to worship the Image of the Beast? So this great challenger, that hath abridged his nine arguments to seven, might as well have abridged his seven to one and a half. Here would have been as much substance, but less glory.

As for his main defence: "First, we may not either have, or expect now in the Church that Ministry which Christ set: where are our Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists?"—If we must always look for the very same administration of the Church which our Saviour left, why do we not challenge these extraordinary functions? Do we not rather think, since it pleased him to begin with those offices which should not continue, that herein he purposely intended to teach us, that, if we have the same heavenly business done, we should not be curious in the circumstances of the persons?

But, for those ordinary callings of Pastors and Doctors, intended to perpetuity, with what forehead can he deny them to be in our Church? How many have we, that conscionably teach and feed, or rather feed by teaching! Call them what you please, Superintendants, that is, Bishops, Prelates, Priests, Lecturers, Parsons, Vicars, &c. if they preach Christ truly; upon true inward abilities; upon a sufficient, if not perfect, outward vocation, such a one (let all histories witness) for the substance, as hath been ever in the Church since the Apostles' times; they are Pastors and Doctors allowed by Christ. We stand not upon circumstances and appendances of the fashions of ordination *, manner of choice, attire, titles, maintenance; but if, for substance, these be not true Pastors and Doctors, Christ had never any in his Church, since the Apostles left the earth.

All the difficulty is in our outward calling. Let the reader grant our grave and learned Bishops to be but Christians, and this will easily be evinced lawful, even by their rules. For if, with them, every plebeian artificer hath power to elect and ordain by virtue of his Christian profession †, the act of the worthiest standing for all; how can they deny this right to persons qualified, besides common graces, with wisdom, learning, experience, authority? Either their Bishopric makes them no Christians, a position which of all the world besides this sect would be hissed at; or else their hands imposed are thus far, by the rules of Separatists, effectual.

Now your best course is, like to a hare that runs back from whence she was started, to fly to your first hold: "No Church, therefore no Ministry." So now, not the Church hath devised the Ministry, but the Ministry hath devised the Church. I follow you not in that idle circle: thence you have been hunted already.

But now, since I have given account of ours, I pray you tell me

* *Ubi res convenit, quis non verba contemnat?* Aug. de Ordin. 2.

† Brown, State of Christians.

seriously, who devised your Office of Ministry. I dare say, not Christ; not his Apostles; not their Successors. What Church ever in the world can be produced, unless in case of extremity for one turn, whose conspiring multitude made themselves Ministers at pleasure? What rule of Christ prescribes it? What Reformed Church ever did or doth practise it? What example warrants it? Where have the inferiors laid hands upon their superiors? What congregation of Christendom, in all records, afforded you the necessary pattern of an unteaching Pastor, or an unfeeding Teacher?

It is an old policy of the faulty, to complain first. Certainly, there was never Popish Legend a more arrant device of man, than some parts of this Ministry of yours; so much gloried in, for sincere correspondence to the first institution.

SECT. 27.

Confused Communion of the Profane.

YOUR scornful exception at the Confused Communion of the Profane Multitude, savours strong of a Pharisee; who thought it sin to converse *cum terræ filiis*, "the base vulgar;" and whose very phylacteries did say, "Touch me not, for I am cleaner than thou."

This multitude is profane, you say; and this communion confused *.

If some be profane; yet not all: for then could be no confusion in the mixture. If some be not profane, why do you not love them, as much as you hate the other? If all main truths be taught amongst some godly, some profane; why will you more shun those profane, than cleave to those truths, and those godly? If you have duly admonished him, and detested and bewailed his sin; what is another man's profaneness to you? If profaneness be not punished, or confusion be tolerated, it is their sin, whom it concerneth to redress them. If the officers sin, must we run from the Church? It is a famous and pregnant protestation of God by Ezekiel: *The righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon himself;* Ezek. xviii. 20. And, if the father's sour grapes cannot hurt the children's teeth, how much less shall the neighbour's †?

But, whither will you run from this Communion of the Profane? The same fault you find with the Dutch and French ‡; yea, in your own. How well you have avoided it in your Separation, let M. White, George Johnson, Master Smith be sufficient witnesses §;

* *Perplexæ sunt istæ duæ civitates in hoc seculo, invicémque permixtæ, donec, ultimo judicio, dirimantur.* Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. i. 33.

† Orig. *Unusquisque propter proprium peccatum morietur, in propriâ justitiâ vivet, &c.*

‡ Fr. Johns. Artic. against the Dutch and Fr.

§ Answ. against Broughton.—Discover. of Brown.—Troubles and Excom. at Amst. Charact. Præf.

whose plentiful reports of your known uncleannesses, smothered mischiefs, malicious proceedings, corrupt packings, communicating with known offenders, bolstering of sins, and willing connivances, as they are shameful to relate, so might well have stopped your mouth from excepting at our confused Communion of the Profane *.

SECT. 28.

Our Errors, intermingled with Truth.

Sep.—"Shall some general truths, yea though few of them in the particulars may be soundly practised, sweeten and sanctify the other errors? Doth not one heresy make a heretic? and doth not *a little leaven*, whether in doctrine or manners, *leaven the whole lump?* 1 Cor. v. 6. Gal. v. 9. Hag. ii. 13. If Antichrist held not many truths, wherewith should he countenance so many forgeries, or how could his work be a *mystery of iniquity?* which, in Rome, is more gross and palpable; but, in England, spun with a finer thread, and so more hardly discovered. But, to wade no further in universalities, we will take a little time to examine such particulars, as you yourself have picked out, for your most advantage; to see whether you be so clear of Babel's Towers in your own evidence, as you bear the world in hand."

How many and grievous Errors are mingled with our truths, shall appear sufficiently in the sequel. If any want, let it be the fault of the accuser. It is enough, for the Church of Amsterdam to have no errors.

But ours are grievous:—

Name them, that our shame may be equal to your grief. So many they are, and so grievous, that your Martyr, when he was urged to instance, could find none but our opinion concerning Christ's descent into hell †; and, except he had over-reached, not that.

Call you our doctrines "some general truths?" Look into our Confessions, Apologies, Articles; and compare them with any, with all other Churches; and, if you find a more particular, sound, Christian, absolute profession of all fundamental truths in any Church, since Christ ascended into heaven, renounce us as you do, and we will separate unto you.

But these truths are not soundly practised:—

Let your Pastor teach you ‡, that, if errors of practice should be stood upon, there could be no true Church upon earth. Pull out your own beam first.

* Cypr. Ep. 2. *Iidem in publico accusatores, in occulto rei, in semetipsos censores pariter et nocentes: Damnant foris, quod intùs operantur.*

† Barr. Confer. with M. Hutchins. &c. and D. Andr.

‡ Inquir. into M. White. p. 35.

We willingly yield this to be one of your truths, that no truth can sanctify error; that one heresy makes a heretic: but learn, withal, that every error doth not pollute all truths; that there is hay and stubble, which may burn, yet both the foundation stand and the builder be saved. Such is ours, at the worst: why do you condemn, where God will save?

No Scripture is more worne with your tongues and pens, than that of the leaven; 1 Cor. v. 6. If you would compare Christ's leaven with Paul's, you should satisfy yourself. Christ says, *The kingdom of heaven is as leaven;* Matt. xiii. 33: Paul says, a gross sin is *leaven:* both *leavens the whole lump:* neither may be taken precisely, but in resemblance; "not of equality," as he * said well, "but of quality." For, notwithstanding the leaven of the Kingdom, some part, you grant, is unsanctified: so, notwithstanding the leaven of Sin, some, which have striven against it to their utmost, are not sowered. The leavening, in both places, must extend only to whom it is intended: the subjects of regeneration, in the one; the partners of sin, in the other. So our Saviour saith, *Ye are the salt of the earth:* yet too much of the earth is unseasoned. The truth of the effect, must be regarded in these speeches; not the quantity. It was enough for St. Paul to shew them by this similitude, that gross sins, where they are tolerated, have a power to infect others; whether it be, as Jerome interprets it †, by ill example, or by procurement of judgments: and, thereupon, the incestuous must be cast out. All this tends to the excommunicating of the evil; not to the separating of the good. Did ever Paul say, "If the incestuous be not cast out, separate from the Church?" Shew us this, and we are yours; else, it is a shame for you, that you are not ours.

If Antichrist hold many truths, and we but many, we must needs be proud of your praises. We hold all his truths; and have shewed you, how we hate all his forgeries, no less than you hate us.

Yet the mystery of iniquity is still spun in the Church of England; but with a finer thread:—so fine, that the very eyes of your malice cannot see it: yet none of our least motes have escaped you.

Thanks be to our good God, we have the *great mystery of godliness* (1 Tim. iii. 16.) so fairly and happily spun amongst us, as all, but you, bless God with us, and for us. As soon shall you find charity and peace in your English Church, as heresy in our Church of England.

* M. Bredwell.

† Hieron. *In hoc ignoratis, quia malo exemplo possunt plurimi interire? Sed et per unius delictum in omnem populum Judæorum iram Dei legimus advenisse.*

SECT. 29.

Whether our Prelacy be Antichristian.

Sep.—"Where, say you, are those proud towers of their Universal Hierarchy? One, in Lambeth; another, in Fulham: and, wheresoever a Pontifical Prelate is, or his Chancellor, Commissary, or other Subordinate, there is a Tower of Babel unruinated. To this end, I desire to know of you, whether the office of Archbishops, Bishops, and the rest of that rank, were not parts of that accursed Hierarchy, in Queen Mary's days; and members of that *Man of Sin*. If they were then as shoulders and arms under that head the Pope, and over the inferior members; and have now the same Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction derived and continued upon them, whereof they were possessed in the time of Popery, as it is plain they have by the first Parliament of Queen Elizabeth; why are they not still members of that body, though the head, the Pope, be cut off?"

To the particular instances: I ask, Where are the proud towers of their Universal Hierarchy? You answer roundly, "One, in Lambeth; another, in Fulham, &c." What, Universal? Did ever any of our Prelates challenge all the world as his Diocese? Is this simplicity, or malice? If your Pastor tell us *, that as well a world as a province, let me return it: if he may be Pastor over a parlour-full, why not of a city? and if of a city, why not of a nation?

But these you will prove unruinated Towers of that Babel:—You ask, therefore, whether the office of Archbishops, Bishops, and the rest of that rank, were not, in Queen Mary's days, parts of that accursed Hierarchy, and members of that *Man of Sin*:—Doubtless they were. Who can deny it?

But now, say you, they have the same Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction continued:—This is your miserable sophistry. Those Popish Archbishops, and Bishops, and Clergy were members of Antichrist, not as Church-Governors, but as Popish. While they swore subjection to him, while they defended him, while they worshipped him above all that is called God and extorted this homage from others, how could they be other, but limbs of that *Man of Sin?* Shall others, therefore, which defy him, resist, trample upon him, spend their lives and labours in oppugnation of him, be necessarily in the same case, because in the same room?

Let me help your Anabaptists with a sound argument. The princes, peers, and magistrates of the land, in Queen Mary's days, were shoulders and arms of Antichrist: their calling is still the same; therefore now they are such.

* Seven. Argu. First Answ. Counterpois.

Your Master Smith, upon no other ground, disclaimeth infants' baptism; crying out, that this is the main relic of Antichristianism *.

But see how, like a wise master, you confute yourself. They are still members of the body, though the head, the Pope, be cut off:—The head is Antichrist; therefore, the body, without the head, is no part of Antichrist. He, that is without the Head, Christ, is no member of Christ: so, contrarily.

I hear you say, the very jurisdiction and office is here Antichristian; not the abuse:—What! in them, and not in all Bishops since, and in the Apostles' times? Alas, who are you, that you should oppose all Churches and times? Ignorance of Church-Story, and not distinguishing betwixt substances and appendances, personal abuses and callings, hath led you to this error.

Yet, since you have reckoned up so many Popes, let me help you with more. Was there not one in Lambeth, when Doctor Cranmer was there? One in Fulham, when Ridley was there? One in Worcester, when Latimer was there? One at Winchester, when Philpot † was there? We will go higher: was not Hilarius, at Arles; Paulinus, at Nola; Primasius, at Utica; Eucherius, at Lyons; Cyril, at Alexandria; Chrysostom, at Constantinople; Augustin, at Hippo; Ambrose, at Milan? What should I be infinite? Was not Cyprian, at Carthage; Evodius, and, after him, Ignatius ‡, in St. John's time, at Antioch; Polycarpus, at Smyrna; Philip, at Cæsarea; James, and Simeon, and Cleophas, at Jerusalem; and, by much consent of Antiquity §, Titus in Crete, Timothy at Ephesus, Mark at Alexandria?

Yea, to be short, was there not, every where, in all ages, an allowed Superiority of Church-Governors under this title? Look into the frequent subscriptions of all Councils, and their Canons: look into the registers of all times; and find yourself answered.

Let Reverend Calvin be our advocate ‖: I would desire no other words to confute you, but his. He shall tell you, that, even in the Primitive Church, the Presbyters chose one out of their number in every city, whom they titled their Bishop, lest dissention should arise from equality.

Let Hemingius teach you ¶, that this was the practice of the purest Church.

Thus it was ever: and, if princes have pleased to annex either large maintenances, or stiles of higher dignity and respect unto these, do their additions annihilate them? Hath their double honour made void their callings? why, more than extreme neediness? If Aristotle would not allow a Priest to be a tradesman **, yet Paul

* Character of the Beast against R. Clifton. † Archdeacon.

‡ *Beatissimus Papa, passim in Epist. Ignat. ad Trallian.* Euseb. l. iii.

§ Ex Euseb. Hier. Catalog. Scrip. Epiphanio, &c.

‖ Calv. Inst. l. iv. Hieron. Evagrio.

¶ Heming. Potest. Eccl. clas. 3. c. 10. *Hinc Ecclesia purior, secuta tempora Apostolorum, fecit alios Patriarchas, quorum erat curare ut Episcopi cujusque dioceseos rite eligerentur, ut suum munus Episcopi singuli probè administrarent, &c.* ** Arist. Pol. 7.

could yield to homely tent-making: if your Elders grow rich or noble, do they cease to be, or begin to be unlawful *?

But in how many volumes hath this point been fully discussed! I list not to glean, after their full carts.

SECT. 30.

The Judgment and Practice of other Reformed Churches.

Sep.—"And so do all the Reformed Churches in the world, of whose testimony you boast so loud, renounce the Prelacy of England; as part of that Pseudo-Clergy and Antichristian Hierarchy, derived from Rome."

FROM your own verdict, you descend to the testimonies of all Reformed Churches.

I blush to see so wilful a slander fall from the pen of a Christian; That all Reformed Churches renounce our Prelacy as Antichristian: what one hath done it? Yea, what one foreign Divine of note hath not given to our Clergy the right-hand of fellowship?

So far is it from this, that J. Alasco was the allowed Bishop of our first Reformed strangers in this land; so far, that, when your Doctor found himself urged, by M. Spr., with a cloud of witnesses for our Church and Ministry, as Bucer, Martyr, Fagius, Alasco, Calvin, Beza, Bullinger, Gualter, Simler, Zanchius, Junius, Rollocus, and others, he had nothing to say for himself; but, "Though you come against us with horsemen and chariots, yet we will remember the name of the Lord our God;" Ps. xx. 7: and turns it off with the accusation of a Popish plea, and reference to the practice of the Reformed †.

And if, therefore, they have so renounced it, because their practice receives it not; why, like a true make-bait, do you not say, that our Churches have so renounced their government?

These sisters have learned to differ; and yet to love and reverence each other: and, in these cases, to enjoy their own forms, without prescription of necessity or censure.

Let Reverend Beza be the trumpet of all the rest: who tells you‡, that the Reformed English Churches continue, upheld by the authority of Bishops and Archbishops; that they have had men of that rank, both famous Martyrs, and worthy Pastors and Doctors: and, lastly, congratulates this blessing to our Church.

Or, let Hemingius tell you the judgment of the Danish Church. *Judicat cæteros Ministros &c.* "It judgeth," saith he §, "that other

* *Potentia divitiarum et paupertatis humilitas, vel humiliorem vel inferiorem Episcopum non facit.* Hieron. Evagr.

† Answ. Counterp. Third Consid.

‡ Bez. de Ministr. Evang. c. 18. Cited also by D. Down. p. 29.

§ Heming. *Judicat cæteros Ministros suis Episcopis obtemperare debere.* Potest. Ecc. c. 10.

Ministers should obey their Bishops, in all things, which make to the edification of the Church, &c."

But what do I oppose any to his nameless "all?" His own silence confutes him enough, in my silence.

SECT. 31.

Our Synod's determination of things indifferent.

Sep.—"*Infallibility of Judgment.* It seems, the Sacred (so called) Synod assumeth little less unto herself in her determinations: otherwise, how durst she decree so absolutely, as she doth, touching things reputed indifferent, viz. that all men, in all places, must submit unto them, without exception or limitation? Except she could infallibly determine, that these her ceremonies, thus absolutely imposed, should edify all men at all times, how durst she thus impose them? To exact obedience in and unto them, whether they offend or offend not, whether they edify or destroy, were intolerable presumption."

THERE was never a more idle and beggarly cavil, than your next *. Your Christian reader must needs think you hard driven for quarrels, when you are fain to fetch the Pope's infallibility out of our Synod, whose flat decree it was of old; That even General Councils may err, and have erred.

But wherein doth our Sacred Synod assume this infallibility, in her determinations? Wherefore is a Synod, if not to determine?

But of things reputed indifferent?—What else are subject to the constitutions of men? Good and evil are, either directly or by necessary sequel, ordered by God: these are above human power. What have men to do, if not with things indifferent? All necessary things are determined by God; indifferent, by men from God, which are as so many particulars, extracts from the generals of God. "These things," saith learned Calvin, "are indifferent, and in the power of the Church." Either you must allow the Church this, or nothing †.

But these decrees are absolute:—What laws can be without a command? The law, that ties not, is no law: no more than that, saith Austin ‡, which ties us to evil.

But for all men, and all times?—How for all? For none, I hope, but our own. And why not for them?

But without exception and limitation:—Do not thus wrong our Church. Our late Archbishop, if it were not piacular for you to read ought of his, could have taught you in his public writings §,

* Article 21. † *Obligatio, sine coercione, nulla.* Reg. Jur.
‡ *Non jura dicenda sunt, &c.* De Civit. lib. xix.
§ Answ. to the Admon. p. 279. cited also by D. Sparkes, p. 14

these Five Limitations of Enjoined Ceremonies: First, that they be not against the Word of God *: Secondly, that Justification, or remission of sins, be not attributed to them: Thirdly, that the Church be not troubled with their multitude: Fourthly, that they be not decreed as necessary, and not to be changed: and, Lastly, that men be not so tied to them, but that, by occasion, they may be omitted, so it be without offence and contempt.

You see our limits. But your fear is in this last, contrary to his. He stands upon offence in omitting; you, in using: as if it were a just offence, to displease a beholder; no offence, to displease and violate authority. What law could ever be made to offend none? Wise Cato might have taught you this, in Livy †, that no law can be commodious to all. Those lips, which preserve knowledge, must impart so much of it to their hearers, as to prevent their offence. Neither must lawgivers, ever foresee what constructions will be of their laws, but what ought to be. Those things, which your Consistory imposes, may you keep them if you list? Is not the willing neglect of your own Parlour-Decrees punished with Excommunication?

And now, what is all this to infallibility? The Sacred Synod determines these indifferent rites, for decency and comeliness to be used of those whom it concerns; therefore, it arrogates to itself infallibility: a conclusion, fit for a Separatist.

You stumble at the title of Sacred. Every straw lies in your way. Your Calepine could have taught you, that houses, castles, religious businesses, old age itself, have this style given them; and Virgil, *vittásque resolvit sacrati capitis.* No epithet is more ordinary to Councils and Synods. The reason whereof may be fetched from that inscription of the Elibertine Synod: of those nineteen Bishops is said, "When the Holy and Religious Bishops were set ‡." How few Councils have not had this title! To omit the late; "The Holy Synod of Carthage §," under Anastasius; "The Holy and Peaceable Synod at Antioch ‖;" "The Holy Synod of God, and Apostolical ¶," at Rome, under Julius; "The Holy and Great Synod at Nice **;" and, not to be endless, "The Holy Synod of Laodicea ††," though but provincial. What do these idle exceptions argue, but want of greater?

* Aug. Epist. 86. *In his enim rebus, de quibus nihil certi statuit Scriptura Divina, mos populi Dei vel instituta majorum pro lege tenenda sunt.*

† Livius. Decad. 4. l. iv. *Nulla lex satis commoda omnibus est: id modò quæritur, si majori parti et in summâ prodest.*

‡ *Cùm consedissent sancti et religiosi Episcopi.* Bin. Tom. 1. p. 239.

§ *Sancta Synod. Carthagi.* 4. *sub Anastasio.* 553.

‖ *Sancta et Pacifica Synod. Antiochen.* 1. p. 420.

¶ *Sancti Dei et Apostolica Synodus.* 413.

** *Pervenit ad Sanctam Synodum.* Can. Nic. 18. 309.

†† *Sancta Synod. Laodicena.* 288

SECT. 32.

Sins sold in our Courts.

Sep.—"*Dispensations with the Laws of God and Sins of Men.* To let pass your Ecclesiastical Consistories, wherein sins and absolutions from them are as venial and saleable as at Rome; is it not a law of the Eternal God, that the Ministers of the Gospel, the Bishops or Elders, should be *apt* and *able to teach?* 1 Tim. iii. 2. Titus i. 9. And is it not their grievous sin, to be unapt hereunto? Is. lvi. 10, 11. And yet, who knoweth not, that the Patrons amongst you present, that the Bishops institute, the Archdeacons induct, the Churches receive, and the Laws both Civil and Ecclesiastical allow and justify, Ministers unapt and unable to teach?"

SOME great men, when they have done ill, outface their shame with enacting laws to make their sins lawful. While you thus charge our practice, you bewray your own: who, having separated from God's Church, devise slanders to colour your sin. We must be shameful, that you may be innocent. You load our Ecclesiastical Consistories with a shameless reproach. Far be it from us, to justify any man's personal sins: yet it is safer sinning to the better part. Fie on these odious comparisons. Sins as saleable as at Rome?—Who knows not that, to be the Mart of all the World? Perjuries, murders, treasons are there bought and sold: when ever in ours? The Pope's coffers can easily confute you alone. What tell you us of these? Let me tell you, money is as fit an advocate in a Consistory, as favour or malice. These, some of yours have complained of, as bitterly as you of ours *: as if we liked the abuses in Courts: as if corrupt executions of wholesome laws must be imputed to the Church, whose wrongs they are. No less heinous, nor more true, is that, which followeth. True Elders, not yours, should be, indeed, διδακτικοί. This we call for as vehemently, not so tumultuously, as yourselves.

Sep.—"*Insufficiency and Non-Residency of Ministers.* Is it not a law of the Eternal God, that the Elders should *feed the flock*, over which they are set; *labouring amongst them in the Word and Doctrine?* Acts xx. 28. 1 Pet. v. 1, 2. And is it not sin to omit this duty?"

THAT they should *feed their flocks with Word and Doctrine*, we require more than you. That Patrons present, Bishops institute, Archdeacons induct some, which are unable, we grant and bewail: but, that our Church-Laws justify them, we deny, and you slander:

* G. Johns. Troubles and Excommunications at Amsterdam.

for our law, if you know not, requires *, that every one to be admitted to the Ministry should understand the Articles of Religion, not only as they are compendiously set down in the Creed, but as they are at large in our Book of Articles; neither understand them only, but be able to prove them sufficiently out of the Scripture; and that, not in English only, but in Latin also. This competency would prove him, for knowledge, διδακτικόν. If this be not performed, blame the persons, clear the law. Profound Master Hooker tells you †, that both arguments from Light of Nature, Laws and Statutes of Scripture, the Canons that are taken out of ancient Synods, the Decrees and Constitutions of sincerest times, the sentences of all Antiquity, and, in a word, every man's full consent and conscience, is against ignorance in them that have charge and cure of souls. And, in the same book ‡, "Did any thing more aggravate the crime of Jeroboam's apostacy, than that he chose to have his Clergy the scum and refuse of his whole land? Let no man spare to tell it them, they are not faithful towards God, that burden wilfully his Church with such swarms of unworthy creatures." Neither is it long, since a zealous and learned Sermon §, dedicated to our present Lord Archbishop by his own Chaplain, hath no less taxed this abuse, whether of insufficiency or negligence, though with more discretion, than can be expected from your malicious pen. Learn, henceforth, not to diffuse crimes to the innocent.

Sep.—"*Dispensations for Pluralities.* Plead not for Baal. Your Dispensations for Non-Residency and Pluralities of Benefices, as for two, three, or more; yea, *tot quot*, as many as a man will have or can get; are so many Dispensations with the Laws of God and sins of men. These things are too impious, to be defended; and too manifest, to be denied."

For the rest: your Baal in our Dispensations for Pluralities would thus plead for himself. First, he would bid you learn of your Doctor to distinguish of sins. "Sins," saith he ‖, "are either controvertible or manifest: if controvertible or doubtful, men ought to bear one with another's different judgment; if they do not, &c. they sin." Such is this. If some be resolved, others doubt; and, in whole volumes, plead, whether convenience or necessity ¶. How could your charity compare these with sins evicted? Secondly, he would tell you, that these Dispensations are intended and directed, not against the offence of God, but the danger of human laws: not securing from sin, but from loss.

But, for both these points of Non-Residence and Sufficiency, if

* Can. 34. † M. Hooker's Fifth Book of Ecclesiastical Polity.
‡ P. 263. § D. Downame, of the Office and Dignity of the Ministry.
‖ Counterp. p. 179.
¶ Dist. 34. Can. *Lector. Papa potest contra Apostolum dispensare.* & Caus. 25. q. 1. Can. *Sunt quidam. Dispensat. in Evangelio, &c.* De Concess. Præbend. Lit. S. Can. *Proposuit. Secundum plenitudinem potestatis, de jure possumus supra jus dispensare.* et Glossa paulo infra: *Papa contra Apostolum dispensat, &c.*

you sought not rather strife than satisfaction, his Majesty's Speech, in the Conference at Hampton Court *, might have stayed the course of your quarrellous pen. No reasonable mind, but would rest in that gracious and royal determination.

Lastly, why look you not to your own Elders, at home? Even your handful hath not avoided this crime of Non-Residency†. What wonder is it, if our world of men have not escaped?

SECT. 33.

Our Loyalty to Princes cleared: theirs questioned.

Sep.—"*Disposition of Kingdoms, and Deposition of Princes.* You are wiser, and I hope honester, than thus to attempt; though that received maxim amongst you "No Ceremony, no Bishop; no Bishop, no King;" savours too strongly of that weed. But, what though you be loyal to earthly kings and their crowns and kingdoms, yet if you be traitors and rebels against the King of his Church, Jesus Christ, and the Sceptre of his Kingdom; not suffering him, by his laws and officers, to reign over you; but, instead of them, do stoop to Antichrist in his Offices and Ordinances; shall your loyalty towards men excuse your treasons against the Lord? Though you now cry never so loud, *We have no king but Cæsar;* John xix. 15: yet is there *another King, one Jesus*, which shall return and pass a heavy doom upon the rebellious; Luke xix. 27. *These enemies, which would not have me reign over them, bring them and slay them before me.*"

YOU, that confess our wisdom and honesty, must now plead for your own. Your hope is not more of us, than our fear of you.

To depose kings and dispose kingdoms, is a proud work ‡. You want power; but what is your will?

For Excommunication, it is clear enough: while you fully hold, that every private man hath as much power in this censure, as the Pastor; and that princes must be equally subject, with them, to these their censures. Let any man now devise, if the Brownists could have a king, how that king could stand one day unexcommunicated?

Or, if this censure meddle only with his soul, not with his sceptre §, how more than credible is it, that some of your assemblies, in Queen Elizabeth's days, concluded, that she was not, even in our sense, Supreme Head of the Church, neither had authority to make laws ecclesiastical in the Church ‖?

It is well, if you will disclaim it. But you know your received

* Sum. Confer. p. 52. † M. White's Discourse.
‡ Bar. against Gyfford. Inconst. of Brow. p. 113. § Ibid.
‖ Enquiry into Tho. White.

position; That no one Church is superior to other. No authority, therefore, can reverse this decree: your will may do it.

Yea, what better than rebellion appears in your next clause; while you accuse our loyalty to an earthly king, as treasonable to the King of the Church, Christ Jesus? If our loyalty be a sin, where is yours? If we be traitors in our obedience, what do you make of him that commands it? Whether you would have us each man to play the *rex*, and erect a new government; or whether you accuse us as rebels to Christ, in obeying the old; God bless King James from such subjects *.

But whose is that, so unsavoury weed; "No Bishop, no King?" Know you whom you accuse? let me shew you your adversary. It is King James himself, in his Hampton Conference. Is there not now suspicion in the word? Surely, you had cause to fear, that the king would prove no good subject: belike, not to Christ.

What do you else, in the next, but proclaim his opposition to the King of Kings? or ours, in not opposing his? As if we might say, with the Israelites, *O Lord our God, other lords, besides thee, have ruled us;* Is. xxvi. 13.

If we would admit each of your Elders to be so many Kings in the Church, we should stoop under Christ's ordinances. Shew us your commission; and let it appear, whether we be enemies, or you usurpers. Alas, you both refuse the rule of his true deputy, and set up false. Let this fearful doom of Christ light, where it is most due: *Even so let thine enemies perish, O Lord.*

SECT. 34.

Errors of Free-will, &c. feigned upon the Church of England.

Sep.—"*Parting stakes with God in Conversion.* Not to speak of the error of Universal Grace, and, consequently, of Free-Will, that groweth on apace amongst you, what do you else, but put in for a part with God in conversion; though not through freedom of will, yet in a devised Ministry, the means of conversion? it being the Lord's peculiar, as well to appoint the outward Ministry of conversion, as to give the inward grace."

Go on to slander. Even that, which you say you will not speak, you do speak, with much spite and no truth.

What hath our Church to do, with errors of Universal Grace or Free-Will: errors, which her Articles do flatly oppose? What shamelessness is this! Is she guilty, even of that, which she condemns? If some few private judgments shall conceive or bring forth an error, shall the whole Church do penance? Would God, that wicked and heretical Anabaptism did not more grow upon you, than those errors upon us! You had more need to defend, than accuse.

* Page 36.

But see, Christian Reader, how this man drags in crimes upon us, as Cacus did his oxen.

We do, forsooth, part stakes with God in our conversion:—wherein? "in a devised Ministry, the means of conversion." Well fetched about: there may be a Ministry, without a conversion; and, *è converso*, there may be a conversion, without a Ministry.

Where now are the stakes parted? Yet thus we part stakes, with the Apostle, that we are God's *fellow labourers* * in this great work. He hath separated us to it, and joined us with him in it. It is he, as we have proved, that hath devised our Ministry. Yea, yourself shall prove it: it is his peculiar, to appoint the outward Ministry, that gives the inward grace. But hath not God given inward grace, by our outward Ministry? Your hearts shall be our witnesses. What will follow therefore, but that our Ministry is his peculiar appointment?

SECT. 35.

Kneeling at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Sep.—"Where, say you, are those rotten heaps of Transubstantiating of Bread? and where, say I, learned you your devout kneeling to or before the bread, but from that error of Transubstantiation? Yea, what less can it insinuate, than either that, or some other the like idolatrous conceit? If there were not something more in the bread and wine, than in the water at Baptism, or in the Word read or preached, why should such solemn kneeling be so severely pressed at that time, rather than upon the other occasions? And, well and truly have your own men affirmed, that it were far less sin, and appearance of an idolatry that is nothing so gross, to tie men in their prayers to kneel before a crucifix, than before the bread and wine: and the reason followeth, for that Papists commit an idolatry far more gross and odious in worshipping the bread, than in worshipping any other of their images or idols whatsoever. Apol. of the Min. of Lincoln Dioc. part 1. p. 66."

Our kneeling you derive, like a good herald, from the error of Transubstantiation. But, to set down the descent of this pedigree, will trouble you: we do utterly deny it, and challenge your proof.

How new a fiction Transubstantiation is, appears out of Berengary's Recantation to Pope Nicholas †. The error was then so young, it had not learned to speak: shew us the same novelty in our kneeling. Till of late, men held not the bread to be God: of old, they have held it sacred.

This is the gesture of reverence in our prayer at the receipt, as Master Burgess well interpreted it; not of idolatrous adoration of

* 1 Cor. iii. 9. Θεοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν συνεργοί. † De consecr. d. 2. *Ego Bereng.* Apol.

the bread. This was most-what in the elevation: the abolishing whereof clears us of this imputation. You know we hate this conceit: why do you thus force wrongs upon the innocent?

Neither are we alone in this use. The Church of Bohemia allows and practises it. And why is this error less palpable in the wafers of Geneva? If the king should offer us his hand to kiss, we take it upon our knees: how much more, when the King of Heaven gives us his Son, in these pledges?

But if there were not something more than just reverence, why do we solemnly kneel at the Communion, not at Baptism?—Can you find no difference? In this, besides that there is both a more lively and feeling signification of the thing represented, we are the parties; but, in the other, witnesses.

This, therefore, I dare boldly say, that if your partner, M. Smith, should ever, which God forbid, persuade you to rebaptize, your fittest gesture, or any other's at full age, would be to receive that Sacramental water, kneeling.

How glad you are to take all scraps, that fall from any of ours for your advantage! Would to God this observation of your malicious gatherings, would make all our reverend brethren weary of their censures!

Surely, no idolatry can be worse than that Popish ἀρτολατρεία. The bread and the crucifix strive for the higher place. If we should, therefore, be so tied to kneel before the bread, as they are tied to kneel before the crucifix, their sentence were just. They adore the crucifix; not we the bread: they pray to the crucifix; not we to the bread: they direct their devotions, at the best, by the crucifix to their Saviour; we do not so by the bread: we kneel no more to the bread, than to the pulpit when we join our prayers with the Minister's.

But our quarrel is not with them. You, that can approve their judgments in dislike, might learn to follow them in approbation and peaceable communion with the Church. If there be a galled place, you will be sure to light upon that. Your charity is good; whatsoever your wisdom be.

SECT. 36.

Whether our Ordinary, and Service-Book be made idols by us.

Sep.—"*Adoring of Images.* To let pass your devout kneeling unto your Ordinary, when you take the oath of canonical obedience, or receive absolution at his hands, which, as the main actions are religious, must needs be religious adoration; what is the adoring of your truly human, though called Divine, Service-Book, in and by which you worship God, as the Papists do by their images? If the Lord Jesus, in his Testament, have not commanded any such book, it is accursed and abominable: if you think he have,

shew us the place where, that we may know it with you; or manifest unto us, that ever the Apostles used themselves, or commended to the Churches after them, any such Service-Book. Was not the Lord, in the Apostles' time and Apostolic Churches, purely and perfectly worshipped, when the Officers of the Church, in their ministration, manifested the spirit of prayer, which they had received according to the present necessities and occasions of the Church, before the least parcel of this patchery came into the world? And might not the Lord now be also purely and perfectly worshipped, though this printed image, with the painted and carved images, were sent back to Rome; yea, or cast to hell, from whence both they and it came? Speak in yourself, might not the Lord be entirely worshipped with pure and holy worship, though none other book but the Holy Scriptures were brought into the Church? If yea, as who can deny it that knows what the worship of God meaneth, what then doth your Service-Book there? The Word of God is perfect, and admitteth of none addition. Cursed be he, that addeth to the Word of the Lord; and cursed be that, which is added: and so be your great idol, the Communion-Book; though, like Nebuchadnezzar's Image, some part of the matter be gold and silver; which is also so much the more detestable, by how much it is the more highly advanced amongst you."

YET more idolatry? And, which is more, new and strange; such, I dare say, as will never be found in the two first Commandments.

Behold here two new idols; our Ordinary, and our Service-Book; a speaking idol, and a written idol! Calicut hath one strange deity, the Devil: Siberia, many; whose people worship, every day, what they see first. Rome hath many merry Saints: but, Saint Ordinary and Saint Service-Book were never heard of till your canonization.

In earnest, do you think we make our Ordinary an idol?

"What else? you kneel devoutly to him, when you receive either the oath or absolution. This must needs be religious adoration:"—

Is there no remedy? You have twice kneeled to our Vice-Chancellor, when you were admitted to your degree: you have oft kneeled to your parents and Godfathers, to receive a blessing: did you make idols of them? The party to be ordained, kneels under the hand of the Presbytery: doth he religiously adore them? Of old, they were wont to kiss the hands of their Bishops *: so they did to Baal. God and our superiors have had ever one and the same outward gesture: though here, not the agent is so much regarded, as the action. If your Ordinary would have suffered you to have done this piece of idolatry, you had never separated.

"But the true God-Bel and Dragon of England, is the Human-Divine-Service-Book:"—

Let us see what ashes or lumps of pitch this Daniel brings. We

* Paulus, in Vitâ Ambros.

worship God in and by it, as Papists do by their images:—Indeed, we worship God in and by the prayers contained in it. Why should we not? Tell me, why is it more idolatry for a man to worship God in and by a prayer read or got by heart, than by a prayer conceived? I utter both: they are both mine: if the heart speak them both, feelingly and devoutly, where lies the idol? In a conceived prayer, is it not possible for a man's thought to stray from his tongue? in a prayer learned by heart or read, is it not possible for the heart to join with the tongue? If I pray therefore in spirit, and heartily utter my desires to God, whether in mine own words or borrowed (and so made mine), what is the offence?

"But," say you, "if the Lord Jesus, in his Testament, have not commanded any such book, it is accursed and abominable:"—

But, say I, if the Lord Jesus hath not any where forbidden such a book, it is not accursed nor abominable. Shew us the place where, that we may know it with you.

Nay, but I must shew you where the Apostles used any such Service-Book:—

Shew you me, where the Apostles baptized in a bason: or where they received women to the Lord's Table; for your * ὁ ἄνθρωπος, 1 Cor. xi. will not serve: shew me, that the Bible was distinguished into chapters and verses in the Apostles' time: shew me, that they ever celebrated the Sacrament of the Supper at any other time than evening †, as your Anabaptists now do: shew me, that they used one prayer before their Sermons always, another after; that they preached ever upon a text; where they preached over a table: or, lastly, shew me where the Apostles used that prayer, which you made before your last prophecy; and a thousand such circumstances. What an idle plea is this from the Apostolic times! And, if I should tell you that St. Peter celebrated with the Lord's Prayer, you will not believe it: yet you know the history ‡.

But let the reader know, that your quarrel is not against the matter, but against the book; not as they are prayers, but as stinted or prescribed: wherein all the world, besides yourselves, are idolaters. Behold, all Churches that were or are, are partners with us in this crime. O idolatrous Geneva, and all French, Scottish, Danish, Dutch Churches! All which both have their set prayers with us, and approve them. *Quod ad formulam &c.* "As concerning a form of prayers and rites ecclesiastical," saith Reverend Calvin §, "I do greatly allow, that it should be set and certain, from which it should not be lawful for Pastors, in their function, to depart." Judge now of the spirit of these bold controllers, that dare thus condemn all God's Churches through the world, as idolatrous.

But, since you call for Apostolic examples, did not the Apostle Paul use one set form of apprecations, of benedictions? What were these, but lesser prayers? the quantity varies not the kind.

* Passage 'twixt Clifton and Smith.

† *Egyptii, ubi lautè epulati sunt, post cænam id faciunt.* Socr. l. v. c. 21.

‡ Plutin. initio. § Calvin. Epist. ad Protect. Angl. Epist. 87.

Will you have yet ancienter precedents? The Priest was appointed of old, to use a set form, under the Law; Num vi. 23—26: so the people; Deut. xxvi. 3, 5—10, 13, 14, 15: both of them a stinted psalm, for the Sabbath; Ps. xcii.

What saith your Doctor to these? "Because the Lord," saith he *, "gave forms of prayers and psalms, therefore the Prelates may! Can we think that Jeroboam had so slender a reason for his calves?"—

Mark, good reader, the shifts of these men. This Answerer calls for examples, and will abide no stinting of prayers, because we shew no patterns from Scripture. We do shew patterns from Scripture: and, now, their Doctor saith, "God appointed it to them of old: must we therefore do it?" So, whether we bring examples or none, we are condemned.

But, Master Doctor, whom, I beseech you, should we follow, but God, in his own services? If God have not appointed it, you cry out upon inventions: if God have appointed it, you cry, we may not follow it. Shew, then, where God ever enjoined an ordinary service to himself, that was not ceremonial (as this plainly is not), which should not be a direction for us?

But if stinting our prayers be a fault, for as yet you meddle not with our blasphemous Collects†, it is well that the Lord's Prayer itself beareth us company, and is no small part of our idolatry: which, though it were given principally as a rule to our prayers ‡; yet, since the matter is so heavenly, and most wisely framed to the necessity of all Christian hearts, to deny that it may be used entirely in our Saviour's words, is no better than a fanatical curiousness. Yield one and all: for, if the matter be more divine, yet the stint is no less faulty. This is not the least part of our patchery: except you unrip this, the rest you cannot.

But might not God be purely and perfectly worshipped without it?—

Tell me, might not God be purely and perfectly worshipped without churches, without houses, without garments, yea, without hands or feet? In a word, could not God be purely worshipped, if you were not? yet would you not seem a superfluous creature: speak in yourself. Might not God be entirely worshipped with pure and holy worship, though there were no other books in the world, but the Scripture? If yea, (as who can deny it, that knows what the worship of God meaneth?) what then do the Fathers, and Doctors, and learned Interpreters? To the fire with all those curious Arts and Volumes, as your predecessors called them. Yea, let me put you in mind, that God was purely and perfectly worshipped by the Apostolic Church, before ever the New Testament was written.

See, therefore, the idleness of your proofs: God may be served

* Answ. to the Minist. Counterpois. 237. † Counterpois. 236.

‡ *Omnibus arietibus gregis, id est, Apostolis suis dedit morem orandi, Dimitte nobis &c.* Aug. Epist. 89.

without a prescription of prayer: but, if all Reformed Churches in Christendom err not, better with it.

The Word of God is perfect, and admits no addition: cursed were we, if we should add ought to it: cursed were that, which should be added: But cursed be they, that take ought from it; and dare say, "Ye shall not pray thus, *Our Father*, &c."

Do we offer to make our prayers canonical? Do we obtrude them as part of God's Word? Why cavil you thus? Why doth the same prayer written add to the Word, which spoken addeth not? "Because conceived prayer is commanded, not the other:"—But, first, not your particular prayer: secondly, without mention either of conception or memory, God commands us to pray in spirit, and with the heart. These circumstances, only as they are deduced from his generals, so are ours.

But, whencesoever it please you to fetch our Book of Public Prayer, from Rome or Hell; or to what image soever you please to resemble it; let moderate spirits hear what the precious Jewell of England saith * of it. "We have come as near as we could to the Church of the Apostles, &c. neither only have we framed our Doctrine, but also our Sacraments, and the Form of Public Prayers, according to their Rites and Institutions." Let no Jew now object swine's flesh to us †. He is no judicious man (that I may omit the mention of Cranmer, Bucer, Ridley, Taylor, &c. some of whose hands were in it, all whose voices were for it) with whom one Jewell will not overweigh ten thousand Separatists.

SECT. 37.

Marriage not made a Sacrament by the Church of England.

Sep.—"*Multitudes of Sacraments.* The number of Sacraments seems greater amongst you by one at the least, than Christ hath left in his Testament; and that is Marriage: which howsoever you do not in express terms call a Sacrament (no more did Christ and the Apostles call Baptism and the Supper, Sacraments,) yet do you in truth create it a Sacrament, in the administration and use of it. There are the parties to be married and their marriage, representing Christ and his Church and their spiritual union; to which mystery, saith the Oracle of your Service-Book, expressly, God hath consecrated them: there is the ring, hallowed by the said Service-Book, whereon it must be laid, for the element: there are the words of consecration; "In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost:" there is the place, the church; the time, usually, the Lord's Day; the Minister, the Parish-Priest: and, being made as it is a part of God's worship and of the Ministers' office, what

* Apolog. p. 170. *Accessimus &c.* † II. Barr. against Gyfford.

is it, if it be not a Sacrament? It is no part of prayer, or preaching; and, with a Sacrament, it hath the greatest consimilitude. But an Idol, I am sure it is, in the celebration of it; being made a Ministerial duty and part of God's Worship, without warrant, call it by what name you will."

How did Confirmation escape this number? how did Ordination? It was your oversight, I fear; not your charity.

Some things seem, and are not. Such is this your number of our Sacraments.

You will needs have us take in Marriage into this rank. Why so? we do not, you confess, call it a Sacrament, as the Vulgate, misinterpreting Paul's *mysterium;* Eph. v. 32. Why should we not, if we so esteemed it? Wherefore serve names, but to denotate the nature of things? If we were not ashamed of the opinion, we could not be ashamed of the word.

"No more," say you, "did Christ and his Apostles call Baptism and the Supper, Sacraments:"—but we do, and you with us. See now, whether this clause do not confute your last. Where hath Christ ever said, "There are two Sacraments?" Yet you dare say so: what is this, but, in your sense, an addition to the word? Yea, we say flatly, there are but two: yet we do, say you, in truth create it a Sacrament.

How oft and how resolutely, hath our Church maintained against Rome, that none but Christ immediately can create Sacraments! If they had this advantage against us, how could we stand? How wrongful is this force, to fasten an opinion upon our Church, which she hath condemned!

But, wherein stands this our creation? It is true, the parties to be married and their marriage, represent Christ and his Church and their spiritual union.

Beware, lest you strike God through our sides: what hath God's Spirit said, either less or other than this? Eph. v. 25, 26, 27, and 32. Doth he not make Christ the Husband, the Church his Spouse? Doth he not, from that sweet conjunction and the effects of it, argue the dear respects, that should be in marriage? Or, what doth the Apostle allude elsewhere unto, when he says, as Moses of Eve, we are the *flesh of Christ's flesh*, and *bone of his bone?* And, how famous amongst the Ancient is that resemblance of Eve taken out of Adam's side sleeping, to the Church taken out of Christ's side sleeping on the Cross! Since marriage, therefore, so clearly represents this mystery, and this use is holy and sacred, what error is it, to say that marriage is consecrated to this mystery?

But what is the element? The ring:—these things agree not: you had, before, made the two parties to be the matter of this Sacrament: what is the matter of the Sacrament, but the element? If they be the matter, they are the element; and so not the ring: both cannot be. If you will make the two parties to be but the receivers, how doth all the mystery lie in their representation? Or, if the ring be the element, then all the mystery must be in the

ring, not in the parties. Labour to be more perfect, ere you make any more new Sacraments.

But this ring is laid upon the Service-Book:—Why not? For readiness, not for holiness. Nay but it is hallowed, you say, by the book:—if it be a sacramental element, it rather hallows the book, than the book it: you are not mindful enough for this trade. But what exorcisms are used in this hallowing? or who ever held it any other than a civil pledge of fidelity?

Then follow the words of consecration:—I pray you what difference is there, betwixt hallowing and consecration? The ring was hallowed before by the book: now it must be consecrated: how idly! By what words? "In the Name of the Father, &c." These words, you know, are spoken after the ring is put on. Was it ever heard of, that a sacramental element was consecrated, after it was applied? See how ill your slanders are digested by you.

The place, is the Church; the time, is the Lord's Day; the Minister, is the actor:—and is it not thus, in all other Reformed Churches, as well as ours? Behold, we are not alone: all Churches in the world, if this will do it, are guilty of Three Sacraments.

Tell me, would you not have Marriage solemnized publicly? You cannot mislike: though your founder seems to require nothing here, but notice given to witnesses, and then to bed*.

Well, if public, you account it, withal, a grave and weighty business: therefore such, as must be sanctified by public prayer. What place is fitter for public prayer, than the Church? Who is fitter to offer up the public prayer, than the Minister? Who should rather join the parties in Marriage, than the public deputy of that God, who solemnly joined the first couple? who, rather than he, which, in the Name of God, may best bless them?

The prayers, which accompany this solemnity, are parts of God's worship, not the contract itself. This is a mixed action; therefore, compounded of ecclesiastical and civil: imposed on the Minister, not upon necessity, but expedience: neither essential to him, but accidentally annexed, for greater convenience.

These too frivolous grounds have made your cavil, either very simple or very wilful.

SECT. 38.

Commutation of Penance in our Church.

Sep.—"*Power of Indulgences.* Your Court of Faculties, from whence your dispensations and tolerations for Non-Residency and Plurality of Benefices are had, together with your commuting of penances, and absolving one man for another. Take away this power from the Prelates, and you maim the Beast in a limb."

See if this man be not hard driven for accusations, when he is fain to repeat over the very same crime, which he had largely urged

* Brown, State of Christians, 172.

before. All the world will know that you want variety, when you send in these twice-sod coleworts.

Somewhat, yet, we find new; Commutation of Penance.

Our Courts would tell you, that here is nothing dispensed with, but some ceremony of shame in the confession: which, in the greater sort, is exchanged, for a common benefit of the poor, into a pecuniary mulct: yet, say they, not so as to abridge the Church of her satisfaction, by the confession of the offender. And, if you grant the ceremony devised by them, why do you find fault that it is altered or commuted by them?

As for Absolution, you have a spite at it, because you sought it, and were repulsed. If the censures be but their own (so you hold) why blame you the managing of them in what manner seems best to the authors?

This power is no more a limb of the Prelacy, than our Prelacy is that Beast in the Revelation: and our Prelacy holds itself no more St. John's Beast, than it holds you St. Paul's Beast; Phil. iii. 2.

SECT. 39.

Oath Ex officio.

Sep.—"*Necessity of Confessions.* In your High Commission Court very absolute, where, by the oath *ex officio*, men are constrained to accuse themselves of such things as whereof no man will or can accuse them: what necessity is laid upon men in this case, let your prisons witness."

I ASK of Auricular Confession: you send me to our High Commission Court. These two are much alike!

But here is also very absolute necessity of confession:—True; but as in a case of justice, not of shrift; to clear a truth, not to obtain absolution; to a bench of Judges, not to a Priest's ear. Here are too many ghostly Fathers, for an Auricular Confession.

But, you will mistake: it is enough against us, that men are constrained in these Courts to confess against themselves:—Why name you these Courts only? Even in others also, oaths are urged; not only *ex officio mercenario*, but *nobili*. The honourablest Court of Star-Chamber gives an oath, in a criminal case, to the defendant. So doth the Chancery, and Court of Requests. Shortly, to omit foreign examples, how many instances have you of this like proceeding in the common laws of this land!

But, withal, you might learn *, that no Enquiry *ex officio* may be thus made, but upon good grounds; as fame, scandal, vehement presumption, &c. going before, and giving just cause of suspicion.

* D. Cosens's Apol.

Secondly *, that this proceeding is not allowed in any case of crime, whereby the life or limbs of the examined party may be endangered; nor yet, where there is a just suspicion of future perjury upon such enforcement. Thus is the suspected wife urged to clear her honesty, by oath; Num. v. 19, 21. Thus, the master of the house must clear his truth; Exod. xxii. 8. Thus, Achan and Jonathan were urged to be their own accusers, though not by oath; Josh. vii. 19. 1 Sam. xiv. 43.

But if, perhaps, any sinister course be taken by any corrupt justicer in their proceedings; must this be imputed to the Church? Look you to your Petty-Courts, at home: which some of your ow. have compared, in these courses, not only to the Commission-Court of England, but to the Inquisition of Spain †. See there your Pastor defending himself, to be both an accuser and judge in the same cause ‡. See their proceedings *ex officio* without commission: and, if your prisons cannot witness it, your excommunications may.

SECT. 40.

Holy-days how observed in the Church of England.

Sep.—"*Profit of Pilgrimages.* Though you have lost the shrines of Saints, yet you retain their days; and those, holy as the Lord's Day: and that, with good profit to your spiritual carnal Courts, from such as profane them with the least and most lawful labour, notwithstanding the liberty of the six days' labour, which the Lord hath given: and, as much would the masters of these Courts be stirred at the casting of these Saints' Days out of the Calendar, as were the masters of the possessed maid, when the spirit of divination was cast out of her; Acts xvi. 19."

We have not lost, but cast away the idolatrous shrines of Saints. Their days we retain: theirs, not for worship of them, which our Church condemneth; but, partly for commemoration of their high deserts and excellent examples, partly for distinction. Indeed, therefore, God's days; not theirs: their praises redound to him. Shew us where we implore them, where we consecrate days to their service.

The main end of Holy-days is for the service of God; and some, as Socrates sets down § of old, *quo se à laborum contentione relaxent*, "for relaxation from labour." And, if such days may be appointed by the Church (as were the Holy-days of Purim, of

* D. Andr. Determ. de Jurejurando ἐπαχτῳ.

† G. Johns. and M. Crud. Troubles at Amsterd. p. 132.

‡ *Non potest quis in unâ causâ, eodem momento, duas portare personas; ut, in eodem judicio, et accusator sit et judex.* Optat. Milevit. l. vii.

§ Socr. l. v. c. 21.

the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem, the dedication of the Temple,) whose names should they rather bear, though but for mere distinction *, than the blessed Apostles' of Christ?

But this is a colour only: for you equally condemn those days of Christ's Birth, Ascension, Circumcision, Resurrection, Annunciation, which the Church hath, beyond all memory, celebrated †.

What, then, is our fault? We keep these holy as the Lord's Day:—In the same manner, though not in the same degree. Indeed, we come to the Church, and worship the God of the Martyrs and Saints. Is this yet our offence? No: but we abstain from our most lawful labour in them:—True, yet not in conscience of the day, but in obedience to the Church: if the Church shall indict a solemn fast, do not you hold it contemptuous to spend that day in lawful labour; notwithstanding that liberty of the six days, which God hath given? Why shall that be lawful in a case of dejection, which may not in praise and exultation?

If you had not loved to cavil, you would rather have accepted the apology or excuse of our Sister Churches in this behalf ‡, than aggravated these uncharitable pleas of your own.

Yet, even in this, your own Synagogue at Amsterdam, if we may believe your own §, is not altogether guiltless: your hands are still, and your shops shut, upon festival days. But we accuse you not: would God this were your worst!

The Masters of our Courts would tell you, they would not care so much for this dispossession, as that it should be done by such conjurers as yourself.

SECT. 41.

Our Approbation of an Unlearned Ministry disproved.

Sep.—"*Constrained and approved Ignorance.* If an ignorant and unpreaching Ministry be approved amongst you, and the people constrained by all kind of violence to submit unto it, and therewith to rest (as what is more usual throughout the whole kingdom?) then let no modest man once open his mouth to deny that ignorance is constrained and approved amongst you."

YOUR want of quarrels makes you still run over the same complaints: which, if you redouble a thousand times, will not become just, may become tedious.

* Aug. Ep. 44. *Scias à Christianis Catholicis nullum coli mortuorum, nihil deinque ut numen adorari, quod sit factum et conditum à Deo.*

† *Quæ toto orbe terrarum, &c. sicuti quoque Domini Passio et Resurrectio et in cælum Ascensus, et Adventus Spiritûs Sancti, anniversariâ solemnitate celebrantur.* Aug. Epist. 118.

‡ Churches of France and Flanders in Harm. Confess.

§ Tho. White's Discover. p. 19.

God knows how far we are from approving an unlearned Ministry. The protestations of our gracious King, our Bishops, our greatest Patrons of Conformity in their public writings, might make you ashamed of this bold assertion. We do not allow that it should be: we bewail that it will be.

Our number of parishes compared with our number of divines, will soon shew, that, either many parishes must have none, or some divines must have many congregations, or too many congregations must have scarce divine-incumbents.

Our dread Sovereign hath promised a medicine for this disease: but, withal, tells you, that Jerusalem was not built all on a day *.

The violence you speak of is commonly in case of wilful contempt, not of honest and peaceable desire of further instruction; or, in supposal of some tolerable ability in the Ministry forsaken.

We do heartily pray for labourers into this harvest. We do wish that all Israel could prophesy. We publish the Scriptures, we preach, catechize, write; and, Lord, thou knowest, how many of us would do more, if we knew what more could be done, for the information of thy people, and remedy of this ignorance which this adversary reproves us to approve.

Sep.—" *English Service, unknown Devotion.* If the service said or sung in the Parish Church may be called devotion, then sure there is good store of unknown devotion; the greatest part in most parishes, neither knowing nor regarding what is said, nor wherefore."

We doubt not, but the service, said in our Parish Churches, is as good a service to God, as the extemporary devotions in your parlours.

But, it is an unknown devotion, you say:—Through whose fault? the reader's, or the hearer's, or the matter? Distinct reading you cannot deny to the most parishes: the matter is easy prayers, and English Scriptures: if the hearers be regardless, or in some things dull of conceit, lay the fault from the service to the men. All yours are free from ignorance, free from wandering conceits! we envy you not: some knowledge is no better than some ignorance; and carelessness is no worse than mis-regard.

SECT. 42.

Penances enjoined in the Church of England.

Sep.—" What are your sheet-penances for adultery, and all your purse-penances for all other sins? than which, though some worse in Popery, yet none more common."

Coming now to the vaults of Popery, I ask for their Penances and Purgatory; those Popish Penances, which presumptuous Confessors

* Confer. at Hampt

enjoined as satisfactory, and meritorious upon their bold absolutions.

You send me to sheet-penances and purse-penances.

The one, ceremonious corrections of shame, enjoined and adjoined to public confessions of uncleanness, for the abasing of the offender and hate of the sin: such like, as the Ancient Church thought good to use, for this purpose: hence they were appointed, as Tertullian speaketh *, in sackcloth and ashes, to crave the prayers of the Church, to besmear their body with filthiness, to throw themselves down before God's Minister and Altar; not to mention other, more hard, and perhaps no less ancient rites: and hence, were those five stations † of the penitent, whereby he was at last received into the body of his wonted communion.

The other, a pecuniary mulct imposed upon some (not all, you foully slander us) less heinous offences; as a penalty, not as a penance. I hope you deny not; sodomy, murder, robbery, and (which you would not) theft itself is more deeply avenged.

But, did ever any of ours urge either sheet or purse, as the remedy of Purgatory; or enjoin them, to avoid those infernal pains? Unless we do so, our Penances are not Popish, and our Answerer is idle.

SECT. 43.

The Practices of the Church of England concerning the Funerals of the Dead.

Sep.—"Touching Purgatory, though you deny the doctrine of it, and teach the contrary; yet, how well your practice suits with it, let it be considered in these particulars: your absolving of men dying excommunicate, after they be dead, and before they may have Christian Burial."

Your next accusation is more ingeniously malicious. Our doctrine you grant contrary to Purgatory: but you will fetch it out of our practice, that we may build that which we destroy.

Let us, therefore, purge ourselves from your Purgatory.

We absolve men dying excommunicate:—

A rare practice, and which yet I have not lived to see. But, if law-makers contemn rare occurrents, surely accusers do not. Once is too much of an evil. Mark, then: Do we absolve his soul after the departure? No: what hath the body to do with Purgatory? Yet, for the body: do we, by any absolution, seek to quit it from sin? Nothing less: reason itself gives us, that it is uncapable either of sin or pardon. To lie unburied, or to be buried unseemly, is so much a punishment, that the heathens objected it, though

* *Sacco et cineri incubare, corpus sordibus obscurare, presbyteris advolvi, et genis Dei adgeniculari.* Tert. de Pœnit.

† Canon. Greg. Neocæsar. προσκλαυσις, ἀκροασις, &c.

upon the havock and fury of war, to the Christians, as an argument of God's neglect *. All, that authority can do to the dead rebel, is to put his carcase to shame, and deny him the honour of seemly sepulture: thus doth the Church to those, that will die in wilful contempt. Those Grecian Virgins, that feared not death, were yet restrained with the fear of shame after death †. It was a real, not imaginary curse of Jezebel: *The dogs shall eat Jezebel.* Now the Absolution (as you call it, by an unproper, but malicious name) is nothing else, but a liberty given by the Church, upon repentance signified of the fault of the late offender, of all those external rites of decent funeral. Death itself is capable of inequality and unseemliness. Suppose a just Excommunication: what reason is it, that he, which, in his life and death, would be as a Pagan, should be as a Christian in his burial? What is any or all this to Purgatory?

Sep.—"Your Christian Burial in holy ground, if the party will be at the charges: your ringing of hallowed bells for the soul: your singing the corpse to the grave, from the church style: your praying over or for the dead; especially in these words, 'That God would hasten his kingdom; that we, with this our brother,' though his life were never so wretched and death desperate, 'and all other departed in the true faith of thy Holy Name, may have our perfect consummation, both in body and soul.'"

The next intimation of our Purgatory, is our Christian Burial; in the place, in the manner: the place, holy ground, the church, churchyard, &c: the manner, ringing, singing, praying over the corpse. Thus, therefore, you argue: We bury the body in the church or churchyard, &c: therefore we hold a Purgatory of the soul.

A proof, not less strange, than the opinion. We do neither scorn the carcasses of our friends, as the old Troglodites; nor, with the old Egyptians, respect them more, than when they were informed with a living soul: but we keep a mean course betwixt both; using them as the remainders of dead men, yet as dead Christians, and as those which we hope one day to see glorious. We have learned to call no place holy in itself, since the Temple; but some more holy in their use, than others. The old κοιμητήρια ‡ of the Christians, wherein their bodies slept in peace, were not less esteemed of them, than they are scorned of you. Gallienus thought he did them a great favour, and so they took it, when he gave them the liberty, not only of their churches, but of their former burying places §. In the same book, Eusebius commends Astyrius, a noble senator, for his care and cost of Marinus's bu-

* Aug. de Civ. l. i.

† *Athenienses decreverunt, ne si quis se interfecisset sepeliretur in agro Attico, &c.*

‡ "Sleeping-places." Cæmiteria.

§ Euseb. l. vii. c. 12. τῶν τόπων θρησκευομένων καὶ κοιμητήρ.

rial *. Of all these rites of funeral, and choice of place, we profess to hold, with Augustin †, that they are only the comforts of the living, not helps of the dead: yet, as Origen also teacheth us ‡, "We have learned to honour a reasonable," much more a Christian, "soul; and to commit the instrument or case of it honourably to the grave." All this might have taught our Answerer, that we make account of a Heaven, of a Resurrection; not of a Purgatory.

But we ring hallowed bells for the soul:—

Do not those bells hang in hallowed steeples, too? and do we not ring them with hallowed ropes? What fancy is this? If Papists were so fond of old, their folly and their bells, for the most part, are both out of date. We call them soul-bells, for that they signify the departure of the soul, not for that they help the passage of the soul. This is mere boys'-play.

But we pray over or for the dead:—

Do we not sing to him also? Pardon me, I must needs tell you, here is much spite, and little wit. To pray for the consummation of the glory of all God's elect, what is it, but *Thy Kingdom come?* How vainly do you seek a knot in a rush, while you cavil at so holy a petition! Go, and learn how much better it is, to call them our brothers, which are not, in a harmless over-weening and over-hoping of charity; than to call them no brothers, which are, in a proud and censorious uncharitableness.

You cannot be content to tell an untruth, but you must face it out. Let any reader judge, how far our practice, in this, hath dissented from our doctrine: would to God in nothing more!

Yes, saith this good friend, in the most other things; our words profess, our deeds deny. At once, you make us hypocrites, and yourselves Pharisees. Let all the world know, that the English Church at Amsterdam, professeth nothing, which it practiseth not: we may not be so holy, or so happy.

Sep.—"Your general doctrines and your particular practices agree in this, as in the most other things, like Harp and Harrow. In word, you profess many truths; which, in deed, you deny.
These, and many more Popish devices (by others at large discovered to the world) both for pomp and profit, are not only not razed and buried in the dust, but are advanced, amongst you, above all that is called God."

GENERALITY is a notable shelter of untruth. "Many more," you say "Popish devices;" yet name none. No, you cannot.

"Advanced above all that is called God?"—Surely, this is a paradox of slanders. You meant, at once, to shame us with false-

* *Splendidissimæ sepulturæ tradidit.* Euseb. l. vii. c. 15.

† *Curatio funeris, conditio sepulturæ, pompa exequiarum, magis sunt vivorum solatia quàm subsidia mortuorum.* Aug. de Civit. l. i. c. 12. *Si enim paterna vestis et annulus tanto char. est posteris, nullo modo ipsa spernenda sunt corpora.* Aug. de Civ. l. i. c. 13.

‡ Orig. cont. Cels. l. viii. *Rationalem animam honorare didicimus,* &c.

hood, and to appose us with riddles. We say to the Highest, *Whom have we in heaven, but thee?* and, for earth, yourself have granted we give too much to princes, which are Earthen Gods; and may come under Paul's πᾶν σέβασμα. Either name our deity, or crave mercy for your wrong. Certainly, though you have not remorse, yet you shall have shame.

SECT. 44.

The Churches still retained in England.

Sep.—"You are far from doing to the Romish idols, as was done to the Egyptian idols, Mithra and Serapis; whose priests were expelled their ministry, and monuments exposed to utter scorn and desolation, their temples demolished and razed to the very foundation."

THE majesty of the Romish petty-gods, I truly told you, was, long ago, with Mithra and Serapis, exposed to the laughter of the vulgar.

You strain the comparison too far; yet we follow you.

Their priests were expelled: for, as your Doctor yieldeth, other actors came upon the same stage: others in religion, else it had been no change.

Their ministry and monuments exposed to utter scorn: their masses, their oblations, their adorations, their invocations, their anoilings, their exorcizings, their shrift, their absolutions, their images, rood-lofts, and whatsoever else of this kind.

But the temples of those old heathens were demolished and razed *. Here is the quarrel: ours stand still in their proud majesty:—

Can you see no difference betwixt our Churches and their Temples? The very name itself, if at least you have understood it, Kirk or Church, which is nothing but an abbreviation of κυριακὴ "the Lord's House," might have taught you, that ours were dedicated to God, and theirs to the Devil, in their false gods.

Augustin answers you, as directly, as if he were in my room. "The Gentiles," saith he †, "to their gods erected temples; we, not temples unto our martyrs as unto gods, but memorials as unto dead men, whose spirits with God are still living." These, then, if they were abused by Popish idolatry, is there no way, but *Down with them, down with them to the ground* ‡?

Well fare the Donatists yet, your old friends: they but washed

* Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. v. 16, 17.—Bed. Hist. Eccl. l. i. Cit. Gregor. Ep. Aug. suo c. 30. and Edilberto regi. c. 32. *Contra sibi, &c. Sed et Hæreticorum templa vastata à Constantino.* Euseb. l. iii. c. 63.

† August. de Civit. l. viii. c. 27.

‡ Hooker v. b. c. 13. Id. August. cont. Maximin. Arian. *Nonne ni templum &c.*

the walls, that were polluted by the orthodox. By the same token, that Optatus asks them *, why they did not wash the books which ours touched, and the heavens which they looked upon; what, are the very stones sinful? what can be done with them? The very earth where they should lie on heaps would be unclean.

But not their pollution angers you more, than their proud majesty:—

What house can be too good, for the Maker of All Things? As God is not affected with state, so is he not delighted in baseness. If the pomp of the Temple were ceremonial, yet it leaves this morality behind it, that God's House should be decent. And what if goodly? If we did put holiness in the stones, as you do uncleanness, it might be sin to be costly. Let me tell you, there may be as much pride in a clay wall, as in a carved. Proud majesty is better than proud baseness. The stone or clay will offend, in neither: we may, in both. If you love cottages, the Ancient Christians, with us, loved to have God's House stately; as appears by the example of that worthy Bishop of Alexandria, and that gracious Constantine, in whose days these sacred piles began to lift up their heads unto this envied height †. Take you your own choice: give us ours: let us neither repine nor scorn at each other.

SECT. 45.

The Founders and Furnitures of our Churches.

Sep.—"But your temples, especially your Cathedral and Mother Churches, stand still in their proud majesty, possessed by Archbishops and Lord Bishops; like the Flamins and Arch-Flamins amongst the Gentiles, from whom they were derived and furnished with all manner of pompous and superstitious monuments: as carved and painted Images, Massing Copes and Surplices, Chaunting and Organ-Music, and many other glorious ornaments of the Romish Harlot, by which her majesty is commended to and admired by the vulgar: so far are you, in these respects, from being gone, or fled, yea, or crept either, out of Babylon."

All this while, I feared you had been in Popish idolatry: now, I find you in Heathenish.

These our churches are still possessed by their Flamins and Arch-Flamins:—

I had thought none of our temples had been so ancient. Certainly, I find but one poor ruinous building, reported to have worne

* Optat. Milevit. an. l. vi. *Lavistis, proculdubio, pallas: Judicate quid de codicibus fecistis. Aut utrumque lavate, aut &c. Si quod tangit aspectus lavandum est, ut parietes &c. Videmus rectum, videmus et cælum, &c. hæc à vobis lavari non possunt.*

† Athanas. Apol.—Euseb. de Vitâ Const.—Otho Frising. l. iv. c. 3.

out this long tyranny of time. For the most, you might have read their age and their founders, in open records.

But these were derived from those: surely the churches, as much as the men:—

It is true, the Flamins, and whatever other Heathen Priests, were put down; Christian Bishops were set up: are these, therefore, derived from those? Christianity came in the room of Judaism: was it, therefore, derived from it? Before, you told us, that our Prelacy came from that Antichrist of Rome; now, from the Flamins of the Heathen: both no less, than either *. If you cannot be true, yet learn to be constant.

But what mean you to charge our churches with carved and painted images? It is well you write to those, that know them. Why did not you say we bow our knees to them, and offer incense? Perhaps, you have espied some old dusty statue in an obscure corner, covered over with cobwebs, with half a face, and that miserably blemished; or, perhaps, half a crucifix inverted in a church-window: and these you surely noted for English Idols: no less dangerous glass you might have seen at Geneva; a Church, that hates idolatry, as much as you do us.

What more? Massing Copes, and Surplices:—Some Copes, if you will; more Surplices; no Massing. Search your books again, you shall find Albes in the Mass, no Surplices.

As for Organ-Music, you should not have fetched it from Rome, but from Jerusalem. In the Reformed Church at Middleburgh, you might have found this skirt of the Harlot: which yet you grant at least crept out of Babylon.

Sep.—"Now, if you be thus Babylonish where you repute yourselves most Sion-like, and thus confounded in your own evidence, what defence could you make in the things whereof an adversary would challenge you? If your light be darkness, how great is your darkness!"

Judge now, Christian Reader, of the weight of these grand exceptions: and see, whether ten thousand such were able to make us no Church; and argue us, not only in Babylon, but to be Babylon itself.

Thus Babylonish we are to you, and thus Sion-like to God. Every True Church is God's Sion: every Church, that holds the foundation, is true; according to that golden rule; Eph. ii. 21: every building, that is coupled together in this Corner-Stone, *groweth unto a holy temple in the Lord.* No adversary, either man or devil, can confound us; either in our evidences, or their own

* Lumb. l. iv. dist. 24. Isid. l. vii. Etymol. c. 12. *Theophilus Episc. cùm cæteras statuas deorum confringeret, unam integram servari jussit, eámque in loco publico erexit, ut Gentiles, tempore progrediente, non inficiarentur se hujusmodi deos coluisse. Ammonius Grammaticus, hâc de re valde discruciatus, dixit gravem plagam religioni Græcorum inflictam, quòd illa una statua non everteretur.* Socrat. l. v. c. 16.

challenges. We may be faulty; but we are true. And, if the darkness you find in us be light, how great is our light!

SECT. 46.

On what ground Separation or Ceremonies were objected.

Sep.—"But, for that not the separation but the cause makes the schismatic; and, lest you should seem to speak evil of the thing you know not, and to condemn a cause unheard; you lay down, in the next place, the supposed cause of our Separation; against which you deal as insufficiently. And that, you pretend to be none other, than your consorting with the Papists in certain ceremonies: touching which, and our Separation in regard of them, thus you write.

M. H. If you have taken but the least knowledge of the grounds of our judgment and practice, how dare you thus abuse both us and the reader, as if the only or chief ground of our Separation were your Popish Ceremonies? But, if you go only by guess, having never so much as read over one treatise published in our defence, and yet stick not to pass this your censorious doom both upon us and it, I leave it to the reader to judge, whether you have been more lavish of your censure or credit. Most unjust is the censure of a cause unknown, though in itself never so blame-worthy; which, nevertheless, may be praise-worthy, for ought he knows that censures it."

He, that leaves the whole Church, in a gross and wilful error, is a Heretic: he, that leaves a particular Church, for appendances, is a Schismatic.

Such are you, both in the action and cause.

The act is yielded: the cause hath been, in part, scanned; shall be more.

This I vainly pretended to be our consorting in ceremonies with the Papists:—

Behold here the ground of your loud challenge of my ignorance: ignorance of your judgment and practice: here is my abuse of you, of my reader.

And, how durst I?—Good words, M. R! What I have erred, I will confess! I have wronged you, indeed; but, in my charity. I knew the cause of Brownism, but I knew not you: for, to say ingenuously, I had heard and hoped, that your case had been less desperate. My intelligence was, that, in dislike of these ceremonies obtruded, and a hopelessness of future liberty, you and your fellows had made a Secession, rather than a Separation from our Church; to a place, where you might have scope to profess and opportunity to enjoy your own conceits: whence it was, that I termed you Ringleaders of the Late Separation, not followers of

the first; and made your plea against our Church, imperfection, not falsehood. I hoped you, as not ours; so not theirs: not ours, in place; so not quite theirs, in peevish opinion. I knew it to be no new thing, for men inclining to these fancies, to begin new Churches at Amsterdam, several from the rest: witness the letters of some, sometimes yours, cited by your own Pastor *. I knew the former Separation; and hated it: I hoped better of the latter Separation; and pitied it. My knowledge, both of M. Smith † whom you followed, and yourself, would not let me think of you, as you deserved. How durst I charge you with that, which, perhaps, you might disavow?

It was my charity, therefore, that made my accusations easy: it is your uncharitableness, that accuses them of ignorance. I knew why a Brownist is a true Schismatic: I knew not you were so true a Brownist.

But why then did I write?—Taking your Separation at best, I knew how justly I might take occasion by it to dissuade from Separation; to others' good, though not to yours: now I know you better, or worse rather, I think you hear more. Forgive me my charity, and make the worst of my ignorance.

I knew that this Separation, which now I know yours, stands upon four grounds; as some beast upon four feet. First, God worshipped after a false manner: secondly, Profane multitude received: thirdly, Antichristian Ministry imposed: fourthly, subjection to Antichristian Government ‡. The Ceremonies are but as some one paw in every foot: yet, if we extend the word to the largest use, dividing all religion into ceremony and substance, I may yet and do aver, that your Separation is merely grounded upon Ceremonies.

SECT. 47.

Estimation of Ceremonies, and Subjection to the Prelates.

Sep.—"And, touching the Ceremonies here spoken of, howsoever we have formerly refused them, submitting, as all others did and do, to the Prelates' spiritual jurisdiction; herein, through ignorance, straining at gnats and swallowing camels: yet are we verily persuaded of them, and so were before we separated, that they are but as leaves of that tree, and as badges of that *Man of Sin*, whereof the Pope is head, and the Prelates shoulders. And so we, for our parts, see no reason why any of the Bishops' sworn servants, as all the Ministers in the Church of England are canonically, should make nice to wear their lords' liveries.

* Enquir. into M. White.
† Which upon the Lord's Prayer, hath confuted some positions of that sect.
‡ Bar. and Greenw. passim. Penr. Exam.

Which Ceremonies, notwithstanding, we know well enough, howsoever you for advantage extenuate and debase them unto us, to be advanced and preferred in your Church, before the preaching of the Gospel."

And, touching Ceremonies, you refused them formerly, but not long; and, when you did refuse them, you knew not wherefore: for, immediately before your suspension, you acknowledged them to be things indifferent; and, for matter of scandal by them, you had not informed yourself, by your own confession, of a whole quarter of a year after. Why refused you then, but as the poet made his plays, to please the people? or, as Simon Magus was baptized, for company?

But, refusing them, you submitted to the Prelates' spiritual jurisdiction. There was your crime: this was your camel; the other, your gnats! Did ever any Prelate challenge spiritual rule over your conscience? This, they all appropriate to the great Bishop of our Souls. And, if other, grant them as your malice feigneth: what sin is it to be the subject of a tyrant?

Now, upon more grace, refusing the Prelacy, you have branded the Ceremonies. So you did before your Separation. Tell us, how long was it after your suspension, and before your departure, that you could have been content, upon condition, to have worne this linen badge of your *Man of Sin?* Was not this your resolution, when you went from Norwich to Lincolnshire, after your suspension? Deny it not: my witnesses are too strong.

But, let us take you as you are. These Ceremonies, though too vile for you, yet are good enough for our Ministers of England. As if you said, *Lord, I thank thee, I am not as this publican.*

Why for our Ministers? Because, those are the liveries, and these the sworn servants, of the Antichristian Bishops:—we have, indeed, sworn obedience to our Ordinary, in honest and lawful commandments; but service, to Christ; 1 Cor. iv. 1.

But doth all obedience imply servitude? This obedience is, as to spiritual fathers, not to masters: yet so are we the servants of Christ, that we are ready to give our service to the least of his Saints. Thus vile will be for God: how much more to those whom God hath made, as Jerome says *, *Principes Ecclesiæ*, while they command for God! What do we herein, but that, which Epiphanius urged of old against Ærius †? What, but the same, which Ignatius, that holy and old martyr, requires, not once, of all Presbyters; and offers the engagement of his own soul for us in this act ‡?

Sep.—"It is much, that they, being not so much as reed nor any

* Hier. in Ps. xliv.

† Heming. Class. 3. Potest. Ec. c. 10.

‡ *Ut cuique suus clerus et sua plebs, in his, quæ Domini sunt, piè obsequeretur.* Ignat. Epist. ad Tarsens.

part of the building (as you pretend), should overturn the best builders amongst you, as they do."

As for our Ceremonies, aggravate them how you can for your advantage, they are but Ceremonies to us: and such, as wherein we put no holiness; but order, decency, convenience.

But they are preferred, you say, in our Church, before the preaching of the Gospel:—

A most wrongful untruth. We hold preaching an essential part of God's service; Ceremonies, none at all. The Gospel preached, we hold the life and soul of the Church; Ceremonies, either the garment, or the lace of the garment. The Gospel preached, we hold the foundation and walls; Ceremonies, hardly so much as reed or tile.

But how, then, say you, have they overturned our best builders?—

This is a word of rare favour. I had thought you had held us all ruiners, not builders: or, if builders; of Babel, not of Jerusalem: in which work, the best builders are the worst.

Those, whose hand hath been in this act, would tell you, that not so much the Ceremonies are stood upon, as obedience. If God please to try Adam but with an apple, it is enough. What do we quarrel at the value of the fruit, when we have a prohibition? Shimei is slain: what! merely for going out of the city? The act was little: the bond was great. What is commanded, matters not so much, as by whom. Insult not: we may thank your outrage for this loss.

Sep.—"The proportion betwixt Zoar and them holds well. Zoar was a neighbour unto Sodom, both in place and sin, and obnoxious to the same destruction with it; and it was Lot's error to desire to have it spared, Gen. xix. 15, 18, 19, 20: and so he never found rest nor peace in it; but forsook it, for fear of the same just judgment, which had overtaken the rest of the cities; v. 30. The application of this to your Ceremonies, I leave to yourself; and them to that destruction, to which they are devoted by the Lord.

For your retortion of my Zoar and Sodom, I can give you leave to be witty, you use it so seldom: but, when you have played with the allusion what you list, I must tell you, that he, which will needs urge a comparison to go on four feet, is not worthy to go upon two. Zoar was near to Sodom, not part of it: Zoar was reserved, when Sodom was destroyed: Zoar's nearness to the place where Sodom stood, needed not have given Lot cause of removal. Zoar might safely have been the harbour of Lot: his fear was, for want of faith *. God promised him and the place security. The far-fetched application, therefore, of the wickedness of Zoar to our

* *Fidem Domino habere debuerat qui se eam servaturum propter eum dixerat.* Mercer. in Gen.

Ceremonies, might well have been forborne, and kept to yourself: much less needed you, like some anti-Lot, to call for fire and brimstone from heaven upon your Zoar.

SECT. 48.

The State of the Temple, and of our Church in resemblance.

Sep.—"How we would have behaved ourselves in the Temple, where the money-changers were and they that sold doves, we shall answer you, when you prove your Church to be the Temple of God, compiled and built of spiritually hewn and lively stones; 1 Kings v. 17, 18. and vi. 7. 1 Pet. ii. 5: and of the cedars, firs, and thyne trees of Lebanon; 2 Chr. ii. 8. framed and set together in that comely order, which a greater than Solomon hath prescribed; unto which God hath promised his presence. But, whilst we take it to be, as it is, a confused heap of dead and defiled and polluted stones, and of all rubbish; of briers and brambles of the wilderness, for the most part fitter for burning than building; we take ourselves rather bound to shew our obedience, in departing from it, than our valour in purging it; and to follow the Prophet's counsel in *flying out of Babylon, as the he-goats before the flock*; Jer. l. 8."

How you would have behaved yourself in the Temple to the money-changers, you will answer, when we prove our Church to be God's Temple, built of that matter, and in that form, which God hath prescribed:—

And here you send us to 1 Kings v. 17. and 2 Chr. ii. 8: ignorantly; as if Solomon's Temple had stood till Christ's time; when neither the first, nor second (though called *Beth Gnolam*) outlasted more than four hundred years: or, as if the market had been under the very roof of that Temple. Whether Herod's were built of the same matter with Solomon's, and in full correspondence to it, I dispute not: it was certainly dedicated to God's service; and that, which you would hardly digest, in a solemn anniversary Holy-Day; though not erected upon the word of any prophet.

But, to let pass allegories; we must prove ourselves the True Church of God:—thus we do it. We are true Christians, for we were baptized into the Name of Christ: we truly profess our continuance in the same faith, into which we were baptized: we join together in the Public Services of God: we maintain every point of the most Ancient Creeds: we overthrow not the foundation by any consequence. Therefore, whatever is wanting to us, whatever is superfluous, in spite of all the gates of hell, we are the True Church of God.

Let me ask you: were not the people of the Jews, in the Prophets' and in Christ's time, "a confused heap of dead, and defiled,

and," for I will use your tautologies, "polluted stones, and of all rubbish; of briers and brambles of the wilderness, for the most part fitter for burning than building?" Can we be worse than they? If wickedness can defile a Church, they shall justify us. Did either those Prophets or our Saviour, rather shew their obedience to God in departing from it, than their valour in purging it? You have well imitated these heavenly patterns!

But what! can your charity find nothing but rubbish? Not one square stone, not one living? You will be judging, till God judge you. If you take not heed of these courses, you will so run with the he-goats, that you will stand with the goats on the left hand. That God, whose place you have usurped, give you more wisdom and love!

SECT. 49.

Whether Ministers should endure themselves silenced.

Sep.—"And what, I pray you, is the valour, which the best hearted and most zealous Reformers amongst you have manifested, in driving out the money-changers? Doth it not appear in this, that they suffer themselves to be driven out with the two-stringed whip of ceremonies and subscription, by the money-changers, the Chancellors and Officials, which sell sins like doves; and by the Chief Priests, the Bishops which set them on work? So far are the most zealous amongst you from driving out the money-changers, as they themselves are driven out by them, because they will not change with them to the utmost farthing."

THE valour of our most zealous Reformers hath truly shewed itself in yieldance. As in duels, so here, he is the most valiant, that can so master himself, as not to fight. You, according to the common opinion of swaggerers, blame the peaceable of cowardice, and accuse them of suffering.

Behold a new crime: That they suffer themselves to be driven out!

What should they have done? Should they have taken arms, and cry, *The sword of God, and Gideon?* You, that will not allow a prince to compel subjects, will you allow subjects to compel princes? God forbid! This were high treason against God's Anointed.

What then? Should they approve the Ceremonies by subscription, by practice? This you exclaim upon, as High Treason against the Highest.

What yet more? Should they have preached with their mouths stopped? This is it, which you have learned of your founder *; and, through not many hands, received; and required, with no less vio-

* Brown, Reform. without Tarrying.

lence. Clamour and tumult, is that you desire. Still let our sin be peaceable obedience; yours, fury and opposition.

Your headstrong conceit is, that it is a sin to be silenced. Men must preach, even when they may not.

All times, before you, would have wondered at this paradox: for, however the Apostles, which had not their calling from men, would not be silenced by men; yet we find that all their successors held, that those hands, which were laid upon their heads, might be laid upon their mouths. Look into all histories. Those Constitutions, which though not Apostolic yet were ancient, in the Seventh Canon punish a Bishop or Presbyter, that, upon pretence of religion, separates from his wife, with deposition*: and, if any Presbyter shall shift his charge without licence, τοῦτον κελεύομεν μηκέτι λειτουργεῖν †; and, lastly, inflicts the same penalty upon fornication, adultery, perjury. The great Nicene Council takes the same order with some misliked Bishops and Presbyters, in divers Canons ‡. Gaudentius, in the Council of Sardi §, takes it for granted, that a Bishop may by Bishops be deposed. So the Second Council of Carthage, Can. 13. so the Fourth Council of Carthage, more than once imposes degradation ‖. So Leo the First threats to put some offending persons from the office of the Ministry ¶. So, that I may not be endless, blessed Cyprian advises Rogatianus, a good old Bishop, which was abused by a malapert Deacon, by the authority of his Chair to right himself; and either to depose or suspend the offender **. Leontius, in Socrates ††, is deprived of his Priesthood. Yea, what Council or Father gives not both rules and instances of this practice? See how far the Ancient Church was from these tumultuous fancies.

No, no, M. R., we well find, it is doing, that undoes the Church; not suffering. If your fellows could have suffered more and done less, the Church had been happy.

As for our Church-Officers, you may rail upon them with a lawless safety: there is a great ditch betwixt you and them: else, you might pay dear for this sin of slandering them, with their cheap penny-worths. How idly do you insult over those, whom your money-changers have driven out of their pulpits; when you confess, after all your valour, that they have driven you both out of Church and Country! Who can pity a miserable insulter?

* ἐπιμένων δὲ καθαιρεῖσθω. † "We charge him not to serve any more."

‡ So Can. 15. Can. 25. *Cùm compertum fuerit, deponatur.* Can. 10. *De Clericatûs honore periclitabitur.* Can. 2. *E Clero deponatur, et sit alienus à Canone.* Can. 17 et Can. 18. *A Ministerio cessare debuerit.*

§ Concil. Sardic. c. 4. ‖ Concil. Carth. iv. c. 48 et 56, 57.

¶ Leo Ep. 1. sect. 5. ** Cypr. l. iii. Ep. 9. †† Socr. l. ii. c. 21.

SECT. 50.

Power of Reforming Abuses given to the Church: and the Issue of the Neglect of it.

Sep.—"For the wafers in Geneva and disorders in Corinth, they were corruptions, which may and do, or the like unto them, creep into the purest Churches in the world: for the reformation whereof, Christ hath given his power unto his Church; that such evils, as are brought in by human frailty, may by divine authority be purged out. This power and presence of Christ you want; holding all by homage, or rather by villanage, under the Prelates; unto whose sinful yoke you stoop, in more than Babylonish bondage; bearing and approving, by personal communion, infinite abominations."

You, that can grant there will be corruptions in all other Churches, will endure none in ours. If England should have either unleavened wafers, or drunken love-feasts, though no other blemishes, she could not but be Babylon. We envy not your favours.

These, or whatsoever like enormities, Christ hath given power unto his Church to reform:—

But what if the Church neglect to use it? What if those evils, which are brought in by human frailty, will not by divine authority be purged out? Now the error, by your doctrine *, is grown fundamental: so Christ is lost, and the foundation razed.

If we shall then assume, against our friends to convince our enemies, the Church of Geneva hath been seriously dealt with in this corruption, and dissuaded by vehement importunity, yet still persisteth; how can you free them, and charge us? See how we love to be miserable, with company!

This power to purge out all corruptions, Christ hath not given us. If he hath given it you, you must first begin to purge out yourselves. You have done it: but still there remain some. Would God, we had as much execution as power! Our Church should be as clean, as yours is schismatical. If you should measure faculties by their exercise, natural rest should be the greatest enemy to virtue, and the solitary Christian should be miserable.

This power of ours is not dead, but sleepeth. When it awaketh unto more frequent use, which we earnestly pray for, look you for the first handsel of it: none can be more worthy. As it is, we offend not more in defect, than you in excess: of whom, that your Lazarello of Amsterdam, G. J., could say †, That you have Excommunications as ready, as a Prelate hath a Prison.

Christ is in many, that feel him not: but we want not the power only, but the presence of Christ:—

* Barr. against Gyff. pp. 27, 28.

† Troubles and Excommunications aAmsterdam.

How so? he was with us, while you were here. Did he depart with you? Will the Separatists engross our Saviour to themselves *; and, as Cyprian said † of Pupianus, go to heaven alone? yea, confine the God of Heaven to Amsterdam?

What insolence is this! we have him in his Word: we have him in his Sacraments: we have him in our hearts: we have him in our profession: yet this enemy dare say, we want him:—

Wherein? I suppose in our censures. We have Peter's Keys, as his true successors both in office and doctrine: our fault is, that we use them not as you would. What Church doth so? Your first Martyr doth as zealously inveigh ‡ against the practice of Geneva and all other Reformed Congregations in this point, as against us: both for the wooden dagger, as he terms § it, of Suspension; and for their Consistorial Excommunications.

Woe were to all the world, if Christ should limit his presence only to your fashions! Here you found him; and here you left him. Would to God, we did no more grieve him with our sins, than you please him in your presumptuous censures!

In the rest, you rail against our Prelates, and us. Can any man think, that Christ hath left peaceable spirits, to go dwell with railers?

Indeed, yours is freehold: so you would have it, free from subjection, free from obedience. This is looseness, more than liberty: you have broken the bonds, and cast the cords from you.

But you miscall our tenure. We hate villenage, no less than you hate peace; and hold, *in capite*, of him, that is *the Head of his Body, the Church;* Col. i. 18: under whose easy yoke we do willingly stoop, in a sweet Christian freedom; abhorring and reproving, and therefore, notwithstanding our personal communion, avoiding all abominations.

Sep.—"And, in these two last respects principally, your Babylonish confusion of all sorts of people in the body of your Church without separation, and your Babylonish bondage under your spiritual lords the Prelates, we account you Babylon, and fly from you."

In these two respects, therefore, of our confusion and bondage, we have well seen in this discourse, how justly your Sion accounts us Babylon. Since it is apparent, for the one, that here is neither confusion, nor Babylonish, nor without separation: for the other, no bondage, no servility; our Prelates being our fathers, not our mas-

* *An tu solus Ecclesia es? Et qui te offenderit à Christo excluditur?* Hieron. Epiphan.

† Cypr. *Solus in cælum ascend. Pupianus?* Et ad Acesium Novatianum Constan. *Erigito tibi scalam, Acesi, et ad cælum solus ascendito.* Socr. l. i. c. 7.

‡ Bar. Gyff. Ref.

§ So some of their own have termed their excommunication. Confess. by M. Johns. Enquiry p. 65.

ters *; and if Lords for their external dignity, yet not Lords of our Faith.

And, if both these your respects were so; yet, so long as we do inviolably hold the foundation, both directly and by necessary sequel, any Railer may term us, but no Separatist shall prove us, Babylon.

You may fly, whether you list: would God, yet further; unless you had more love!

SECT. 51.

The View of the Sins and Disorders of others, whereupon objected, and how far it should affect us.

Sep.—"Master H., having formerly expostulated with us our supposed impiety in forsaking a Ceremonious Babylon in England, proceeds, in the next place, to lay down our madness in choosing a Substantial Babylon in Amsterdam: and, if it be so found by due trial as he suggesteth, it is hard to say, whether our impiety or madness be the greater."

I NEED no better analyser, than yourself; save that you do not only resolve my parts, but add more: whereas, every motion hath a double term; from whence, and whither: both these could not but fall into our discourse.

Having, therefore, formerly expostulated with you for your (since you will so term it) impiety, in forsaking a Ceremonious Babylon of your own making in England; I thought it not unfit to compare your choice with your refusal; England, with Amsterdam, which it pleaseth you to entitle a Substantial Babylon. Impiety and Madness are titles of your own choice: let your guiltiness be your own accuser.

The truth is, my charity and your uncharitableness have caused us to mistake each other.

My charity thus. Hearing, both at Middleburgh and here, that certain companies from the parts of Nottingham and Lincoln, whose harbinger had been newly in Zealand before me, meant to retire themselves to Amsterdam, for their full liberty, not for the full approbation of your Church; not favouring your main opinions, but emulating your freedom in too much hate of our ceremonies, and too much accordance to some grounds of your hatred: I hoped you had been one of their guides; both because Lincolnshire was your country, and Master Smith your oracle and general. Not daring, therefore, to charge you with perfect Brownism, what could I think might be a greater motive to this your supposed change, than the view of our, so oft proclaimed, wickedness, and the hope of less

* *Amari parens et Episcopus debet, non timeri.* Hier. ad Theophilum.

cause of offence in those foreign parts? This I urged; fearing to go deeper, than I might be sure to warrant.

Now comes my charitable Answerer, and imputes this easiness of my challenge to my ignorance: and, therefore, will needs persuade his Christian Reader, that I knew nothing of the First Separation, because I objected so little to the Second.

Sep.—"Belike, Master H. thinks we gather Churches here by town-rows, as they do in England; and that all within the Parish Procession are of the same Church. Wherefore else tells he us of Jews, Arians, and Anabaptists; with whom we have nothing common, but the streets and market-place? It is the condition of the Church, to live in the world, and to have civil society with the men of this world; 1 Cor. v. 10. John xvii. 11. But what is this to that spiritual communion of the Saints, in the fellowship of the Gospel, wherein they are separated and sanctified from the world unto the Lord? John xvii. 16. 1 Cor. i. 2. 2 Cor. vi. 17, 18."

It were strange, if I should think you gather Churches there by town-rows, as we in England; who know that some one prison might hold all your refined flock. You gathered here by hedge-rows: but there, it is easier to tell how you divide, than how you gather.

Let your Church be an entire body, enjoying her own spiritual communion; yet, if it be not a corrosive to your heart to converse in the same streets, and to be ranged in the same town-rows with Jews, Arians, Anabaptists, &c. you are no whit of kin to him, that vexed his righteous soul with the uncleannesses of foul Sodom. That good man had nothing but civil society with those impure neighbours: he differed from them in religion, in practice: yet could he not so carelessly turn off this torment. His house was God's Church; wherein they had the spiritual communion of the Saints: yet, while the city was so unclean, his heart was unquiet.

Separation from the world how required.

We may, you grant, have civil society with ill men; spiritual communion, only with Saints: those must be accounted the World; these only, the Church. Your own allegations shall condemn you. *They are not of the world*, saith Christ, *as I am not of the world;* John xvii. 16. Both Christ and they were parts of the Jewish Church: the Jewish Church was not so sanctified, but the most were extremely unclean: therefore, we may be parts of a Visible Unsanctified Church, and yet be separate from the World.

St. Paul writes to his Corinthians, *sanctified in Christ, Saints by calling:* 1 Cor. i. 2:—True: but, not long after, he can say, *Ye are yet carnal;* 1 Cor. iii. 3. In his Second Epistle, *Come out*, saith he, *from among them:* but from whom? from Infidels, by profession; not corrupted Christians.

SECT. 52.

The Nearness of the State and Church, and the great Errors found by the Separatists in the French and Dutch Churches.

Sep.—"We, indeed, have much wickedness in the City where we live; you, in the Church. But, in earnest, do you imagine we account the Kingdom of England, Babylon; or the City of Amsterdam, Sion? It is the Church of England, or State Ecclesiastical, which we account Babylon; and from which we withdraw in spiritual communion: but, for the Commonwealth and Kingdom, as we honour it above all the States in the world, so would we thankfully embrace the meanest corner in it, at the extremest conditions of any people in the Kingdom."

THE Church and State, if they be two, yet they are twins; and that so, as either's evil proves mutual. The sins of the City not reformed, blemish the Church: where the Church hath power and in a sort comprehends the State, she cannot wash her hands of tolerated disorders in the Commonwealth. Hence is my comparison of the Church (if you could have seen it, not the Kingdom) of England, with that of Amsterdam.

I doubt not, but you could be content to sing the old song, of us, *Bona terra, mala gens.* Our land you could like well, if you might be lords alone. Thanks be to God, it likes not you; and justly thinks the meanest corner too good for so mutinous a generation. When it is weary of peace, it will recal you. You, that, neither in prison, nor on the seas, nor in the coasts of Virginia, nor in your way, nor in Netherland, could live in peace; what shall we hope of your ease at home? Where ye are, all you thankful tenants cannot, in a powerful Christian State, move God to distinguish betwixt the known sins of the City and the Church.

How oft hath our Gracious Sovereign, and how importunately, been solicited for a Toleration of Religions? It is pity, that the Papists hired not your advocation; who, in this point, are those true Cassanders *, which Reverend Calvin long since confuted. Their wishes, herein, are yours; to our shame and their excuse. His Christian heart held that toleration unchristian and intolerable, which you either neglect or magnify. Good Constantine winked at it, in his beginning †; but, as David at the house of Zeruiah. Succeeding times found these Canaanites to be pricks and thorns; and, therefore, both by mulcts and banishments sought either their yieldance or avoidance. If your Magistrates, having once given their names to the Church, endeavour not to purge this Augean Stable; how can you prefer their communion to ours?

But, howsoever now, lest we should think your landlords have too

* Cassand. de Offic. Boni Viri. Bellar. de Laicis. † Euseb. in Vitâ Const.

just cause to pack you away for wranglers, you turn over all the blame from the Church to the City: yet your Pastor and Church have so found the City in the Church, and branded it with so black marks, as that all your smooth extenuations cannot make it a less Babylon than the Church of England. Behold, now, by your own confessions, either Amsterdam shall be, or England shall not be, Babylon.

These Eleven Crimes you have found and proclaimed, in those Dutch and French Churches *.

First, That the assemblies are so contrived, that the whole Church comes not together in one: so that the Ministers cannot, together with the flock, sanctify the Lord's Day; the presence of the members of the Church cannot be known; and, finally, no public action, whether excommunication or any other, can rightly be performed. Could you say worse of us? Where neither sabbath can be rightly sanctified, nor presence or absence known, nor any holy action rightly performed, what can there be but mere confusion?

Secondly, That they baptize the seed of them, who are no members of any Visible Church: of whom, moreover, they have not care as of members; neither admit their parents to the Lord's Supper. Mere Babylonism, and sin in constitution; yea, the same, that makes us no Church! For, what separation can there be, in such admittance? what other, but a sinful commixture? How is the Church of Amsterdam now gathered from the World?

Thirdly, That, in the public worship of God, they have devised and used another Form of Prayer, besides that, which Christ our Lord hath prescribed, Matt. vi. reading out of a book certain prayers, invented and imposed by man. Behold here our fellow-idolaters! And, as follows, a daily sacrifice of a set Service-Book, which, instead of the sweet incense of spiritual prayers, is offered to God: very swine's-flesh! a new portuise! and an equal participation, with us, of the curse of addition to the Word †!

Fourthly, That rule and commandment of Christ, Matt. xviii. 15. they neither observe, nor suffer rightly to be observed among them. How oft have you said, that there can be no sound Church without this course, because no separation! Behold the main blemish of England, in the face of Amsterdam!

Fifthly, That they worship God in the idol temples of Antichrist: so the wine is marred with the vessel; their service, abomination, with ours: neither do these antichristian stones want all glorious ornaments of the Romish Harlot; yet more.

Sixthly, That their Ministers have their set maintenance, after another manner than Christ hath ordained: and that also such, as by which any ministry at all, whether Popish or other, might be maintained; either tythes, or as ill. Behold one of the main arguments, whereby our Ministry is condemned as false and antichristian, falling heavy upon our neighbours!

Seventhly, That their Elders change yearly, and do not continue

* Fr. Johns. Articles against the French and Dutch Churches.

† Barr. against Gyff.

in their office, according to the doctrine of the Apostles and practice of the Primitive Church. What can our Church have worse, than false governors? Both annual and perpetual they cannot be. What is, if not this, a wrong in constitution?

Eighthly, That they celebrate marriage in the church, as if it were a part of the Ecclesiastical Administration. A foul shame and sin! and what better than our Third Sacrament?

Ninthly, That they use a new censure of suspension, which Christ hath not appointed. No less than English presumption!

Tenthly, That they observe days and times; consecrating certain days in the year to the Nativity, Resurrection, Ascension of Christ. Behold their calendar as truly possessed: two commandments solemnly broken at once; and we not idolaters alone!

Eleventhly, which is last and worst, that they receive unrepentant excommunicates to be members of their Church; which, by this means, becomes one body with such, as be delivered unto Satan; therefore, none of Christ's Body. England can be but a miscelline rabble of profane men *. The Dutch and French Churches are, belike, no better: who can be worse, than an unrepentant excommunicate? Go now, and say, "It is the Apostacy of Antichrist, to have communion with the World in the holy things of God, which are the peculiars of the Church; and cannot, without great sacrilege, be so prostituted and profaned." Go, say that "The plaguy-spiritual leprosy of sin, rising up in the foreheads of many in that Church, unshut up, uncovered, yea wilfully let loose, infects all, both persons and things, amongst them." Go now, and fly out of this Babylon also, as the he-goats before the flock, or return to ours.

But, however these errors be gross, perhaps they are tractable. Not the sin undoes the Church, but obstinacy:—Here is no evasion: for, behold, you do more accuse those Churches of corruption, than of wilfulness. For, divers times, have you dealt with them about these fearful enormities: yea, you have often desired, that knowledge thereof might be by themselves given to the whole body of their Church; or that, at least, they would take order that it might be done by you. They have refused both. What remains, but they be our fellow-heathens and publicans? and not they alone, but all Reformed Churches beside in Christendom, which do jointly partake in all these, except one or two personal, abominations? Will you never leave, till you have wrangled yourselves out of the world?

Sep.—"The hellish impieties in the City of Amsterdam, do no more prejudice our heavenly communion in the Church of Christ, than the frogs, lice, murrain, and other plagues overspreading Egypt did the Israelites, when Goshen, the portion of their inheritance, was free; Exod. viii. 22: ix. 26: nor than the Deluge, wherewith the whole world was covered, did Noah, when he and his family were safe in the ark; Gen. vii: nor than Satan's Throne

* H. Ainsworth in his Counterpoison.

did the Church of Pergamos, being established in the same city with it; Rev. ii. 12, 13."

But now I fear I have drawn you to say, that the hellish impieties, both in the City and Church of Amsterdam, are but frogs, lice, flies, murrain, and other Egyptian plagues, not prejudicing your Goshen. Say so, if you dare. I fear they would soon make the Ocean your Red Sea, and Virginia your Wilderness.

The Church is Noah's Ark, which gave safety to her guests, whereof ye are part: but, remember, that it had unclean beasts also, and some savage. If the waves drown you not; yet, methinks, you should complain of noisome society. Satan's throne could not prejudice the Church of Pergamos: but did not the Balaamites (the Nicolaitans)? yet their heavenly communion stood, and the Angel is sent away with but threats.

SECT. 53.

Conversation with the World.

Sep.—"It is the will of God and of Christ, that his Church should abide in the World, and converse with it in the affairs thereof, which are common to both: but it is the Apostacy of Antichrist, to have communion with the world in the holy things of God, which are the peculiars of the Church; and cannot, without great sacrilege, be so prostituted and profaned."

As it were madness to deny, that the Church should converse with the World in the affairs thereof; so to deny her communion in God's holy things, with any of those of the World which profess Christianity (as yet uncensured), is a point of Anabaptistical Apostacy.

Such of the World are still of the Church. As my censure cannot eject them; so their sin, after my private endeavour of redress, cannot defile me.

I speak of private communicants. If an unbidden guest come, with a ragged garment and unwashen hands, shall I forbear God's heavenly dainties? The Master of the Feast can say, *Friend, how camest thou in hither?* not, "Friends, why came you hither with such a guest?" God bids me come: he hath imposed this necessity; never allowed this excuse. My teeth shall not be set on edge with the sour grapes of others. If the Church cast not out the known unworthy, the sin is hers: if a man will come unworthy, the sin is his: but if I come not, because he comes, the sin is mine. I shall not answer for that other's sin: I shall answer for mine own neglect. Another man's fault cannot dispense with my duty *.

* *Duobus modis non te maculat malus; videlicet, si non consentis, et si redarguis.* d. 23. q. 4. *A malis.*

SECT. 54.

The Impure Mixtures of the Church of England.—

1. *Canons.*
2. *Sin uncensured.*
3. *Hierarchy.*
4. *Service-Book.*

Sep.—"The air of the Gospel, which you draw in, is nothing so free and clear as you make shew: it is only because you are used to it, that makes you so judge."

As there is no element, which is not, through many mixtures, departed from the first simplicity; so no Church ever breathed in so pure an air, as that it might not justly complain of some thick and unwholesome evaporations of error and sin. If you challenge an immunity, you are herein the true brood of the ancient Puritans.

But, if too many sins in practice have thickened the air of our Church, yet not one heresy: that smoke of the Bottomless Pit hath never corrupted it: and, therefore, justly may I aver, that here you might draw in the clear air of the Gospel: no where upon earth more freely.

And if this be but the opinion of custom, you, whom absence hath helped with a more nice and dainty scent, speak your worst. Shew us our heresies, and shame us.

You have done it: and behold Four main Infections of our English Air.

Sep.—"The thick smoke of your Canons, especially of such as are planted against the Kingdom of Christ, the Visible Church, and the administration of it, do both obscure and poison the air, which you all draw in, and wherein you breathe."

The First, the Smoke of our Canons. Wittily! I fear, the great Ordinances of the Church have troubled you more with the blow, than the smoke: for you tell us of their plantation against the Kingdom of Christ. What Kingdom? The Visible Church. Which is that? Not the reformedest piece of ours, whose best are but goats and swine: not the close Nicodemians of your own sect amongst us, which would be loth to be visible: not foreigners; to them they extend not: none, therefore, in all the world, but the English-Parlour-Full at Amsterdam. Can there be any truer Donatism? Cry you still out of their poisoning the air: we hold it the best cleansed, by the batteries of your idle fancies; by ridding you from our air; and by making this your Church invisible to us. Smart you thus, till we complain.

Sep.—"The plaguy-spiritual leprosy of sin, rising up in the foreheads of so many thousands in the Church, unshut up, uncovered, infects all, both persons and things, amongst you; Lev. xiii. 45, 46, 47. 2 Cor. vi. 17."

THE Second is the Plague or Leprosy of Sin, unshut up and uncovered. We know that sin is as ill, as the Devil can make it; a most loathsome thing in the eyes of God, and his Angels, and Saints: and we grant, to our grief, that, among so many millions of men, there may be found some thousands of lepers. Good laws and censures meet with some; others escape: it is not so much our fault, as our grief. But, that this leprosy infects all persons, and things, is shamefully over-reached. Plague and leprosy have their limits, beyond which is no contagion: if a man come not near them, if he take the wind in an open air, they infect not. Such is sin: it can infect none, but the guilty *: those, which act, or assent to, or bear with it, or detest it not, are in this pollution; but those, which can mourn for it, and cannot redress it, are free from infection. How many foul lepers spiritually did our Saviour see in the public air of the Jewish Church! wherewith yet he joined, and his; not fearing infection so much, as gracing the remnants of their ruinous Church. Were those seven thousand Israelites, whose knees bowed not to Baal (1 Kings xix. 18.), infected with the idolatry of their neighbours? yet continued they still parts of the same Church. But this yet exceeds: not only all persons, but all things:—What! our Gospel? our heaven, earth, sea? our books, coin, commodities? Behold, you see the same heaven with us: you have no Bibles but ours: our air, in his circular motion, comes to be yours: the water, that washesh our island, perhaps washeth your hands: our unclean silver, I fear, maintains you: our commodities, in part, enrich your landlords: and yet all things amongst us infected! You are content to take some evil from your neighbours.

Sep.—"The blasting Hierarchy suffers no good thing to grow, or prosper; but withers all, both bud and branch."

THE Third is our Blasting Hierarchy, which suffers no good thing (that is, no Brownist, no singular fancy, for what good things have we but yours?) to grow or prosper amongst us; but withers all, both bud and branch: would to God the root also!

Sep.—"The daily sacrifice of the Service-Book, which, instead of spiritual prayer, sweet as incense, you offer up morning and evening, smells so strong of the Pope's portuise, as it makes many hundreds amongst yourselves stop their noses at it; and yet you boast of the free and clear air of the Gospel, wherein you breathe."

* *Certè nullius crimen maculat nescientem.* Aug. Epist. 48.

THE Last is the Daily Sacrifice of a Service-Book:—an incense, however unsavoury to you, yet such as all Churches in Christendom hold sweet, and offer up as fit for the nostrils of the Almighty. We are not alone thus tainted: all Christian Churches, that are or have been, present the same censers unto God. But ours smells strong of the Pope's Portuise:—see whether this be any better than trivial cavilling. If either an ill man or a devil shall speak that which is good, may not a good man use it? If a good angel or man shall speak that which is evil, is it ever the better for the deliverer? If Satan himself shall say of Christ, *Thou art the Son of the Living God*, shall I fear to repeat it? Not the author, but the matter, in these things is worthy of regard *. As Jerome speaks of the poisoned works of Origen, and other dangerous Treatisors, "Good things may be received from ill hands." If the matter of any prayer be Popish, fault it, for what it contains; not, for whence it came. What say you against us, in this, more than Master Smith, your stout Anabaptist, saith of our baptizing of infants? Both of them equally condemned for Antichristian.

Still, therefore, we boast of the free and clear air of the Gospel, if it be annoyed with some practical evils: we may be foul; the Gospel is itself, and our profession holy: neither can we complain of all evils, while we want you.

SECT. 55.

The Judgment of our own and our Neighbours of our Church.

SEP.—"That all Christendom should so magnify your happiness, as you say, is much; and yet yourselves, and the best amongst you, complain so much, both in word and writing, of your miserable condition under the imperious and superstitious impositions of the Prelates; yea, and suffer so much also under them, as at this day you do, for seeking the same Church-Government and Ministry, which is in use in all other Churches, save your own!"

THAT, which followeth, is but words. A short answer is too much.

That all Christendom magnifies the worthiness of our Church, in so clear evidences of their own voices, you cannot deny.

And now, when you see such testimonies abroad, lest you should say nothing, you fetch cavils from home. Those men, which, you say, complain so much of their miserable condition under the Prelates' impositions, have, notwithstanding, with the same pens and

* *Patres nostri, non solùm ante Cyprianum vel Agrippinum, sed postea, saluberrimam consuetudinem tenuerunt, ut, quicquid divinum atque legitimum in aliquâ hæresi vel schismate integrum reperirent, approbarent potiùs quàm negarent.* August.

tongues not only justified our Church, but extolled it. You have found no sharper adversaries in this very accusation, for which you maliciously cite them. How freely, how fully have they evinced the truth! yea, the happiness of the Church of England, against your false challenges! And yet your forehead dare challenge them for authors. So hath their moderation opposed some appendances, that they have both acknowledged and defended the substance with equal vehemence to your opposition *.

Neither do they suffer, as you traduce them, for seeking another Church-Government. Look into the Millenaries' petition (the common voice of that part) I am deceived, if ought of their complaints sound that way; much less, of their sufferings. Deformity in practice is objected to them, not endeavour of innovation. That quarrel hath been long silent: your motion cannot revive it. Would God you could as much follow those men, in moderate and charitable carriage; as you have outrun them, in complaint!

Sep.—"The truth is, you are best liked, where you are worst known. Your next neighbours of Scotland know your Bishop's government so well, as they rather choose to undergo all the miseries of bonds and banishment, than to partake with you in your happiness this way; so highly do they magnify and applaud the same: which choice, I doubt not, other Churches also would make, if the same necessity were laid upon them."

It pleaseth you to devise us, like pictures upon coarse canvass, which shew fairest at farthest: attributing foreign approbation, which you cannot deny, to distance more than to desert. How is it then, that, besides strange witnesses, we, which look upon this face without prejudice, commend it, God knows, without flattery? We can, at once, acknowledge her infirmities, and bless God for her graces. Our neighbours (yea, ourselves) of Scotland know our Church so well, that they do, with one consent, praise her for one of God's best Daughters: neither do the most rigorous amongst them, more dislike our Episcopal Government, than embrace our Church. What fraud is this; to fly from the Church in common, to one circumstance! We can honour that noble Church in Scotland: may we not dislike their alienations of Church-Livings? If one thing offend, do all displease?

Yet even this government, which you would have them resist to bonds and banishment † (who knows not?) begins to find both favour and place. What choice other Churches would make, as you doubt not, so you care not. If you regarded their sentence, how durst you revile her as a false Harlot, whom they honour as a dear Sis-

* Socrat. lib. i. c. 4. Constant. Alex. et Ario. *Ac, tametsi vos inter vos vicissim de re quâpiam minimi momenti dissentitis, siquidem neque omnes de omnibus rebus idem sentimus, nihilominus tamen fieri poterit, ut eximia concordia sincerè inter vos integrèque servetur, et una inter omnes communio et consociatio custodiatur.*

† "Lastly, It is thus written, and we thus advised." M. Smith's Retort upon M. Clifton. p. 50.

ter? If you were more theirs than we, you might upbraid us. Now you tell us what perhaps they would do: we tell you what they do, and will do; even with one voice, bless God for England, as the most famous and flourishing Church in Christendom: your handful only makes faces, and envies this true glory.

Sep.—"And, for your graces, we despise them not, nor any good thing amongst you; no more than you do such graces and good things as are to be found in the Church of Rome, from which you separate notwithstanding. We have, by God's mercy, the pure and right use of the good gifts and graces of God, in Christ's Ordinance, which you want. Neither the Lord's people nor the holy vessels could make Babylon Sion, though both the one and the other were captived for a time."

Who yet, you say, despise not our graces, no more than we those of Rome:—See how you despise us, while you say you are free from despite! How malicious is this comparison: as if we were to you, as Rome to us: and yet you despise us more. We grant Rome a true Baptism; true Visibility of a Church, though monstrously corrupted: you give us not so much. Thanks be to God, we care less for your censure, than you do for our Church. We have, by God's mercy, the true and right use of the Word and Sacraments, and all other essential gifts and graces of God: if there might be some further helps in execution, to make these more effectual, we resist not: but those your other imaginary Ordinances, as we have not, so we want not. Neither the Chaldeans, nor any idolatrous enemies, could make Sion Babylon, nor the holy vessels profane; so as they should cease to be fit for God's use: but they were brought back, at the return of the Captivity, to Jerusalem. Such were our Worship, Ministry, Sacraments; and those manifold subjects of your cavils, which whilst you disgrace for their former abuse, you call our good evil, and willingly despise our graces.

SECT. 56.

The Issue of Separation.

Sep.—"Where the truth is a gainer, the Lord, which is Truth, cannot be a loser. Neither is the thanks of ancient favours lost amongst them, which still press on towards new mercies. Unthankful are they unto the blessed Majesty of God, and unfaithful also, which, knowing the will of their Master, do it not; but go on presumptuously, in disobedience to many the Holy Ordinances of the Lord and of his Christ, which they know, and in word also acknowledge, he hath given to his Church to be observed, and not for idle speculation, and disputation without obedience."

All the sequel of my Answerer is merely sententious. It is fitter for us to learn, than reply.

Where the truth gains, say you, God loseth not:—I tell you again, where God loseth, the truth gaineth not; and where the Church loseth, God, which endowed her, cannot but lose. Alas, what can the truth either get or save by such unkind quarrels? Surely, suspicion, on some hands; on others', rejection: for, as Optatus of his Donatists *, betwixt our *licet* and your *non licet*, many poor souls waver and doubt; neither will settle, because we agree not. Thanks are not lost, where new favours are called for, but where old are denied. While your posy is, "Such as the mother, such is the daughter;" where are our old, our any mercies? They are unthankful, which know what God hath done, and confess it not: they are unthankful to God and his deputy, which, knowing themselves made to obey, presume to overrule; and, upon their private authority, obtrude to the Church those ordinances to be observed, which never had being but in their own idle speculation.

Sep.—"It is not by our sequestration, but by your confusion, that Rome, and Hell, gains. Your odious commixture of all sorts of people in the body of your Church, in whose lap the vilest miscreants are dandled; sucking her breasts as her natural children, and are be-blest by her, as having right thereunto, with all her holy things, as Prayer, Sacraments, and other Ceremonies; is that, which advantageth Hell, in the final obduration and perdition of the wicked; whom, by these means, you flatter and deceive."

Your sequestration and our confusion, are both of them beneficial, where they should not:—and, as you pretend our confusion for the cause of your separation; so is your separation the true cause of too much trouble and confusion in the Church. Your odious tale of commixture hath cloyed and surfeited your reader already, and received answer to satiety: this one dish, so oft brought forth, argues your poverty. The Visible Church is God's drag-net, and field, and floor, and ark: here will be ever, at her best, sedge, tares, chaff, unclean creatures: yet is this no pretence for her neglect †: the notoriously evil she casts from her breast and knee, denying them the use of her prayers; and, which your leaders mislike, of her sacrament. If divers, through corruption of unfaithful officers, escape censure; yet let not the transgressions of some, redound to the condemnation of the whole Church. In God's judgment, it shall not: we care little, if in yours ‡. We tell wicked men, they may go to hell with the water of baptism in their faces, with the Church in their mouths: we denounce God's judgments unpartially, against

* *Inter licet vestrum, et non licet nostrum, nutant ac remigant animæ Christianorum.* Optat. contr. Parm.

† *Non enim propter malos boni deserendi, sed propter bonos mali tolerandi sunt, &c. Sicut toleraverunt Prophetæ, &c.* Aug. Ep. 48.

‡ Barr. against Gyff.

their sins, and them. Thus we flatter: thus we deceive! If yet they will needs run to perdition; *Perditio tua ex te, Israel.*

Sep.—"The Romish Prelacy and Priesthood amongst you, with the appurtenances for their maintenance and ministrations, are Rome's advantage: which, therefore, she challengeth as her own, and by which she also still holds possession amongst you, under the hope of regaining her full inheritance at one time or other."

Our Clergy is so Romish as our Baptism:—If therefore Romish, because they came thence, we have disproved it: if therefore Romish, because they have been used there, we grant and justify it. That ancient Confession of their Faith, which was famous through the world, we receive with them. If they hold one God, one Baptism, one Heaven, one Christ, shall we renounce it? Why should we not cast off our Christendom and Humanity, because the Romans had both? How much Rome can either challenge or hope to gain in our Clergy and Ministration, is well witnessed by the blood of those Martyrs, eminent in the Prelacy, which, in the fresh memories of many, was shed for God, against that harlot; and by the excellent labours of others, both Bishops and Doctors, whose learned pens have pulled down more of the walls of Rome, than all the corner-creeping Brownists in the world shall ever be able to do, while Amsterdam standeth.

Sep.—"And, if the Papists take advantage at our condemnation of you and separation from you, it concerns you, well to see where the blame is, and there to lay it; lest, through light and inconsiderate judgment, you justify the wicked, and condemn the righteous."

It is you, that furnish these adversaries with advantages, through your wilful divisions. Take Scilurus's arrows, single out of the sheaf, the least finger breaks them; while the whole bundle fears no stress. We know well, where the blame is. Our deservings can be no protection to you: you went from us, not we from you. Plead not our constraint: you should not have been compelled to forsake us, while Christ is with us. But who compels you not to call us brethren? to deny us Christians? Your zeal is so far from justifying the wicked, that it condemns the righteous.

SECT. 57.

The Brownists' scornful Opinion of our People.

Sep.—"And, for the suspicion of the rude multitude, you need not much fear it. They will suspect nothing, that comes under the King's broad seal: they are ignorant of this fault. Though it were the Mass, that came with authority of the magistrate, they,

for the most part, would be without suspicion of it: so ignorant and profane are they, in the most places. It is the wise-hearted amongst you, that suspect your dealings; who will also suspect you yet more, as your unsound dealing shall be further discovered."

How scornfully do you turn over our poor rude multitude, as if they were beasts, not men; or, if men, not rude but savage! This contempt needed not. These sons of the earth may go, before you, to heaven.

Indeed, as it was of old said, That all Egyptians were physicians; so may it now of you, "All Brownists are Divines: no Separatist cannot prophesy: no sooner can they look at the skirts of this hill, but they are rapt from the ordinary pitch of men*."

Either this change is, perhaps, by some strange illumination, or else your learned paucity got their skill amongst our profane and rude multitude. We have still many in our rude multitude, whom we dare compare with your teachers: neither is there any so lewd and profane, that cannot pretend a scandal from your Separation. Even these souls must be regarded; though not by you. *Such were some of you, but ye are washed, &c.* 1 Cor. vi. 11.

The wise-hearted amongst us do, more than suspect, find out our weaknesses, and bewail them: yet do they not more discover our imperfections, than acknowledge our truth. If they be truly wise, we cannot suspect them, they cannot forsake us. Their charity will cover more than their wisdom can discover.

CONCLUSION:

From the fearful Answer of Separation.

Sep.—"Lastly, the terrible threat you utter against us, that 'even whoredoms and murders shall abide an easier answer than separation,' would certainly fall heavy upon us, if this answer were to be made in your Consistory Courts, or before any of your Ecclesiastical Judges: but, because we know, that, not Antichrist, but Christ shall be our Judge, we are bold, upon the warrant of his Word and Testament, which being sealed with his blood may not be altered, to proclaim to all the world, Separation from whatsoever riseth up rebelliously against the Sceptre of his Kingdom, as we are undoubtedly persuaded, the Communion, Government, Ministry, and Worship of the Church of England do."

My last threat, of the easier answers of whoredoms and adulteries, than Separation, you think to scoff out of countenance. I fear your conscience will not always allow this mirth.

Our Consistories have spared you enough: let those, which have

* 1 Sam. x. 10.

tried *, say whether your corrupt Eldership be more safe judges. If ours imprison justly, yours excommunicate unjustly. To be in custody, is less grievous, than out of the Church; at least if your censures were worth any thing, but contempt. As Jerome said of the like, it is well that malice hath not so great power as will. You shall one day, I fear, find the Consistory of Heaven more rigorous, if you wash not this wrong with your tears †. That tribunal shall find your confidence, presumption; your zeal, fury.

You are bold, surely more than wise, to proclaim: we have no need of such cries: doubtless your head hath made proclamations long; now, your hand begins.

What proclaim you? "Separation from the Communion, Government, Ministry, and worship of the Church of England:"—What needed it? Your act might have saved your voice: what should our eyes and ears be troubled with one bad ‡ object?

But why separate you from these? Because they "rise up rebelliously against the Sceptre of Christ:"—The Sceptre of Christ is his Word. He holds it out: we touch, and kiss it. What one sentence of it do we wilfully oppose? Away with these foolish impieties: you thrust a reed into your Saviour's hand, and say, *Hail, King of the Jews;* and will needs persuade us, none but this is his rod of iron.

Lastly, upon what warrant? "Of his Will and Testament:"—You may wrong us; but how dare you fasten your lies upon your Redeemer and Judge? What clause of his hath bid you separate? We have the true copies: as we hope or desire to be saved, we can find no sentence, that soundeth toward the favour of this your act. Must God be accused of your wilfulness? Before that God and his blessed Angels and Saints, we fear not to protest, that we are undoubtedly persuaded, that whosoever wilfully forsakes the Communion, Government, Ministry, or Worship of the Church of England, are enemies to the Sceptre of Christ, and Rebels against his Church and Anointed: neither doubt we to say, that the Mastership of the Hospital at Norwich, or a lease from that city (sued for with repulse), might have procured that this Separation from the Communion, Government, and Worship of the Church of England should not have been made, by John Robinson.

* Troub. and Excom. at Amst. G. Johns. professes he found better dealing in the Bishops' Consistories; and might have found better in the Inquisition.

† Cypr. de Simplic. Prælat. *Ad pacis præmium venire non poterunt, qui pacem Domini discordiæ furore ruperunt.* Ibid. *Inexpiabilis et gravis culpa discordia, nec passione purgatur.*

‡ John Robinson.

TO MY

REVEREND AND WORTHILY DEAR FRIEND,

MR. WILLIAM STRUTHERS;

ONE OF THE PREACHERS OF EDINBURGH.

THE haste of your Letters, my Reverend and Worthy Mr. Struthers, was not so great, as their welcome: which they might well challenge, for your name; but more, for that love and confidence, which they imported. Thus must our friendship be fed, that it may neither feel death nor age.

The substance of your Letter was partly Relation, and partly Request.

For the first: rumour had, in part, prevented you; and brought to my ears those stirs, which happened after my departure: and, namely, together with that impetuous Protestation, some rude deportment of ill-governed spirits towards his Majesty. Alas, my Dear Brother! this is not an usage for kings. They are the nurses of the Church. If the child shall fall to scratching and biting the breast, what can it expect, but stripes and hunger? Your Letter professes, that his Majesty sent you away in peace and joy: and why would any of those rough-hewn zealots send him away in discontentment? But this was, I know, much against your heart; whose often protestations assured me of your wise moderation in these things. How earnestly have you professed to me, that, if you were in the Church of England, such was your indifferency in these indifferent matters, you would make no scruple of our ceremonies! Yea, how sharp hath your censure been of those refractaries amongst us, that would forego their stations, rather than yield to these harmless impositions! So much the more, therefore, do I marvel how any delator could get any ground from you, whereon to place an accusation in this kind!

But this, and the rest of those historical passages, being only concerning things past, have their end in my notice. Let me rather turn my pen to that part, which calleth for my Advice: which, for your sake, I could well wish, were worthy to be held such, as that yourself and your colleagues might find cause to rest in it: howsoever, it shall be honest and hearty, and no other than I would, in the presence of God, give to my own soul.

Matters, you think, will not stand long at this point; but will come on further, and press you to a resolution. What is to be done? Will you hear me counselling, as a friend, as a brother? Since you foresee this, meet them in the way, with a resolution to entertain them and persuade others.

There are Five Points in question: the Solemn Festivities: the Private Use of Either Sacrament: Geniculation at the Eucharist: Confirmation by Bishops.

For these, there may be a double plea insinuated, by way of comparison, in your Letters: Expedience, in the things themselves; Authority, in the commander. Some things are therefore to be done, because they are commanded: some others are therefore commanded, because they are to be done: obedience pleads for the one; justice, for the other.

If I shall leave these in the first rank, I shall satisfy; but, if in the second, I shall supererogate: which if I do not, I shall fail of my hopes.

Let me profess to you seriously, I did never so busily and intentively study these ritual matters, as I have done since your Letters called me unto this task. Since which time, I speak boldly, I made no spare, either of hours or papers. *Neque enim magna exiliter, nec seria perfunctorie*; as I have learned of our Nazianzen: and, besides, this, under one name, seemed a common cause; and therefore too worthy of my care.

These are not, you know, matters of a day old: neither is it his Majesty's desire, to trouble you with new coins; but to rub up the rusty and obliterate face of the ancient.

And, surely, the more my thoughts were bent upon them, the more it appeared to me, that his Majesty's intention is to deal with your Church, as he hath lately done with your Universities: from which, I know not what indiscreet and idle zeal had banished all higher degrees: the name of a School-Doctor was grown out of date: only one graduate, that I heard of, at St. Andrews, out-lived that injury of times. Now comes his Majesty, as one born to the honour of learning, and restores the Schools to their former glories. This is no innovation, you will grant; but a renovation. No other is that, which his Majesty wisheth to your Church.

For, tell me, I beseech you, my Dear Mr. Struthers, do not you think, that those, which took upon them the Reformation of your Church, went somewhat too far; and, as it is in the fable, entrapped the stork together with the cranes? I know your ingenuity such, as you cannot deny it. This you will grant apparently in the Church-Patrimony (witness your own learned and zealous invective how miserably spoiled); in the exauthoration of Episcopal office and dignity; in the demolition of churches: and too many other of this stamp: so violent was that holy furor of piety: that hence it might well appear, what difference there is, betwixt the orderly proceedings of princely authority and popular tumult.

And why should you not yield me this, in the business questioned? Do but consider how far it is safe for a Particular Church to

depart from the Ancient and Universal, and you cannot be less liberal. Surely, no Christian can think it a slight matter, what the Church, diffused through all times and places, hath either done or taught. For doctrine or manners, there is no question; and why should it be more safe to leave it in the holy institutions, that concern the outward forms of God's service? Novelty is a thing, full of envy and suspicion; and why less in matters of rite, than doctrine? The Church is *the Mother of us all:* the less important those things are, which, in the power of a parent, she enjoins; the more hateful is the detrectation of our observance. You remember the question of the Syrian's wise servants; *Father, if he had commanded thee some great matter, wouldst thou not have done it?*

True it is, that every nation hath her own rites, gestures, customs; wherein it was ever as free for it to differ from the rest of the world, as the world from it: yet, in the mean time, the sacred affairs of God have been ever acknowledged to have one common fashion of performance; in those points especially, wherein hath been an universal agreement. Every face hath his own favour; his own lines, distinct from all others: yet is there a certain common habitude of countenance, and disposition of the forehead, eyes, cheeks, lips common unto all: so as, who, under this pretence of difference, shall go about to raise an immunity from such ceremonies, do no other than argue, That, because there is a diversity of proportions of faces, we may well want a brow or a chin.

There is nothing that the Pontificians do so commonly and with so much noise upbraid us with, as our discession from the Mother Church; that is, as they interpret, the Roman: neither is there any one amongst all the loads of their reproaches, that hath wrought us more envy than this. And how do we free ourselves from the danger of this odious crimination, but thus, not to stand upon the imperious title of Motherhood, That since, for order sake, we acknowledged this primacy of the Western Church, we never departed one inch from the Roman, save where she is perfidiously gone from God and herself?

Now, the cases questioned are, for the most part, only such, as you will confess, before the suspicion of Antichristian Apostacy, to have obtained eachwhere in the Church.

Begin, if you please, with the SOLEMN FESTIVITIES.

Turn over, I beseech you, the histories of times and places; you shall never find, where these were either newly appointed, or not constantly and continuedly observed in the Church of God. I confess, with Socrates, that neither Christ nor any Apostle enacted a law for these; but, withal, I must put you in mind, that what he denies to constitution, he grants to custom: and, *observatio inveterata*, that I may speak with Tertullian, *præveniendo statum facit.*

As for the solemn Feast of Easter, which the Ancyran Council called *diem magnum*, how hotly the Church, even then in her swathing bands, contended about it, all the world knows. I speak nothing of the friendly differences of Polycarpus and Anacletus, nor of the Angel of Hermes. The East and West were, in this

point, fearfully divided: one part pleads a tradition from John and Philip; the other, from Peter and Paul: both sides fought long and sore: at last, the Roman Victor won the day, *postquam Asiæ Episcopos fulmine sacro perculisset.* Let Irenæus deeply censure him, as a furious disturber of the public peace: I meddle with neither part. This strife, at last well laid, is after revived by the Syrian Divines. How strongly doth the famous Nicene Council oppose itself to these new *Tesseradecatites*, as those times called them! Yea, what other cause was there, except the madnesses of Arius and his followers the Meletians and Colluthians, of calling that Venerable Assembly together? After all this, what discourses passed betwixt Leo the First Archbishop of Reme and Paschasinus Lylibetanus, were needless to rehearse; and, how hot Chrysostom was in this cause, need no other proof than, that, as Socrates witnesses, he took away the churches from them, which tied Easter to the Fourteenth Moon. Now, then, wherefore, I beseech you, was all this Asian conflict? wherefore, this triumph of Victor? wherefore, this infamous brand of the *Quartadecimani?* Wherefore were those Paschal Letters of the ancient or golden number, or the calculations of the Bishops of Alexandria, or the curious determinations of the Nicene Fathers, or the nice reckonings of Leo and Paschasinus; if this might have passed for lawful, with one breath to deny the day, and with one dash to blot it out of the Holy Calendar? Certainly, the Ancients knew not how to be thus witty: neither durst they thus boldly cut that knot, in the untying whereof, perhaps, they overspent their care and diligence. O ridiculous head of Antiquity, if this short course might have been safely held in those former ages! Yea, tell me, I pray you, in all your readings, where ever you met with any man, besides those whom the Church hath held worthy the black mark of heresy, who either denied all observations of this solemnity, or approved the refusal of it by others. I can name you Arius, a man blemished with more than the scars of one heresy. "And what," saith he, "is the Pasch, that you keep? You are again addicted to Jewish fables. We must keep no Pasch, *for Christ, our Pasch, is offered for us.*" And I can show you Epiphanius, flying in his face with this just reply: "Who is likely to know more of these matters: this seduced wretch, which is yet living in the world? or those witnesses, which have been before us, and had the tradition of the Church with them; which received from their fathers that, which their fathers received from their forefathers, and still retains what they taught, both for faith and tradition?"

The same reason is there for the other Feasts. Unto this of the Easter, that I may speak in Leo's words to the Bishops of Sicily, is added the Sacred Solemnity of Pentecost, in memory of the coming of the Holy Ghost, which depends upon the time of the Paschal Feast. Neither did Eusebius doubt to call this *festivitatum omnium principem.* You know how honourable mention is made of it by Gregory Nazianzen: "The Jew," saith he, "keeps feast days; but according to the letter: the Gentile keeps feast

days; but according to the flesh: we keep feast days also; but that we may say or do something according to the Spirit." And, soon after, "The Hebrews keep their Pentecost; and we keep it, as we do some other Jewish rites: but they, typically; we, mystically: we celebrate Pentecost for the coming of the Holy Ghost, as the day set for the performance of this promise and the fulfilling of our hope: and how great a mystery is this; how sacred!

I cannot, therefore, pass over that ἁμάρτημα μνημονικὸν of our Centurists, which can say there is scarce any express mention of any of the Feasts in Antiquity, besides Easter. I may not admit all the beadroll, that Polydore Virgil inserts into the Apostolical Solemnities: I would rather hold the midway between both. That memorable place of Austin is to me instead of a thousand witnesses: neither need we care for other evidence, whilst we have one so absolute. You know where to find it, in the 118th. Epistle, to Januarius: *Illa, autem, quæ non scripta sed tradita custodimus, quæ quidem toto terrarum orbe observantur, dantur intelligi, vel ab ipsis Apostolis, vel plenariis Conciliis (quorum est in Ecclesiâ saluberrima authoritas) commendata, atque statuta retineri: sicut quod Domini Passio, et Resurrectio, et Ascensio in cælum, et Adventus de cælo Spiritûs Sancti, anniversariâ solemnitate celebrantur, et si quod aliud occurrerit; quod servatur ab Universâ, quacunque se diffundit, Ecclesiâ.*

But if these Feasts could not shew so ancient and noble a pedigree, what hinders that the Church may not appoint certain days to the blessed memory of these excellent benefits? Doubtless, this right she hath heretofore challenged to herself, in lesser occasions: and I do not find any man, that ever accused her of rashness or presumption. How solemn the days of Purim were to the Jews, is known to all, denied of none: and their ἐγκαίνια, "Feast of Dedication;" which Castalio affectedly calls *Renovalia*, set apart to the memory, not so much of the temple, as the altar recovered from former profanation; our Saviour himself, you know, honested with his presence. Look on the History of the Maccabees (that book, if for matter of faith it be Apocryphal, yet hath Canon enough for matter of fact) you shall find, that when Nicanor, the deadly enemy of the Jews, was discomfited and slain, a day was appointed by public authority, next before Mardokee's feast, to be kept anniversarily sacred unto the memory of that deliverance and victory. And what other do we in this happy island, while we yearly celebrate those two blessed days, to the miracle of the preservation of our King, Church, State, with the joy both of love and duty? Then, do the streets of your Edinburgh smoke with many thankful fires; and your Arthur's-Seat flames with the bonfires of your triumph and exultation: and shall the days of Christ, wherein we were graciously delivered from the jaws of hell, carry from us less joy and celebrity? Surely, your Church shall abate nothing of her purity, in joining herself to all the rest of the world, ancient and modern, in the observation of the Feast of her Saviour!

As for the PRIVATE ADMINISTRATION OF BOTH THE SACRAMENTS, the difference of time or place cannot be of that value, as that, for it, the participation of those divine mysteries should be neglected. There is a direct precept for either Sacrament, given by the Heavenly Author of both; and commended, by the hands of the Apostles, to the succeeding Church: there is no precept of time or place: and shall we omit that, which Christ hath commanded; for that, which he commanded not?

The holy mysteries are as the body, circumstances are as the clothes: it were to be wished, that a goodly beautiful body, should be fitly suited with clothes of due colours and fashions; but, if it should fall out, through extremity of want, that there must be a meet elegancy lacking in the clothes, shall we therefore despise the body and cast it out for an unprofitable carcase?

If there did not a great necessity lie upon the Sacraments, if there did not much divine consolation flow from them, why would Christ leave them to his own Spouse, the Church, as the precious pledges of his love?

A necessity of the means, no man can deny: the necessity of the end, is not undeservedly litigious. Indeed, God hath not bound himself to any means (good reason his omnipotency should be free); but he hath thought good to bind us unto means: so as whosoever shall wittingly and wilfully omit these saving institutions, is justly guilty of the violation of so holy an ordinance; and, withal, of his own judgment.

The dilation of the sign of that old covenant, you know how heavy it lay upon holy Moses; and the voluntary neglect of that other sacrament, beyond the double day appointed, was wont, you know, to be punished with no less than excision from the congregation of Israel: and is there less necessity, less use of the Evangelical Sacraments?

To follow this instance a little further: tell me, I pray you, were not both those Ancient Sacraments accustomed unto private roofs? Of the Paschal dish there can be no doubt: that holy feast was, by the Author of it, destined to the private families of his Israel. Perhaps you will stick a little at the other. I do not tell you of Abraham, of Zipporah. Look but upon the forerunner of Christ, you will find it likely, that his circumcision was within doors: his mother Elizabeth was either present, or not far off: at the ceremony, as it is most probable, she changed his name, upon the act: now it could not be, that the eighth day of her childbirth could allow her to go forth, whose uncleanness by the Law pent her up for thirty days. But what do I urge this uncertainty? Still, by the tradition of the Jews, either the synagogue or the chamber is indifferently allowed to this act.

And why should the Sacrament of the New Law be so affixed to our churches, that not necessity itself should be able to fetch these wholesome remedies home to our houses? Sure I am, the Fathers of the Ancient Church were of another mind; who, before the fancy of *opus operatum* was hatched, conceived such ne-

cessity of the Sacraments, that Cyprian can tell you of *Clinici*, as well as *Peripatetici*; that others, in case of extremity, would have no difference made of land or water, house or way, bed or pavement. And how is it, that our liberty hath made us more strict, or our straitness hath made us more free? more strict for the place, more free for the conceit of necessity.

But, if privacy be so opposite to the nature of a Sacrament, why may it not be avoided, even in a parlour? for, in such a case, the Church removes thither. The walls, you think, confer nothing: the people are, by the order of the Church, commanded to assemble, in a due frequence, to the honour of either Sacrament. So as now I see not other difference but this: those, which, in the case of some private fast, can be content for their preaching to change the Church into a chamber; in the case of baptism, make dainty to change a chamber into a church.

For GENICULATION IN THE EUCHARIST, I am deceived, if ever ceremony could complain of a more unjust displeasure, or plead better desert.

For the Antiquity of it, those, that fetch it from Honorius, are ill heralds. They might know, that Averroes, an age before him, could say, in a misprision of the gesture, *Christiani adorant quod edunt:* and the best of the Fathers, many ages before him, *Nemo manducat nisi priùs adoraverit.*

For the Expedience, what business can pass betwixt heaven and earth, God and man, so worthy of reverence, as that, wherein man receives God? Even the smallest gifts, we receive from princes upon our knees; and now, when the Prince of our Peace gives himself to us, shall we grudge to bow?

I know the old challenge, Artolatry. But, shall others' superstition make us unreverent? Shall not God have our knees, because Idols have had the knees of others?

But what do I press this to you, who professed to me, if I remember well, your approbation hereof, in our English Congregations? The Sacrament is every where the same. Nothing, but want of use, hath bred a conceit of uncouthness in that, which custom would approve and commend.

As for CONFIRMATION BY BISHOPS, I need to say little, because it little concerns you, as an action appropriate to superiors: neither, I think, do you envy it to them.

That the ceremony itself is both of ancient and excellent use, I know you will not deny.

For the one, Melancthon gives it the praise of, *Utilis ad erudiendos homines, et retinendos in verâ agnitione Dei.*

For the other, Zuinglius can assure you, *Confirmationem tum sumpsisse exordium, cùm vulgò cœptum est infantes tingi.*

In regard of both, Reverend Calvin wisheth it again restored to the Church, with no small fervency.

All the doubt is, in the restriction to Bishops: wherein I will only send you to learned Bucer: *Signum impositionis manuum, etiam soli Episcopi præbebant, et non absque ratione: sive enim sit*

fœdus Domini baptizatis confirmandum, sive reconciliandi qui gravius peccaverunt, sive Ecclesiis Ministri ordinandi, hæc omnia ministeria maximè decent eos, quibus Ecclesiarum cura demanduta est. This, as it was done only at first, by the Apostles, in the case of the Samaritans; so, from them, was by the Church derived to the Bishops, as Chrysostom directs; *præpositis suis*, as Cyprian and Austin speak. But what need I cite Fathers or Councils for that, which worthy Calvin himself both confesses and teaches? Certainly, nothing but continuance and abuse hath distasted these things; which, if time had been their friend, never wanted that, which might procure them grace and respect from the world.

For their own sakes, therefore, I need not doubt to say, that all these are worthy of your good entertainment; much more then, when they come to you with the billets of authority in their hands. Were they but things in the lowest rank of indifferency, the power, that commands them, might challenge their welcome: how much more then, when they have an intrinsical worthiness to speak for them!

Your Letter hath well insinuated what the power of princes is, in things of middle natures; whereof your Apostle's rule will eternally hold, *Not for fear, but for conscience.*

Indeed, wherein is the power of royal authority, if not in these things? Good and evil have their set limits, determined by God himself: only indifferent things have a latitude allowed for the exercise of human commands; which if it might be resisted at pleasure, what could follow, but an utter confusion of all things?

This ground, as it hath found just place in your own breast; so were very fit to be laid, by all your public discourses, in the minds of the people: as that, which would not a little rectify them, both in judgment and practice.

There is no good heart, whom it would not deeply wound, to hear of the least danger of the dissipation of your Church. God in heaven forbid any such mischief! Our prayers shall be ever for your safety. But, if any inconvenience should, on your parts, follow upon the lawful act of authority, see ye, how ye can wash your hands, from the guiltiness of this evil. This is, I hope, but your fear. Love is, in this sense, full of suspicions; and commonly projects the worst. It is Nazianzen's advice, *Dum secundo vento navigas, naufragium time: tutior eris à naufragio, adjutorem tibi ac socium adjungens timorem.*

Far, far is it from the heart of our Gracious Sovereign, who holds it his chief glory to be *Amicus Sponsæ*, to intend ought, that might be prejudicial to your Church. If his late journey, his laboursome conferences, his toilsome endeavours, his beneficial designs, have not evinced his love to you, what can do it? And, can any of yours think, that this affection can stand with a will to hurt you? I know nothing, if I may except his own soul, that he loves better than your Church and State: and, if he did not think this a fruit of his love, he would be silent. What shall he gain by this, but that advantage, which he promiseth to himself of your good,

in your assimilation to other Churches? a matter, wherein I need not tell you there is both honour and strength.

The mention whereof draws me, towards the closure of my long Letter, whether to an apology or interpretation of myself.

Belike, some captious hearers took hold of words, spoken in some Sermon of mine, that sounded of too much indifferency in these businesses: *ubi bos herbam, vipera venenum*, as he said: as if I had opened a gap to a lawless freedom, in teaching, that no Church should prescribe to other; that each should sit peaceably down with her own fashions. But did I say (you, that heard, can clear me) that one Church should not be moved with the good example of other? that there are not certain sacred observations, which should be common to all Churches? that, though one Church might not prescribe to other, because they are sisters, one King may not prescribe to two Churches, whereof he is head? None of these, which I hate as monstrous. Examples may move, authority may press the use of things indifferent, expedient; and it is odious to seem more holy than all others, or to seem more wise than our heads.

You have my opinion, at large, my loving and beloved Mr. Struthers. How pleasing it may be, I know not: how well meant, I know. If your Letter were a history, my answer is proved a volume. My love, and desire of your satisfaction, hath made me, against my use, tedious. How well were every word bestowed, if it might settle you where I would! Howsoever, my true endeavour looks for your acceptation, and my affections and prayers shall ever answer yours; who am,

Your unfeignedly loving friend

and fellow-labourer,

JOSEPH HALL.

Waltham Abbey,
Octob. 3.

Return my thanks and kind remembrance to those worthy gentlemen, from whom you sent me commendations; and to your wife and all our friends.

A LETTER

FOR THE

OBSERVATION OF THE FEAST

OF

CHRIST'S NATIVITY.

BY JOSEPH HALL.

SIR, WITH MY LOVING REMEMBRANCE:

It cannot but be a great grief to any wise and moderate Christian to see zealous and well meaning souls carried away after the giddy humour of their new teachers, to a contempt of all holy and reverend antiquity, and to an eager affectation of novel fancies even while they cry out most bitterly against innovations: when the practice and judgment of the whole Christian World ever from the days of the blessed Apostles to this present age is pleaded for any form of government or laudable observation, they are strait taught, That *old things are passed*, and that *all things are become new*; making their word good by so new and unheard-of an interpretation of Scripture, whereby they may as justly argue the introducing of a new Church, a new Gospel, a new religion, with the annulling of the old: and that they may not want an all-sufficient patronage of their fond conceit, our blessed Saviour himself is brought in, who in his Sermon on the Mount controlled the antiquity of the pharisaical glosses of the law; *Ye have heard that it was said by them of old*, thus, and thus; *but I say unto you, &c.*: as if the Son of God, in checking the upstart antiquity of a misgrounded and unreasonable tradition, meant to condemn the truly ancient and commendable customs of the whole Christian Church; which all sober and judicious Christians are wont to look upon, with meet respect and reverence.

And, certainly, whosoever shall have set down this resolution with himself, to slight those either institutions or practices, which

are derived to us from the Primitive Times, and have ever since been entertained by the whole Church of Christ upon earth, that man hath laid a sufficient foundation of schism and dangerous singularity; and doth that, which the most eminent of the Fathers, St. Augustin, chargeth with no less than most insolent madness.

For me and my friend, God give us grace to take the advice, which our Saviour gives to his Spouse, to *Go forth by the footsteps of the flock, and to feed our kids beside the shepherds' tents*; Cant. i. 8. and to walk in the sure paths of uncorrupt Antiquity.

For the celebration of the solemn Feasts of our Saviour's Nativity, Resurrection, Ascension, and the coming down of the Holy Ghost, which you say is cried down by your zealous Lecturer, one would think there should be reason enough, in those wonderful and unspeakable benefits, which those days serve to commemorate unto us.

For, to instance in the late feast of the Nativity, when the angel brought the news of that blessed birth to the Jewish shepherds, *Behold*, saith he, *I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people; for unto you is born this day a Saviour*. If, then, the report of this blessing were the best tidings of the greatest joy that ever was, or ever could be possibly incident into mankind, why should not the commemoration thereof be answerable? Where we conceive the greatest joy, what should hinder us to express it in a joyful festivity?

But, you are taught to say, the day conferred nothing to the blessing: that, every day, we should, with equal thankfulness, remember this inestimable benefit of the Incarnation of the Son of God; so as a set anniversary day is altogether needless.

Know, then, and consider, that the All-Wise God, who knew it fit that his people should every day think of the great work of the creation and of the miraculous deliverance out of the Egyptian servitude, and should daily give honour to the Almighty Creator and Deliverer, yet ordained one day of seven for the more special recognition of these marvellous works; as well knowing, how apt we are to forget those duties, wherewith we are only encharged in common, without the designment of a particular rememoration. Besides, the same reason will hold proportionably against any monthly or annual celebration whatsoever: the Jews should have been much to blame, if they had not every day thankfully remembered the great deliverance, which God wrought for them from the bloody design of cruel Haman; yet it was thought requisite, if not necessary, that there should be two special days of Purim set apart, for the anniversary memorial of that wonderful preservation. The like may be said for the English Purim, of our November: it is well, if, besides the general tie of our thankfulness, a precise day, ordained by authority, can enough quicken our unthankful dulness to give God his own for so great a mercy: shall we say now, "It is the work of the year, what needs a day?" As, therefore, no day should pass over our head without a grateful acknowledgment of the great mystery of God Incarnate; so, withal, the

wisdom of the Primitive Church, no doubt by the direction of the Holy Ghost, hath pitched upon one special day wherein we should entirely devote our thoughts to the meditation of this work, which the angels of heaven cannot enough admire.

But, you are told, that, perhaps we miss of the day, since the season is litigious, uncertain, unknown; and, in likelihood, other than our December: and, that it is purposely not revealed, that it may not be kept.

As to the first, I deny not, that the just day is not certainly known. The great Saviour of the World, that would have his Second Coming without observation going before it, would have his First Coming without observation following it. He meant to come down without noise, without a recorded notice. Even in the second hundred (so ancient we are sure this festivity is) there was question and different opinions of the season: the just knowledge and determination whereof, matters nothing at all to the duty of our celebration. Most sure we are, that such a day there was; and no less sure, that it was the happiest day, that ever looked forth into the world. It is all one to us, whether this day or that: we content ourselves with this, that it hath pleased the Church, for many hundred years, to ordain this day for the commemoration of that transcendent blessing. What care we, to stand upon those twelve hours, that made up the artificial day, wherein this wonderful work was wrought; which we are sure cannot but be much changed by so many intercalations? So long and constant a practice of the Christian Church, upon so holy grounds, is no less warrant to us, than if an angel from heaven should have revealed unto us the just hour of this Blessed Nativity.

As to the second, surely, whosoever shall tell you, that God did purposely hide this day from us, that it might escape a celebration, as he conceal'ed the burial of Moses to avoid the danger of an idolatrous adoration, makes himself a presumptuous commenter upon the actions of the Almighty. Where did God tell him so? or, what revelation can he pretend, for so bold an assertion? If this were the matter, why then did not the same God with equal caution conceal the day of the Passion, Resurrection, Ascension of our Blessed Saviour, and of the Descent of the Holy Ghost? the observation of all which days, is, with no less vehemence and upon the same danger, cried down by these scrupulous persons. Either, therefore, let him say, that God would have these other feast days observed, because he would have them known to the world; or yield, that he did not therefore conceal the day of the Nativity of Christ, because he would not have it observed.

But, you hear it said, "There is Popery and Superstition, in keeping that day."

Tell those, that suggest so, that they cast a foul slander upon the Saints of God in the Primitive Times; upon the holy and learned Fathers of the Church, who preached, and wrote for, and kept the Feast of Christ's Nativity with sacred solemnity, many hundred years before Popery was hatched: and, that they little

know, what wrong they do to religion and themselves, and what honour they put upon that Superstition which they profess to detest, in ascribing that to Popery, which was the mere act of holy and devout Christianity.

But, to colour this plea, you are taught that the Mystery of Iniquity began early to work, even in the very Apostolic Times; and that Antichrist did secretly put in his claw, before his whole body appeared.

Surely, there is singular use wont to be made of this shift, by those, which would avoid the countenance of all primitive authority, to any displeasing (however lawful and laudable) institutions and practices. So, the Anabaptist tells us, that the baptizing of children is one of the timely workings of the Mystery of Iniquity: so, the blasphemous Nearians of our time tell us, that the mystery of the Blessed Trinity of Persons in the Unity of One Godhead is but an ancient devise of Antichrist, working under-hand, before his formal exhibition. Every sect is apt to make this challenge: and, therefore, it behoves us wisely to distinguish betwixt those things, which men did as good Christians, and those, which they did as engaged to their own private or to the more common interest of others. What advantage can we conceive it might be to Antichrist, that Christ should have a day celebrated to the memory of his Blessed Birth; and that devout Christians should meet together in their holy assemblies, to praise God for the benefit of that happy Incarnation? and what other effect could be expected from so religious a work, but glory to God, and edification to men? Who can suppose, that the enemy of Christ should gain by the honour done to Christ? Away, therefore, with this groundless imagination: and let us be so popish, so superstitious as those holy Fathers and Doctors of the Primitive Church, famous for learning and piety, who lived and died devout observers of this Christian Festival.

But, you are bidden to ask, what warrant we find in the Word of God, which is to be the rule of all our actions, for the solemn keeping of this day.

In answer, you may, if you please, tell that questionist, that, to argue from Scripture negatively in things of this nature is somewhat untheological. Ask you him again, with better reason, what scripture he finds to forbid it: for, if it be unlawful to be done, which is not in God's Word commanded; then, much rather that, which is not there forbidden, cannot be unlawful to be done. General grounds of edification, decency, expedience, peaceable conformity to the injunctions of our spiritual governors, are, in these cases, more than enough to build our practice upon.

If it be replied, that we are enjoined six days to labour, and forbidden to observe days and times, as being a part of the Jewish pædagogue; two common pretences, wherewith the eyes of the ignorant are wont to be bleared: know, that, for the first, it is not so much preceptive as permissive; neither was it the intention of the Almighty to intersperse the command of human affairs in the

First Table of his Royal Law, wherein himself, and his service, is immediately concerned. In such like expressions, *mayest* and *shalt* are equivalent, and promiscuously used. That instance is clear and pregnant, Gen. ii. 16. *The Lord*, saith the text, *commanded the man, saying, Eating thou shalt eat of every tree in the garden;* which our last version renders well to the sense, *Thou mayest freely eat of every tree in the garden.* And, if the charge in that Fourth Commandment were absolute and peremptory, what human authority could dispense with those large shreds of time, which are usually cut out of the six days for sacred occasions? What warrant could we have to intermit our work for a daily lecture, or a monthly fast, or for an Anniversary Fifth of November? And if, notwithstanding this command of God, it be allowed to be in the power of man, whether sovereign (as Constantine appropriated it) or spiritual, to ordain the setting a part of some set parcels of time to holy uses; why should it be stuck at, in the requiring and observing the pious and useful celebrity of this festival?

As for that other suggestion of the Apostle's taxation of observing days and times, any one, that hath but half an eye, may see that it hath respect to those Judaical Holy-Days which were part of the Ceremonial Law; now long since out of date, as being of typical signification, and shadows of things to come. Should we, therefore, go about to revive those Jewish Feasts, or did we erect any new day to an essential part of the worship of God, or place holiness in it as such, we should justly incur that blame, which the Apostle casts upon the Galatian and Colossian false-teachers. But, to wrest this forbiddance to a Christian Solemnity, which is merely commemorative of a blessing received, without any prefiguration of things to come, without any opinion of holiness annexed to the day, is no other than an injurious violence.

Upon all this which hath been said, and upon a serious weighing of whatever may be further alleged to the contrary, I dare confidently affirm, that there is no just reason, why good Christians should not, with all godly cheerfulness, observe this, which that holy Father styled the Metropolis of all Feasts. To which I add, that those, which, by their example and doctrine, slight this day; causing their people to dishonour it with their worst clothes, with shops open, with servile works; stand guilty before God, of a high and sinful contempt of that lawful authority, under which they live: forasmuch as, by the statutes of our land, made by the full concurrence of King and State, this day is commanded to be kept holy by all English subjects; and this power is backed by the charge of God, *Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake.*

If now, after all this, I should let my pen loose to the suffragant testimonies, whether of Antiquity, or of Modern Divines and Reformed Churches, I should try your patience; and, instead of a letter, send you a volume.

Let it suffice, that, ever since the second hundred year after

Christ, this feast hath, without contradiction, obtained in the Church of God; and hath received many noble eulogies and passionate enforcements, from the learned and holy Fathers of the Church.

Amongst the rest, that of Gregory Nazianzen is so remarkable, that I may not omit it; as that, which sets forth the excess of joyful respect, wherewith the Ancient Christians were wont to keep this day. "Let us," saith he *, "celebrate this Feast; not in a panegyrical but divine, not in a worldly but supersecular manner: not regarding so much ourselves or ours, as the worship of Christ, &c. And how shall we effect this? Not by crowning our doors with garlands, nor by leading of dances, nor adorning our streets; not by feeding our eyes; not by delighting our ears with songs; not by effeminating our smell with perfumes; not with humouring our taste with dainties; not with pleasing our touch; not with silken and costly clothes, &c. not with the sparkling of jewels; not with the lustre of gold; not with the artifice of counterfeit co ours, &c. let us leave these things to Pagans for their pomps, &c. But we, who adore the Word of the Father, if we think fit to affect delicacies, let us feed ourselves with the dainties of the Law of God; and with those discourses especially, which are fitting for this present Festival." So that learned and eloquent Father, to his auditors of Constantinople.

Whereto let me, if you please, have leave to add one or two practical instances.

One shall be of the good Emperor Theodosius, lying now, for eight months, under the severe censure of Bishop Ambrose. When the Feast of the Nativity drew near, what moan did that religious Prince make to his courtiers, that he was, by that resolute Bishop, shut out (for his blood-guiltiness) from partaking with the assembly in that holy service! and what importunate means did he make for his admission †! Had that gracious Emperor been of the diet of these new Divines, he would have slighted that repulse, and gladly taken this occasion of absence from that superstitious solemnity: or, had one of these grave monitors been at his elbow, he might have saved that pious Prince the expence of many sighs and tears, which now he bestowed upon his abstention from that dearly affected devotion.

The other shall be a history of as much note as horror ‡: too clear a proof of the ancient celebration of this Festival. It was under the tyranny of Diocl esian and his co-partner Maximinus, that twenty thousand Christians, which were met to celebrate the Feast of this Blessed Nativity in the large church of Nicomedia, were made a Holocaust; and burnt, together with that goodly fabric, to ashes, on that day. Lo, so great a multitude as twenty thousand Christians, of all ages, of both sexes, had not thus met together, in a time of so mortal a danger, to celebrate this Feast, if the holy zeal of their duty had not told them they ought to keep

* In his Oration upon the Day of the Nativity of Christ.
† Histor. Tripartitæ. l. ix. c. 30. ‡ Nicephor. l. vii. c. 6.

that day, which these novellers teach us to contemn. Now, let these bold men see of how contrary a disposition they are to these blessed Martyrs, which, as this day, sent up their souls, like to Manoah's Angel, to heaven in those flames.

After thus much said, I should be glad to know, since reason there can be none, what authority induces these gainsayers to oppose so ancient and received a custom in the Church of God.

You tell me of a double testimony cited to this purpose.

The one, of Socrates, the historian; which, I suppose, is fetched out of his vth. Book of Ecclesiastical Story; chap. xxi: where, upon occasion of the Feast of Easter, he passeth his judgment upon the indifferent nature of all those ancient feasts, which were of use in the Primitive Times; shewing, that the Apostles never meant to make any law for the keeping of festival days, nor imposed any mulct upon the not keeping them, but left men to the free observation thereof. For answer whereunto, I do not tell you, that this author is wont to be impeached of Novatianism; and, therefore, may seem fit to yield patronage to such a client: I rather say, that, take him at the worst, he is no enemy to our opinion or practice. We agree with him, that the Apostles would have men free from the servitude of the Jewish observation of days; that they enacted no law for set festivals, but left persons and places so to their liberty in these cases, that none should impose a necessity upon other. This were to be pressed upon a Victor, Bishop of Rome, who violently obtruded a day for the celebration of Easter upon all Churches; supposing, in the meanwhile, an Easter universally kept of all Christians, though not on the same day. This makes nothing against us, who place no holiness in the very hours, nor plead any apostolical injunction for days, nor tie any person or Church to our strict Calendar; but only hold it fit, out of our obedience to the laws both of our Church and Kingdom, to continue a joyful celebration of a memorial day, to the honour of our Blessed Saviour.

But that other authority, which you tell me was urged to this purpose, I confess, doth not a little amaze me. It was, you say, of King James, our learned Sovereign, of late and blessed memory; whose testimony was brought in before the credulous people, not without the just applause of a Solomon-like wisdom, as crying down these festivals; and, in a certain speech of his, applauding the purity of the Church of Scotland above that of Geneva, for that it observed not the common Feasts of Christ's Nativity, and Resurrection, &c. Is it possible, that any mouth could name that wise and good King in such a cause, whom all the world knows to have been as zealous a patron of those Festivals, as any lived upon earth? And, if he did let fall any such speech, before he had any down upon his chin and whilst he was under the ferule, what candour is it to produce it now, to the contradiction of his better experience and ripest judgment? Nay, is it not famously known, that it was one of the main errands of his journey into his native kingdom of Scotland, to reduce that Church unto a confor-

mity to the rest of the Churches of Christendom, in the observation of these solemn days? and, to this purpose, was it not one of the main businesses, which he set on work in the Assembly at Perth, and wherein he employed the service of his worthy Chaplain, Dr. Young, Dean of Winchester, to recall and re-establish these festivals *? And, accordingly, in pursuance of his Majesty's earnest desire this way, was it not enacted in that Assembly, that the said feasts should be duly kept? Doubtless it was; and that, not without much wise care and holy caution: which Act, because it cannot be had every where, and is well worthy of your notice, and that which clears the point in hand, I have thought good here to insert.

The tenor of it therefore is this:—

"As we abhor the superstitious observation of Festival Days by the Papists, and detest all licentious and profane abuse thereof by the common sort of professors; so we think that the inestimable benefits received from God, by our Lord Jesus Christ's Birth, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and sending down of the Holy Ghost, was commendably and godly remembered at certain particular days and times, by the whole Church of the world, and may be also now: therefore, the Assembly ordains, that every Minister shall, upon these days, have the commemoration of the foresaid inestimable benefits, and make choice of several and pertinent texts of Scripture, and frame their doctrine and exhortation thereto, and rebuke all superstitious observation and licentious profanation thereof."

I could, if it were needful, give you other proofs of King James's zeal for these days: but what should I spend time, in proving there is a sun in the heaven, and light in that sun? The name of that great King suffereth for his excess, this way.

Shortly, then, the Church of God, his Anointed, Law, Antiquity, Reason are for us, in this point: and I doubt not but you will gladly be on their side. Away with all innovations and frivolous quarrels: we were divided enough before, and little needed any new rents. The God of Peace quiet all these distempers; and unite our hearts one to another, and all to himself!

Farewell, in the Lord.

* One of the Five Articles of Perth.

CERTAIN

IRREFRAGABLE PROPOSITIONS,

WORTHY OF

SERIOUS CONSIDERATION.

BY

JOSEPH, BISHOP OF EXETER.

TO MY DREAD SOVEREIGN,

THE KING's MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY:

As one, whose heart, amongst many thousands, bleeds with the sad thoughts of the woeful Divisions of our dear Fellow-Subjects; and unfeignedly pities the misguidance of those poor well-meaning souls amongst them, whose credulity hath heedlessly betrayed them into a zealous error; I have let fall these few Propositions: which I have presumed to set down, not as in the way of a Challenger; for most, if not all, of them are such, as be not capable of contradiction: but, rather, of a faithful Remembrancer to my dear brethren, of those points, which they cannot but know and yield: as well supposing, that nothing, but mere want of consideration, can be guilty of this perilous distraction, in them, who profess to love their King and the Truth.

Now, the Good God of Heaven open the eyes and hearts of us all, that we may both see and be sensible of the invaluable blessing of our peace, and the happy freedom of his Gospel, which we do comfortably enjoy under your Majesty's sweet and religious government, to the wonder and envy of all other nations; and compose the hearts of all your native subjects to meet your Majesty's most gracious indulgence, with all humble thankfulness!

And the same God forbid, that any of us should be weary of our happiness; and be drawn to do any act, that may, before all the world, pour shame upon our holy profession! whose chief glory it hath always hitherto been, to render us still LOYAL and OBEDIENT; and, in this very regard, to triumph over the false religion of our opposites.

Such shall be ever the prayers of

Your Majesty's most humble

and faithful subject,

and ancientest chaplain,

JOSEPH EXON.

SEVEN

IRREFRAGABLE PROPOSITIONS,

CONCERNING

OATHS AND COVENANTS.

1.

No man may swear, or induce another man to swear, unlawfully.

2.

It is no Lawful Oath, that is not attended with *Truth*, *Justice*, and *Judgment*; Jer. iv. 2: the First whereof requires, that the thing sworn be true; the Second, that it be just; the Third, that it be not undue and unmeet to be sworn and undertaken.

3.

A Promissory Oath, which is to the certain Prejudice of another man's Right, cannot be attended with Justice.

4.

No Prejudice of another man's Right can be so dangerous and sinful, as that prejudice, which is done to the Right of Public and Sovereign Authority.

5.

The Right of Sovereign Authority is highly prejudiced, when Private Subjects encroach upon it; and shall, upon suspicion of the disavowed intentions or actions of their Princes, combine and bind themselves to enact, establish, or alter any matters concerning Religion, without, and therefore much more if against, the Authority of their Lawful Sovereign.

6.

A man is bound, in Conscience, to reverse and disclaim that, which he was induced Unlawfully to engage himself by Oath to perform.

7.

No Oath is or can be of Force, that is made against a Lawful Oath formerly taken: so as he, that hath sworn Allegiance to his Sovereign, and thereby bound himself to maintain the Right, Power, and Authority of his said Sovereign, cannot, by any Second Oath, be tied to do ought that may tend to the infringement thereof: and, if he have so tied himself, the Obligation is, *ipso facto*, void and frustrate.

COROLLARY.

If, therefore, any Sworn Subject shall, by pretences and persuasions, be drawn to bind himself by Oath or Covenant, to determine, establish, or alter any Act concerning Matter of Religion, without or against the Allowance of Sovereign Authority, the Act is unlawful and unjust; and the Party, so engaged, is bound, in conscience, to reverse and renounce his said Act: otherwise, besides the horrible scandal which he shall draw upon Religion, he doth manifestly incur the sin of the breach of the Third and Fifth Commandments.

TWO, AS UNDOUBTED,

PROPOSITIONS,

CONCERNING

CHURCH-GOVERNMENT.

1.

No man living, no history, can shew any well-allowed and Settled National Church in the whole Christian World, that hath been governed otherwise than by Bishops, in a meet and moderate imparity, ever since the times of Christ and his Apostles, until this Present Age.

2.

No man living, no record of history, can shew any Lay-Presbyter, that ever was in the Whole Christian Church, until this Present Age.

COROLLARY.

If men would as easily LEARN as Christian Wisdom can TEACH them, to distinguish betwixt Callings and Persons, betwixt the Substance of callings and the Not-Necessary Appendances of them, betwixt the Rules of Government and the Errors of Execution, these ill-raised Quarrels would die alone.

Da Pacem, Domine.

AMEN.

J. E.

EPISCOPACY BY DIVINE RIGHT,

ASSERTED.

BY

JOSEPH, BISHOP OF EXETER

TO THE

KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

OUR MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN LORD,

CHARLES,

BY THE GRACE OF GOD, OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, KING, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY:

WHEN, about a year ago, I presumed to tender to your Royal Hands some few short Propositions concerning Church-Government, I little thought, that either the public or my own diocesan occasions would have called on me for so large and speedy a pursuance of them, as now I am invited unto.

Episcopacy, since that time, hath suffered in the north, even to the height of patience; and I have met with some affronts, within my own jurisdiction.

All evils, especially those of Schism, are, as the plague, very catching; and do much mischief, both in their act and the spreading. It was, therefore, time for me to bend my best endeavours, both to the remedy of what had happened in mine own diocese, and prevention of what future mischief might ensue.

And, long I sat down, and waited for the undertaking of some abler pen: but, seeing such a silence in so needful a subject, as one, that might not be too long wanting, either to the vindication of the common cause or the safety of my own charge, I have thus boldly rushed forth into the press.

I cannot be so weakly inconsiderate, as to think that I could put my finger into this fire, and not be scorched. I do well know, never any man touched upon this quarrel, who was not branded with the deepest censure. Yet I do willingly sacrifice myself, herein, to God and his Truth.

I confess my heart burns within me, to see a righteous cause thus martyred, through unjust prejudice; and to see some honest and well-minded Christians misled into a palpable error, under the pretence of zeal and piety, by the mere names of two or three late authors, not more learned and godly, than, in this point, grossly mistaken.

If your Majesty's great cares of State could part with so much leisure, as to peruse this short but faithful relation of the first ground and original of this unhappy division in the Church, it might please your Majesty to be informed, that, when Petrus Balma, the last Bishop of Geneva, was, by his mutining citizens, frighted and driven out of his place, and that Church was now left headless, Farell and Viret, two zealous preachers there, devised and set up a new platform of Church-Government, never before heard of in the Christian World. Themselves would supply the Bishop; and certain Burgesses of the City should supply his Assistant Clergy; and both these together would make up the body of an Ecclesiastical Senate or Consistory.

This strange bird, thus hatched by Farell and Viret, was afterwards brooded by two more famous successors: and all this, within the compass of our present age.

Now, had this form, being at first devised only out of need for a present shift, contained itself within the compass of the banks of the Leman Lake, it might have been there retained, with either the connivance or pity of the rest of the Christian World: but now, finding itself to grow in some places, through the fame of the abettors, into request and good success; it hath taken the boldness to put itself forth to the notice and approbation of some neighbour Churches.

And some there are, which I bless myself to see, that have taken such liking to it, that they have affected a voluntary conformity thereunto: and, being weary of that old Form of Administration, which hath, without contradiction, continued in the whole Christian Church, from the times of the blessed Apostles of Christ inclusively until this present age, are not only eager, out of their credulity, to erect this new frame; but dare venditate it to the world, after fifteen hundred years' deep silence, for the very Ordinance and Kingdom of Christ: whereas, if any living man can shew any one Lay-Presbyter, that ever was in the Christian World, till Farell and Viret first created him, let me forfeit my reputation to shame, and my life to justice.

This is the true ground of this woeful quarrel. Wherein I cannot but heartily pity the misguidance of many well-meaning souls, of your Majesty's subjects, which are impetuously carried away in the throng, by the mere sway of names, and tyranny of an ignorant zeal; not being so much as suffered to know where they are, or on what ground they go: the fervent desire of whose reclamation, as of the settlement of others, whom the ill-condition of the time might cause to stagger, hath put my pen upon this envious, but necessary task.

Whereto also my zeal was the more stirred, by an information, which I received from the late meeting at Edinburgh: in the eighth Session whereof it is reported, that one M. G. Grahame, Bishop of Orkney, had openly, before the whole body of the Assembly, renounced his Episcopal Function; and craved pardon for having accepted it, as if thereby he had committed some heinous

offence. This uncouth act of his was more than enough to inflame any dutiful son of the Church; and to occasion this my ensuing, most just, expostulation.

Only, I had need to crave pardon of your Majesty, for the boldness of this interpellation; that I have dared to move your Majesty to descend so low, as to take view of this, on my part so confidently undertaken, duel. Although, if the combatants be single, yet the cause is so common, as that the whole Church of God claims her interest in it.

But your Majesty's long-known goodness encourages me to this presumption. And, withal, I could not but have some due regard to that right and propriety, which your Majesty may justly challenge in all the labours of this kind, from whose pen soever; as being under God appointed the great Patron of all divine truths, the great Guardian and Protector of these parts of his Church upon earth; whose true, ancient, and apostolical government is here questioned; and whose deserved devotions and faithful prayers shall be continually poured out to the God of Heaven, for your Majesty's long and happy preservation; amongst which shall be duly paid the daily tribute of

Your Majesty's most humble,

loyal, and zealously devoted

subject and servant,

JOSEPH EXON.

EPISCOPACY BY DIVINE RIGHT.

INTRODUCTION.

SECT. 1.

An Expostulatory Entrance into the Question.

Good God! what is this, that I have lived to hear? That a Bishop, in a Christian Assembly, should renounce his Episcopal Function, and cry mercy for his now-abandoned calling!

Brother that was, whoever you be, I must have leave a while to contest seriously with you. The act was yours; the concernment, the whole Church's. You could not think so foul a deed could escape unquestioned. The world never heard of such a penance: you cannot blame us, if we receive it, both with wonder and expostulation; and tell you, it had been much better to have been unborn, than to live to give so heinous a scandal to God's Church, and so deep a wound to his holy truth and ordinance. If Tweed, that runs between us, were an ocean, it could not either drown or wash off our interest or your offence. However you may be applauded for the time, by some ignorant and partial abettors, wiser posterity shall blush for you, and censure you too justly for some kind of Apostacy. Sure I am, you have done that to yourself, which, if your Presbytery had done to you, would have been, in the construction of the great Council of Chalcedon, no other than sacrilege *.

For me, I am now breathing towards the end of my race. The goal is already in mine eye. Young men may speak, out of ambitious hopes, or passionate transportations: I, that am now setting foot over the threshold of the house of my age, what aim can I have, but of the issue of my last account, whereto I am ready to

* Concil. Chalced. of 150 Bishops. Can. 29. ἐπίσκοπον εἰς πρεσβυτέρου βαθμὸν φέρειν ἱεροσυλίαν ἐστι.

be the summoned before the Judge of Quick and Dead? Neither can you look, as is likely, to be long after me. Setting, therefore, that Awful Tribunal, to which we shall shortly be presented, before our eyes, let us reason the case in a modest earnestness.

I should be ashamed to find less zeal in myself for Holy Episcopacy, than you think you have shewed in disclaiming it. Say, therefore, I beseech you, before God and his elect angels, say what it is, (besides perhaps the fear of plundering a fair temporal estate by the furious multitude;) say what it can be, that induced you to this sinful, to this scandalous repentance: shew me true grounds, and take me with you. How weary should I be of this Rochet, if you can shew me, that Episcopacy is of any less than Divine Institution! The eminence of that calling, which you have given up, as too good for you, will not allow you (though perhaps you might) to plead ignorance. Win him by your powerful arguments, who is so far from being wedded to the love of this misconceived pomp, that he envies the sweet peace of his inferiors.

Let me tell you, it is your person, that aggravates your crime. For a sheep to stray, it is no wonder; but, for a shepherd, yea a guide and director of shepherds, (such God and the Church had made you), not to wander himself only, but to lead away his flock from the green pastures and comfortable waters of divine truth, to the dry and barren deserts of human inventions, it cannot be but as shameful as it is dangerous; both, in a high degree. That some poor seduced souls of your ignorant vulgar should condemn that calling, which they were never suffered to look at, but with prejudicate eyes; or, that some of your higher-spirited clergy, out of an ambition of this dignity, and anger of the repulse, should snarl at this denied honour; or, that some of your great ones, who, perhaps, do no less love the lands, than they envy and hate the preeminence of Bishops, should cry down that sacred function; could be no other than might, in times so conditioned, be expected, and by fore-expectation made the more tolerable: but, for a man held, once, worthy to be graced with the Chair of Episcopacy, to spurn down that once-honourable seat, and to make his very profession a sin, is so shameful an indignity, as the judicious of the succeeding ages will shake their heads at, and not mention without just indignation.

If you were guilty, to yourself, of any noted personal exorbitances, or of any insolencies, or offensive miscarriages in your ill-placed government, such perhaps as have enraged your angry vulgar, these had been just matter of your humble penitence, and worthy of your most submiss deprecation: but, to repent you of a most lawful, honourable, holy, divine vocation, and thereby to cast mire in the faces of the Blessed Apostles, who received it from their God and Saviour, and by the guidance of his Spirit ordained it, is such an act, as can scarce be expiated with floods of overlatest tears.

Come, then, I beseech you, and let us, in the fear of God, reason sadly together: not in a vain affectation of victory, like some

young sophisters; but as sober Divines, in a fervent pursuit of that truth, which God and his purer Church have left and consigned to us.

That God, who is the Father of Lights and the God of Truth and Peace, enlighten the eyes of his poor seduced people, that they may see and acknowledge his truth; not suffering themselves to be blinded with unjust prejudices and false suggestions; and that they may know those things, which belong to their peace!

SECT. 2.

The Difference of the Condition of Foreign Churches and Divines, from those of our Northern Neighbours.

BUT, first, ere we enter these lists, let me advise you, and your now-master the Faction; not to deceive yourselves vainly, with the hope of hiding your heads, under the skirt of the authority of those Divines and Churches abroad, which retain that form of government whereto you have submitted.

For, know, their case and yours is far enough different. They plead to be, by a kind of necessity, cast upon that condition, which you have willingly chosen. They were not, they could not be, what you were, and might still have been. Did any of them forsake and abjure that Function of Episcopacy, which he might freely have enjoyed with the full liberty of professing the Reformed Religion? It is true, many Bishops have been faulty in their own persons, and condemned too justly of exorbitance, in managing their calling; but, where the calling is, as it should be, severed from these exceptions to the person, did ever any wise man or Christian Church condemn that calling for itself?

Yea, if the last Bishop of Geneva had become a Protestant, and consented in matter of doctrine to Calvin, Farell, Viret, have you or any man living just cause to think, that the city would not gladly have retained his government still, and thought themselves happy under such a protection? Would they have ejected him as an enemy, whom they might have enjoyed as a patron? Would they have stood upon his Episcopacy, while they had his concurrence in the truth of religion? No man, that hath either brain or forehead, will affirm it; since the world knows the quarrel was not at his dignity, but at his opposition to the intended Reformation.

But, because this is only a suggestion of a then-future-conditionate contingency, and may perhaps meet with some stubborn contradiction, hear what Calvin himself saith, for himself and his copartners. "If they would," saith he *, "bring unto us such a

* Calvin. de Necessit. Eccles. Reformandæ. *Talem si nobis Hierarchiam exhibeant, in quâ sic emineant Episcopi ut Christo subesse non recusent, ut ab illo tanquam Unico Capite pendeant, et ad ipsum referantur, &c. tum, verò, nullo*

Hierarchy, wherein the Bishops shall so rule, as that they refuse not to submit themselves to Christ, that they depend upon him, as their Only Head, &c. then, surely, if there shall be any, that shall not submit themselves to that Hierarchy, reverently and with the greatest obedience that may be, I confess there is no Anathema of which they are not worthy." Thus he, in the Treatise of the Necessity of Reforming the Church.

Do you hear your doom from your own oracle? Lo, such, and no other, was that Hierarchy, wherein you lately bore a part, and which you have now condemned: make account, therefore, of the merit and danger of Calvin's just Anathema.

Yet, again, the same author, in his Confession of Faith; written in the name of all the French Churches, speaking of the depraved estate of the Roman Church, then in the *fieri* of reforming, plainly writes thus *; *Interea, tamen:* "Yet, in the mean time, we would not have the authority of the Church, or of those Pastors, or Superintendents, to whom the charge of governing the Church is committed, taken away. We confess, therefore, that these Bishops or Pastors are reverently to be heard, so far forth as, according to their function, they teach the Word of God."

And, yet more plainly: "Certainly," saith he †, speaking even of Popish Bishops, "if they were true Bishops, I would yield them some authority in this case: not so much as themselves desire; but so much as is required to the due ordering of the policy or government of the Church."

Lastly, for it were easy to heap up this measure, in an Epistle of his, wherein the question is purposely discussed, What is to be done, if a Popish Bishop shall be converted to the reformed religion; he so determines it; That it is fit such an one, first, renounce his Popish power of sacrificing, and profess to abstain from all the superstitions and fœdities of the Romish Religion: then, that he must do his utmost endeavour, that all the Churches, which belong to his Bishoprick, may be purged from their errors and idolatry: and, at last, concludes, that both his possessions and authority too, should be left him; by virtue whereof, he must take order, that the Ministers under him do duly preach God's Word, as himself also must do. Thus he, wisely and moderately: not, first of all, stripping him of his Episcopal power, and discharging all his Clergy of their respects and obedience to him, and reducing him to the

non Anathemate dignos fatear, si qui erunt, qui non eam reverenter summâque obedientiâ observant. Cited also, as approved, by Chamier. De Membris Eccles. Lib. iv. cap. 1.

* *Interea, tamen, Ecclesiæ authoritatem, vel Pastorum, et Superintendentium, quibus Ecclesiæ regendæ provincia mandata est, sublatam nolumus. Fatemur, ergo, Episcopos sive Pastores reverenter audiendos, quatenus pro suæ functionis ratione Verbum Dei docent.* Confess. Fidei nomine Gall. Eccles.

† *Sanè, si veri Episcopi essent, aliquid eis in hâc parte authoritatis tribuerem: non quantum sibi postulant; sed quantum ad politiam Ecclesiæ ritè ordinandam requiritur.* Calv. Instit. l. iv. c. 10.

rank of the meanest plebeian Presbyter, as some hot heads would have done.

You hear how judicious and moderate Calvin's opinion was, then; and, had he been in your late pretended Assembly at Glasgow or this of Edinburgh, what vote he would have given. Had he had the casting voice, your coat had not been cast, for him. How happy were it for your Churches, if all among you, who so much honour his name, would as readily submit to this his judgment! Sure I am, had it been so with you, you had been as far from defying Episcopacy in holy professors, as you are now from truth and peace.

SECT. 3.

The Judgment of the German Reformers, concerning the retaining of Episcopacy.

And, that the French Reformers may not herein be thought to go alone, take notice, I beseech you, what the German Divines, of the Ausburgh-Confession, have freely professed to this purpose: who, taking occasion to speak of Canonical Ordination, break forth into these words following: *Sed Episcopi &c:* "But the Bishops," say they, "do either force our Priests to disclaim and condemn this kind of doctrine, which we have here confessed; or, by a certain new and unheard-of kind of cruelty, put the poor and innocent souls to death. These causes are they, which hinder our Priests from receiving their Bishops: so as the cruelty of the Bishops is the cause, why that Canonical Government or Policy, which we earnestly desired to conserve *, is, in some places, now dissolved." And, not long after in the same chapter: *Prorsùs hic iterum &c:* "And now, here again, we desire to testify it (to the world) that we will willingly conserve the Ecclesiastical and Canonical Government, if only the Bishops will cease to exercise cruelty upon our Churches. This our will shall excuse us before God, and before all the world, unto all posterity: that it may not be justly imputed unto us, that the authority of Bishops is impaired amongst us; when men shall hear and read, that we, earnestly deprecating the unjust cruelty of the Bishops, could obtain no equal measure at their hands."

Thus those learned Divines and Protestants of Germany: wherein all the world sees the Apologist professeth for them, that they greatly desired to conserve the Government of Bishops; that they were altogether unwillingly driven from it; that it was utterly against their heart, that it should have been impaired or weakened; that it was only the personal cruelty and violence of the Romish Persecutors, in a bloody opposition to the doctrine of the Gospel, which was then excepted against.

* *Quam nos magnopere conservare cupiebamus.*

To the same purpose is that, which Camerarius reports * concerning those two great lights of Germany, Melancthon and Luther: That Philip Melancthon, not only by the consent but the advice of Luther †, persuaded the Protestants of that time, that if Bishops would grant free use of the true doctrine, their ordinary power and administration over their several Dioceses should be restored unto them. And the same Melancthon, in an Epistle to Luther ‡, hath thus: "You do not believe in how great hatred I am, both with the Noricians, and I know not whom else, for restoring to the Bishops their jurisdiction:" and, in a most true censure in his History of the Augustan Confession §: *Hoc autem malè habet quosdam immoderatiores, reddi jurisdictionem, restitui Politiam Ecclesiasticam;* "This," saith he, "troubles certain immoderate men, that jurisdiction is re-delivered to the Bishops, and their Ecclesiastical Policy restored."

As for Bucer, he is noted and confessedly acknowledged, for a favourer of Religious Episcopacy ‖.

See now, I beseech you, how willing these first Reformers were, to maintain and establish Episcopal Government; how desirous to restore it; how troubled, that they might not continue it. Might they have enjoyed the Gospel, they would have enjoyed Episcopacy.

In whose steps, then, do you tread, while you defy it? Certainly, if the Genevan and German Prelacy would have but tolerated a Reformation of the Papal Corruptions, there had never been, either a Parity of Ministers or a Lay-Presbyter, in the world, to this day.

SECT. 4.

The Attestation of Famous Divines abroad to our Episcopacy.

WHAT should I need to press you with those attestations of high respect, which the most eminent Divines of Foreign Churches have ever wont to give to our Episcopacy?

To begin with Beza: though a truer back-friend to the Hierarchy, than his cooler predecessor; yet this he can say for ours ¶: "If now the Reformed Churches of England, under-propped with the authority of Bishops and Archbishops, do hold on; as this hath happened to that Church in our memory, that she hath had men of that calling, not only most notable Martyrs of God, but also ex-

* Camer. in Vitâ Melancth.

† Who professeth also so much in the small Chaldian Articles. Art. 10.

‡ Melanct. Epist. Luthero.

§ Melanct. Camerario Hist. Confes. August. per Chytræum.

‖ Buc. de Regno Christi. He, that desires to see more testimonies of this kind, refer him to the Survey of Discipl. chap. 8.

¶ Beza. Resp. ad Sarav. p. 111. Vid. Surv. Discipl. p. 135

cellent Pastors and Doctors; *Fruatur sanè istâ singulari Dei beneficentiâ, quæ utinam illi sit perpetua:* let her, in God's name, enjoy this singular bounty of God, which I wish she may hold for ever."

As for learned and moderate Zanchius, he hath spent his judgment so freely on our part, that he confesseth, a certain great man, and we guess whom he means, took exceptions at his favour of Episcopacy.

Let me, not without the professions of my dear respects to my ancient and worthy friend D. Molinæus, tell you what he heartily writes * to our late-admirable Bishop of Winchester, *Egône malè vellem Ordini vestro &c:* "What! that I should have an ill conceit of your Order, of which I never spake without honour! as who do well know, that the restoration of the English Church and eversion of Popery, next under God and your Kings, is chiefly to be ascribed and owed to the learning and industry of your Bishops: some whereof, being crowned with Martyrdom, subscribed the Gospel with their blood; whose writings we have; whose acts and zeal we record, as no whit inferior to the best of God's servants, which France or Germany hath yielded: he, that denies this, is either wickedly foolish, or envious to the glory of God, &c."

What should I need to thicken the air, with clouds of witnesses?

There is witness enough, in the late Synod of Dort. When the Bishop of Landaff had, in a speech of his, touched upon Episcopal Government; and shewed, that the want thereof gave opportunities to those divisions, which were then on foot in the Netherlands: Bogermannus, the President of that Assembly, stood up; and, in a good allowance of what had been spoken, said, *Domine, nos non sumus adeò fælices:* "Alas! my Lord, we are not so happy." Neither did he speak this in a fashionable compliment: neither the person, nor the place, nor the hearers were fit for that: but in a sad gravity, and conscionable profession of a known truth. Neither would he, being the mouth of that select Assembly, have thought it safe to pass those words, before the Deputies of the States and so many venerable Divines of foreign parts (besides their own,) if he had not supposed this so clear a truth, as that Synod would neither disrelish, nor contradict.

What do I single out a few? All the world of men, judicious and not prejudiced with their own interests, both do and must say thus; and confess, with learned Casaubon, Fregevill, and Saravia, that no Church in the world comes so near to the Apostolic Form, as the Church of England.

And are you weary of that condition, which other good and wise men proclaim happy? Do you dote upon that, which they would be glad to change?

* P. Molin. Ep. 3. Reverendiss. Viro, Præsuli dignissimo, D. Episc. Winton.

SECT. 5.

The Particularity of the Difference in our Freedom, and the Benefit of a Monarchical Reformation.

SAY now, therefore, no more, that you have conformed yourselves to the pattern and judgments of some other Reformed Churches.

This starting-hole is too strait to hide you. We can, at once, tenderly respect them, and justly censure you.

Acts done out of any extremity can be no precedents for voluntary and deliberate resolutions. The mariner casts out his goods in a storm: would we censure him for less than a madman, who should do thus in a calm, or in a fair gale? When a house is on fire in the city, we pull down the next roof, though firm and free, to prevent the spreading of the flame: would we not wonder at the man, that should offer this violence to his neighbour's house, when there is no appearance of danger? We cut off a limb, to prevent the deadly malignity of a gangrene: is this any warrant to dismember the sound?

Right thus stands the case, betwixt other Churches and yours.

They found themselves in danger to be wrecked, with the impetuous storms of Popish Tyranny; to be consumed with the flames of Romish Persecution; to be struck dead with the killing gangrene of Superstition. They saw, on the sudden perhaps, no other way left them for their freedom and safety, but to eject, pull down, cut off the known instruments of that Papal Tyranny, Persecution, Infection; as without whose perfect exauthorization, they could conceive no hope of enjoying the Gospel and themselves. Neither could they find any glimpse of hope, that the Sovereign State under which they then lived, being governed by a superstitious Clergy, would so far favour them, as to allow them an Episcopal Government of their own profession, opposite to the overprevalent faction of Rome *. Hereupon, therefore, they were forced to discard the office, as well as the men: but yet the office, because of the men; as Popish, not as Bishops: and to put themselves, for the present, into such a form of government, at a venture, as under which they might be sure, without violent interruption, to sow the seeds of the saving and sincere truth of the Gospel †. Though, also, it is very considerable, whether the condition they were in doth altogether absolutely warrant such a proceeding: for was it not so with us, after Reformation was stept in, during

* *Non culpâ vestrâ abesse Episcopatum, sed injuriâ temporum: non, enim, tam propitios habuisse Reges vestram Galliam in Ecclesiâ reformandâ, quàm habuit Britannia nostra.* Episc. Winton. Molinæo. Epist. 3.

† *Nisi eos coegerit dura necessitas, cui nulla lex est posita.* Hadr. Sarav. Resp. ad Bez. de Grad. Ministr. *Factum Ecclesiarum Reformatarum accipio et excuso; non incuso, nec exprobro.* Ibid.

those fiery times of Queen Mary? Was it not so with you, when those holy men, Patrick Hamilton and George Wischart, sowed the first seeds of Reformation among you in their own blood; with that spirit, the Holy Ghost endued them, of patience and constancy, crowned with martyrdom; not of tumult and furious opposition, to the disquiet of the State and hazard of the Reformation itself, or to the abjuring and blaspheming of a Holy Order in the Church, and dishonouring of Almighty God while they pretended to seek his honour?

This was their case: but what is this to yours?

Your Church was happily gone out of Babylon. Your and our most gracious and religious Sovereign sincerely professeth, maintaineth, encourageth the blessedly-reformed Religion: his Bishops preach for it, write for it; and profess themselves ready, after the example of their predecessors, to bleed for it. Your and our late learned and pious Sovereign, of blessed memory, with the general votes of a lawful assembly, re-inforced that Order of Episcopacy, which had been, as I take it, but about seventeen years discontinued.

And how can you now think of paralleling your condition with the foreign?

But, that you may not think that I speak at random, and upon blind conjectures of the state of this difference, hear, I pray you, what wise Fregivillæus (a deep head, and one that was able to cut even betwixt the League, the Church, and the State) saith concerning it. "The Ministers of the Reformation," saith he*, "which planted it in France, had respect unto their business, and to the work they took in hand, when they brought in this equality; which was, to plant a Church, and to begin after the manner of the Apostles, when they planted a Church in Jerusalem. As also they meant not to traverse the state of the Clergy, or to submit it to their Orders, whensoever the Clergy or whole State of France should happen to admit the Reformation: but their purpose tended only to overthrow superstition; and, in the mean time, to bear themselves according to their simple equality: whereupon I infer, that he, that would take occasion of this equality brought into France, to reverse the estate of the Episcopal Clergy among the Reformed, should greatly wrong the cause of those, who thereunder have reformed France, and had never that intent." Thus he. Whereto add; that the same author professeth, that it is not the degrees of the Clergy, which the Reformers except against, but the superstition. In the mean time, he judiciously professeth, that the French Ministers have taken up this equality of government, only provisionally reserving liberty to alter it according to occurrences. To which purpose he projecteth to the French King, the creation of one supreme Bishop or Patriarch of France, to whom the whole estate of the French Clergy might, upon fair terms, be subjected.

* Fregevill. *Politique Reform.* p. 70. of the Translation into English.

Do you not now, in all this which hath been said, see a sensible difference betwixt their condition and yours? Can you chuse but observe the blessing of Monarchical Reformation amongst us, beyond that Popular and Tumultuary Reformation amongst our neighbours? ours, a Council; theirs, an uproar: ours, beginning from the head; theirs, from the feet: ours, proceeding in a due order; theirs, with confusion: ours, countenancing and encouraging the converted Governors of the Church; theirs, extremely over-awed with averse power, or totally overborne with foul sacrilege: in a word, ours, comfortably yielding what the true and happy condition of a Church required; theirs, hand-over-head taking what they could get for the present. And what now? shall we, instead of blessing God for our happiness, emulate the misery of those, whom we do at once respect and pity?

Suppose the late Kings and Parliaments of France, before these separate forms of administration were pitched upon, would have said; "You, of the Reformed Profession, enjoy your religion freely; and, if you think it more safe to live under Church-Governors of your own, let your Clergy recommend unto us such grave and worthy persons, as may be fit for those places, they shall forthwith be established over you, with full authority and just maintenance; would any of the learned Divines of those times have slighted the offer; and have said, "By your leave, Sir, we like it not: we have other projects in hand: we will set up a new government, that will better befit our purposes?" Certainly, I should wonder at the man, that should entertain such an impossible imagination of those wise and godly-learned professors, who were, by the iniquity of the times, in a manner forcibly driven, at least as they imagined, upon this form; and necessarily put to this choice, whether they would still submit to Popery, or no longer submit to Episcopal Administration which there was only managed by Popish hands.

What need more words? Themselves have, as we have already seen, clearly decided it.

Go now, and take these men and times for your patterns; who never meant to make themselves and their condition imitable precedents, but rather the objects of our better wishes. It was a modest word of Beza *, That he never meant to prescribe the Ecclesiastical Policy of Geneva to other Churches: for this were high presumption. And will you be prescribing to yourselves, that, which he would not prescribe to you? Will you create that to be an Universal Ordinance of God, which he dare not warrant for any other than a Local Constitution?

Neither is there a more sensible difference, between the authority and success of a Monarchical or Popular Reformation; than there is, between the forms which are fit and expedient for large Churches living under the sway of a monarch, and those which particular cities or territories may admit under a democratical or aristo-

* Hadr. Saray. Fregevill. in Præf. ad Palmam Christ.

cratical government. "Hereupon," saith the Reformed Politic discreetly, "I do infer, that, in the state of a mighty and peaceable Church, as that of England, or as the Church of France, or such like might be, if God should call them to Reformation, the state of the Clergy ought to be preserved: for equality would be hurtful to the State; and, in time, breed confusion." Thus he.

And, indeed, besides those holy and divine considerations whereof we shall treat in the sequel, it stands with great reason, that there should be a correspondence betwixt the Church and the State, and a meet respect to the rules of both. As, therefore, because, in a free city or state, we find certain *Optimates*, who, by successive elections, sway the government, according to their municipal rules, not without the assistance and consent of a greater number of Plebeian Burgesses; and see, perhaps, this form of administration in those places successful; it were a crime, of strange brain-sick giddiness, to say nothing of the heinous moral transgression, to cast off the yoke of just and hereditary monarchy, and to affect this πολυκοιράνιην "many headed sovereignty:" so were it no less unreasonable, where a National Church is happily settled in the orderly regiment of certain grave Overseers, ruling under one acknowledged Sovereign, by wholesome and unquestionable laws, and by these laws punishable if they overlash or be defective in their charge; in a fastidious discontentment, to seek to abandon this ancient form, and to betake themselves to a popular form of discipline borrowed from abroad; which, what were it other, than to snatch the reins out of the hands of a skilful coachman, and either to lay them loose in the horses' necks, or to deliver them to the hands of some ignorant and unskilful lacqueys that run along by them? But of this point more, elsewhere.

My zeal and my respects to the Churches abroad, and my care and pity of many seduced souls at home, have drawn me on farther in this discourse, than I meant: for, who can endure to see simple and well-meaning Christians abused with the false colour of conformity with other Churches, when there is apparently more distance in the ground of their differences, than in the places of their situation?

Be wise, my Dear Brethren, and suffer not yourselves to be cheated of the truth, by the mis-zealous suggestions of partial teachers. Reserve your hearts free for the clearer light of Scripture and right reason, which shall, in this discourse, offer to shine into your souls.

For you, sir, *(fu frere)* confess, unless you can in truth deny it, that you go alone; and that you have reason absolutely to quit all the hope of the patrocination of other Churches, which you might seem to challenge from their example and practice. For, now that I have got you alone, I shall be bold to take you to task; and do, in the name of Almighty God, vehemently urge and challenge you to maintain, if by any skill or pretence you may, your own act of the condemnation of Episcopacy, and your penitent submission to a Presbyterial Government. Wherein, I doubt not, but I shall con-

vince you of a high and irreparable injury done by you to God, his Ordinance, and his Church.

SECT. 6.

The Project and Substance of the Treatise following.

For the full and satisfactory performance whereof, I shall only need to make good these two main points.

First, That Episcopacy, such as you have renounced, even that which implies a fixed superiority over the rest of the Clergy, and jurisdiction; is not only a holy and lawful, but a divine institution; and, therefore, cannot be abdicated, without a manifest violation of God's Ordinance.

Secondly, That the Presbyterian Government, so constituted as you have now submitted to it, (however venditated under the glorious names of Christ's Kingdom and Ordinance, by those specious and glozing terms to bewitch the ignorant multitude, and to ensnare their consciences) hath no true footing, either in Scripture, or the practice of the Church, in all ages, from Christ's time to the present.

That I may clearly evince these two main points, wherein indeed consists the life and soul of the whole cause; I shall take leave to lay down certain just and necessary POSTULATA, as the groundworks of my ensuing proofs: all which are so clear and evident, that I would fain suppose neither yourself nor any ingenuous Christian can grudge to yield them; but, if any man will be so stiff and close-fisted, as to stick at any of them, they shall be easily wrung out of his fingers, by the force of reason and manifest demonstration of truth.

THE FIRST PART.

POSTULATA.

SECT. 1.

THE FIRST GROUND, OR POSTULATE:—

That Government, whose Foundation is laid by Christ, and whose Fabric is raised by the Apostles, is of Divine Institution.

THE first whereof shall be this: That government, whose ground, being laid by our Saviour himself, was afterwards raised by the hands of his Apostles, cannot be denied to be of Divine Institution.

A proposition so clear, that it were an injury to go about to prove it.

He cannot be a Christian, who will not grant, that, as in Christ, the Son of God, the Deity dwelt bodily: so, in his servants also and agents under him the Apostles, the Spirit of the same God dwelt; so as all their actions were God's, by them. Like as it is the same spring-water that is derived to us by the conduit-pipes; and the same sun-beams, which pass to us through our windows.

Some things they did, as men; actions natural, civil, moral: these things were their own: yet they, even in them, no doubt, were assisted with an excellent measure of grace. But those things, which they did, as Messengers from God (so their names signify), these were not theirs, but his, that sent them.

An ambassador dispatcheth his domestical affairs, as a private man; but, when he treats or concludes matters of State, in his prince's name, his tongue is not his own, but his master's. Much more is it so in this case; wherein, besides the interest, the agents are freed from error. The carefullest ambassador may, perhaps, swerve from his message: these, which was one of the privileges of the Apostles, were, through the guidance of God's Spirit, in the acts of their function, inerrable.

So, then, if the foundation were laid by Christ, and the walls built up by his Apostles, the fabric can be no less than divine.

SECT. 2.

THE SECOND GROUND:—

The Practice and Recommendation of the Apostles, is sufficient Warrant for an Apostolical Institution.

SECONDLY, it must also be granted, That not only the government, which was directly commanded and enacted; but that, which was practised and recommended by the Apostles to the Church, is justly to be held for an Apostolical Institution.

In eminent and authorized persons, even examples are rules: much more, in so sacred.

Neither did the Spirit of God confine itself to words, but expressed itself also in the holy actions of his inspired servants. As Chrysostom, therefore, truly said, that our Saviour did not only speak, but work parables: so may we say here, that the Apostles did not only enact, but even act laws for his Holy Church.

And this is learned Calvin's determination about Imposition of Hands. "Although," saith he *, "there is no certain precept concerning Imposition of Hands; yet, because we see it was in perpetual use with the Apostles, their so accurate observation of it ought to be unto us instead of a command:" and therefore, soon after, he affirms plainly, That this ceremony proceeded from the Holy Ghost himself. And, in the foregoing chapter, speaking of the distribution of Pastors to their several charges, he saith, *Nec humanum est inventum &c:* "It is no human device, but the institution of God himself: for we read, that Paul and Barnabas ordained Presbyters in all the Churches of Lystra, Antioch, Iconium." And that direction, which the great Apostle of the Gentiles gave to Timothy, was, as Calvin truly, *Mandati nomine,* "in the name and nature of a command."

And what else, I beseech you, would the rigid exactors of the over-severe and Judaical observation of the Lord's Day, as an Evangelical Sabbath, seem to plead for their warrant, were they able to make it good any way, but the guise and practice of the Apostles? Precept, certainly, there is none, either given or pretended.

Thus the bitter Tileno-mastix can say †, "There was a double discipline of the Apostles, *Docens* and *Utens:* in the first, they gave precepts to the Church and her Governors: in the second, their practice prescribes her government; although," as he adds without book, "not without the Church's own consultation and consent:" which, if it be granted, makes the more for us; who, ever since we were a Church, have consented to the Apostles' practice, and constantly used the same.

* *Licèt autem nullum extat præceptum de manuum impositione, &c.* Calv. l. iv. Instit. c. 3. s. 16.

† Paracles. l. i. c. 4.

What do I stand upon this? They are the words of Cartwright himself: αὐτος ἔφη. "The example of the Apostles, and general practice of the Churches under their government, draweth a necessity.

SECT. 3.

THE THIRD GROUND:—

The Forms, ordained for the Church's Administration by the Apostles, were for Universal and Perpetual Use.

THIRDLY, it is no less evident, that the Form, which the Apostles set and ordained for the governing of the Church, was not intended by them for that present time or place only; but for continuance and succession for ever.

For no man, I suppose, can be so weak, as to think that the rules of the Apostles were personal, local, temporary; as some dials or almanacs, that are made for some special meridians: but, as their office and charge, so their rules were universal to the whole world; as far, and as long, as the world lasteth *. For, what reason is there, that Crete or Ephesus should be otherwise provided for, than all the world besides? Or what possibility, to think that those first planters of the Gospel should leave all the rest of Christ's Church, as the ostrich doth her eggs, in the dust without any farther care?

The extent and duration of any rule will best be measured, as by the intention of the author, so by the nature and use of it.

St. Paul's intention is clearly expressed, for a continuance *until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ;* 1 Tim. vi. 14.

As for the nature of the several directions, they carry perpetuity and universality of use in the face of them; there being the same reason of their observation, by all persons concerned, and in all times and places. Why should not every Bishop be as unreprovable, as a Cretian, or an Ephesian? Why should an accusation be received against an Elder upon more slender evidence in one place, than another? Why should there not be the same courses taken for Ordination and Censure in all ages and Churches, since the same things must of necessity be done every where, in all ages and Churches?

But why should I strive for a granted truth? for it is plain, that the isle of Crete and Ephesus were but the patterns of other Churches, and Timothy and Titus of other faithful Overseers.

If, therefore, it shall appear, that Episcopacy, so stated as we have expressed, was, in these persons and Churches, ordered and settled by Apostolical direction, it must necessarily be yielded to be of Apostolic, and therefore Divine Institution.

* *Præcepta ipsa disciplinæ omnibus in futurum Ecclesiis, dictante Sp. Sancto, tradiderunt.* Sco. Wy. Paracles. l. i. c. 4.

SECT. 4.

THE FOURTH GROUND:—

The Universal Practice of the Church immediately succeeding the Apostolic Times, is a sure Commentary upon the Practice of the Apostles, and our best Direction.—The Two Famous Rules of Tertullian and St. Augustin, to this purpose, asserted.

FOURTHLY, I must challenge it for a no less undoubted truth, That the universal practice of the Church immediately succeeding the Apostles, is the best commentary upon the practice of the Apostles; and, withal, that the universal practice of God's Church in all ages and places, is, next unto God's Word, the best guide and direction for our carriages and forms of Administration.

The copartners and immediate successors of those blessed men could best tell what they next before them did: for, who can better tell a man's way or pace, than he, that follows him close at the heels? And, if particular men or Churches may mistake; yet, that the whole Church of Christian men should at once mistake that which was in their eye, it is far more than utterly improbable. A truth, which it is a wonder any sober Christian should boggle at. Yet such there are, to our grief, and to the shame of this late giddy age; even the great guides of their faction.

Our mis-learned countryman Parker, the second *Ignis Fatuus* of our poor mis-led brethren, and some seconds of his, stand peremptorily and highly upon the denial. "It is false," saith he *, "that the universal practice of the Church is sufficient to prove any thing to be of Apostolic original." And, jeeringly, soon after, *Universa Ecclesiæ praxis, et consensus Patrum, unica Hierarchicorum Helena est:* "The universal practice of the Church, and consent of Fathers," saith he, "is the only darling of the abettors of the Hierarchy. But the practice of the Church immediately after the Apostles is no evidence."

Hear now, I beseech you, my Dear Brethren, all ye, who would pretend to any Christian ingenuity; and consider, whether you have not reason to distrust such a leader, as would persuade you to slight and reject the testimony and practice of the whole Church of God upon earth, from the first plantation of it to this present age, and to cast yourselves upon the private opinions of himself, and some few other men of yesterday. Surely, in very matter of doctrine, this could be no other than deeply suspicious, than foully odious. If no man, before Luther and Calvin, had excepted against those points wherein we differ from Rome, I should have hated to follow them: how much more must this needs hold, in matter of fact!

Judge what a shame it is, to hear a Christian Divine carelessly

* Polit. Eccles. l. ii. c. 7. *Falsum est &c.*

shaking off all arguments drawn from Antiquity, Continuance, Perpetual Succession in and from Apostolic Churches, Unanimous Consent, Universal Practice of the Church, Immediate Practice of all the Churches succeeding the Apostles, as either Popish or nothing: and all these are acknowledged for our grounds, and are not Popish!

For me, I profess, I could not, without blushing and astonishment, read such stuff: as confounded in myself, to see that any son of the Church should be not only so rebelliously unnatural to his holy mother, as to broach so putrid a doctrine, to her utter disparagement; but so contumelious also to the Spirit of God, in his Providence for the dear Spouse of his Saviour here upon earth!

Holy Irenæus, I am sure, was of another mind. *Agnitio vera*, saith he *: "The true acknowledgment is the doctrine of the Apostles; *et antiquus Ecclesiæ status*, and the ancient state of the Church in the whole world by the Succession of Bishops, to whom the Apostles delivered the Church which is in every place." And, then, while we have both these; the doctrine of the Apostles, seconded by the ancient state of the Church; who can out-face us?

What means, then, this wilful and peevish stupidity? *Nihil pro Apostolico habendum:* "Nothing," saith Parker †, "is to be held for Apostolic, but that, which is found recorded in the writings of the Apostles." Nothing? Was all registered by themselves, which we must believe, they did or enacted? For doctrine necessary for salvation, we are for him: but, surely, for evidence of fact or ritual observation, this is no better than absurd rigour, than unchristian incredulity. Where is there express charge for the Lord's Day? where, for Pædobaptism? where, for public Churches? where, for texts to be handled in Sermons? where, for public prayers of the Church, before and after them; and many such like, which yet we think deducible from those sacred authorities?

That is true of Jerome‡: *Quæ, absque authoritate, &c:* "Those things, which men either find or feign, as delivered by Apostolic Tradition, without the authority and testimonies of Scripture, are smitten by the sword of God's Spirit." But what is this to us, who find this, which we challenge for Apostolical, recorded in the written Word of God? Or, with what conscience is this alleged against us, which is directly bent against the heretical doctrines and traditions of the Marcionites, either utterly without, or expressly against the Scripture?

I may not balk two pregnant testimonies of the Fathers, wherewith this great Anthierarchist and his northern ὑπερασπιστὴς is as much and justly troubled, as our cause is advantaged: not so much because they are the sentences of Ancient Fathers, which they have learned to turn off at pleasure with scorn enough; as for that they carry in them such clearness and strength of reason, as will not admit of any probable contradiction.

The former, is that of Tertullian §: *Constabit id esse ab Apostolis*

* Iren. l. iv. contr. Hæres.
‡ Hieron. Tom. 6. in Agge. 1.
† Polit. Eccles. l. ii. c. 7.
§ Tertull. contr. Marcion. c. 4.

traditum, quod apud Ecclesias Apostolorum fuerit sacrosanctum: "That shall clearly appear to be delivered by the Apostles, which shall have been religiously observed in the Churches of the Apostles." What evasion is there of so evident a truth? "Me seems," saith Parker *, "that Tertullian understands only those Churches, which were in the very time of the Apostles; not the subsequent: for he saith not, *Quod est*, but *Quod fuerit;* and thus it may be held true." But this is to mock himself, and those that trust him; and not to answer all the Father's testimony. The question must be, what, in Tertullian's time, should be held to have been Apostolic; and therefore he saith, *constabit;* not, *constitit:* now, if he shall speak to Parker's sense, he shall say, "That, which was religiously kept in the Churches, planted by the Apostles, and in their own time, is to be held Apostolic." What is the reader ever the wiser, since it were equally hard to know, what their Churches then did, and what they themselves ordained to be done; were it not for the continued tradition and practice, descending from them to the succeeding ages? so as either they must trust the Churches then present for the deduction of such truth, or else nothing would be proved Apostolic. Neither is there any thing more familiar with the Fathers, than to term those the Churches of the Apostles, even for some hundreds of years after their decease, wherein they, after some residence, had established a government for future succession; which had αὐξεντίαν Ἀποστολικῆς διαδοχῆς, as Synesius speaketh: as it were too easy to instance in a thousand particularities. Yea, that it may appear how Parker shuffles here, against his own knowledge, there is a flat mention of the Churches after the time of St. John, the longest liver of all that holy train, which he calls *Joannis alumnas Ecclesias* †. So as this of Parker's is a miserable shift, and not an answer.

The other, is that famous place of St. Augustin against the Donatists, agitated by every pen: *Quod universa &c:* "That, which is held by the Universal Church, and not ordained by any Council, but hath been always retained in the Church, is most truly believed to be delivered by no other than Apostolical authority:" which Parker sticks not to profess the Achillæan argument of the Hierarchists.

Neither have they any cause to disclaim it: the authority of the man is great; but the power of his reason, more. For, that, which obtaineth universally, must either have some force in itself to command acceptation, or else must be imposed by some over-ruling authority: and what can that be, but either of the great princes (as they are anciently called) of the Church, the Holy Apostles; or of some General Councils, as may authoritatively diffuse it through all the world? If then no Councils have decreed the observation of an ordinance, whence should an universal, not reception only, but retention proceed, save from Apostolic hands? No cause can work

* Ubi suprà. † Tert. l. iv. contr. Marc. c. 5.

beyond his own sphere: private power cannot exceed its own compass.

Let not any adversary think to elude this testimony, with the upbraiding to it the patronage of the Popish opinion concerning traditions. We have learned to hate their vanities, and yet to maintain our own truths, without all fear of the patrocination of Popery. We deny not some Traditions (however the word, for want of distinguishing, is, from their abuse, grown into an ill name) must have their place and use: and, in vain should learned Chamier, Fulk, Whitakers, Perkins, Willet, and other controversers labour in the rules of discerning true Apostolical Traditions from false and counterfeit, if all were such; and if those, which are certainly true, were not worthy of high honour and respect. And what and how far our entertainment of Traditions is and should be, I refer my reader to that sound and judicious discourse of our now most Reverend Metropolitan against his Jesuit A. C.

Onwards, therefore, I must observe, that, whereas Chamier doth justly defend *, that the evidence of these kind of Traditions from the universal receipt of the Church, doth not breed a plerophory of assent, he doth not herein touch upon us: since his opposition is only concerning points of faith; our defence is concerning matter of fact: neither do we hold it needful there should be so full a sway of assent to the testimony of the Church's practice herein, as there ever ought to be to the direct sentence of the Sacred Scripture. Will none but a divine faith serve the turn in these cases, which Parker himself professes to be far from importing salvation? Is it not enough, that I do as verily believe, upon these human proofs, what was done by the Apostles for the plantation and settlement of the Church, as I do believe there was a Rome before Christ's Incarnation; or that a Julius Cæsar was emperor or dictator there, or Tully an orator and consul, or Cato a wise senator, or Catiline a traitor? Certainly, thus much belief will serve for our purpose. Whoso requires more, besides the grounds of the Apostolic Ordinances recorded in Scripture, thus seconded, may take that counsel, which boys construe the lapwing to give for her nest.

Two things are answered hereto, by Parker and his clients.

The one, that the rule of St. Augustin avails us nothing, since that the original of Episcopacy is designed as from Decree, by St. Jerome; as from Councils, by St. Ambrose: but what that Decree was or could be besides Apostolical, or what those Councils were, he were wise that could tell: he, and all his abettors, I am sure, cannot. But of this, in the sequel.

The other, after some misapplied testimonies of our own authors who drive only at matter of faith, that he can make instance in divers things, which were both universally and perpetually received, no Council decreeing them, and yet far from an Apostolic Ordination.

Sibrandus Lubbertus helps him to his first instance, borrowed

* Cham. Panstrat. de Traditionibus.

from St. Augustin; a fixed day for the celebration of Easter. And what of that? How holds his argument in this? for, that this or that day should be universally set, and perpetually kept for that solemn feast, who, that ever heard of the state of the primitive time, can affirm; since those famous quarrels, and contrary pretences of their several derivations of right from the two prime Apostles, are still in every man's eye? but, that an Easter was agreed to be solemnly kept by the Primitive Church universally, those very contentions betwixt Polycarpus and Annicetus * do sufficiently declare; and Parker himself confesseth †. Thus it was kept, and withal decreed by no Council; "yet not," saith he, "by any Apostolical Institution." How doth that appear? *Nihil illi de festis &c.*: "They," i. e. the Apostles, "never delivered ought concerning Feast-Days, nor yet of Easter:" why but this is the very question. Parker denies it; and must we take his word for proof; whereas we have the Apostle's direct ἑορτάζωμεν, *Let us keep the feast?* And, afterwards, there is a plain deduction of it from and through the times succeeding: as is fully and excellently set forth by our incomparably-learned, the late Bishop of Winchester; to whose accurate discourse of this subject ‡, I may well refer my reader.

His second instance, is the Apostles' Creed; which our authors justly place within the first three hundred years after Christ: used and received by the whole Church, and not enacted by any Councils; yet not, in respect of the form it, delivered by the Apostles. A doughty argument, and fit for the great controller of times and antagonist of government! We speak of the matter of the Creed; he talks of the form of it: we, of things; he, of words. And, just so, Tilenus, his friend, instances in ἀρχιερεὺς and ϰλῆρος, found in Ignatius. But do these men suppose St. Augustin meant to send us to seek for all common expressions of language to the Apostles? Let them tell us: Is there any thing in the substance of that Creed, which we cannot fetch from the Apostles? are not all the several clauses, as he cites them from St. Augustin, *per Divinas Scripturas sparsæ, indè collectæ, et in unum redactæ;* "scattered here and there in the Scriptures, penned by the Apostles, gathered up and reduced into this sum?" As for the syntax of words and sentences, who of us ever said they were, or needed to be, fathered upon those great Legates of the Son of God? Our cause is no whit the poorer, if we grant there were some universal terms derived by tradition to the following ages, whereof the original authors are not known. This will not come within the compass of his *(quiddam) vox est, prætera nihil.*

His third instance, is in the Observation of Lent: for which, indeed, there is so great plea of Antiquity, that himself cannot deny

* Euseb. l. v. Hist. c. 24.

† *Quanquam, enim, in ipso die differentia erat, in hoc tamen omnes Ecclesiæ conspirárunt, Diem Paschatis observandum aliquem esse.* Ibid. Polit. Eccles.

‡ B. Andrews's Serm. of the Resur. Serm. 13.

it to be acknowledged even by old Ignatius, a man contemporary to some of the Apostles: and, as overcome by the evidence of all histories, grants it to be apparent, that the whole Church constantly ever observed some kind of Fast before their Easter *; no less than Theophilus Alexandrinus, *Lex abstinendi:* "The law of fasting in Lent hath been always observed in the Church." And what need we more? "And yet," saith Parker, "for all that, Lent was not delivered by Apostolic Authority: *Et in eo lapsi sunt Patres;* therein the Fathers are mistaken." Magisterially spoken! and we must believe him, rather than St. Jerome, who plainly tells us, it is *secundum Traditionem Apostolorum*, "according to the Tradition of the Apostles." The specialties, indeed, of this Fast admitted, of old, very great variety: in the season; in the number of days; in the limitation, subject, and manner of abstinence; as Socrates hath well expressed †: but, for a *quoddam jejunium*, "some kind of fast," I see no reason, why the man, that can be so liberal as to grant it always observed by the Universal Church, should be so strait-laced as to deny it derivable from the Tradition of the Holy Apostles: and when he can as well prove it not Apostolic, as we can prove it universal, we shall give him the bucklers.

To what purpose do I trace him in the rest? the ancient rites of the Eucharist, and of Baptism urged out of Baronius; of gestures in prayer; of the observation of solemn Feasts and Embers? Let one word serve for all: it will be a harder work for him to prove their universality and perpetuity, than to disprove their original. Let it be made good, that the whole Church of Christ always received them, we shall not be niggardly in yielding them this honour of their pedigree, deducible from an Apostolical recommendation.

In the mean time, every (not ungracious) son of this Spiritual Mother will learn to kiss the footsteps of the Universal Church of Christ; as knowing the dear and infallible respects betwixt him and this blessed spouse of his, as to whom he hath engaged his everlasting presence and assistance; *Behold, I am with you always, to the end of the world:* and will resolve to spit in the face of those seducers, who go about to alienate their affections from her, and to draw them into the causeless suspicions of her chaste fidelity to her Lord and Saviour.

To shut up this point, therefore: if we can show that the universal practice of the Church, immediately after the Apostles, and ever since, hath been to govern by Bishops, superior to Presbyters in their order and jurisdiction, our cause is won.

* Polit. Eccles. ubi suprà.

† Socrat. l. v. c. 2. ὡς περὶ τουτῶ τῶ ἑκάστου γνώμη, &c. ἐπιστρεψαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι.

SECT. 5.

THE FIFTH GROUND:—

The Primitive Saints and Fathers neither would nor durst set up another Form of Government, different from that they received of the Apostles.

FIFTHLY, we may not entertain so irreverent an opinion of the Saints and Fathers of the Primitive Church, that they, who were the immediate Successors of the Apostles, would or durst set up a form of government, different from that which was fore-designed to them; and that, either faulty or self-devised.

Certainly, it must needs follow, either those succeeding governors practised, maintained, and propagated that form, which they immediately before received from the hands of the Apostles; or else they quite altered it, and established a new.

If the first, we have what we desire: if the latter, those holy men were guilty of a presumptuous innovation; which were a crime to think. *Charity thinks not evil:* and what evil can be worse, than to violate or transgress Apostolical Ordinances?

How highly doth the Apostle of the Gentiles praise the Corinthians, That they kept all his orders, and observed his traditions *! and would he have less deeply blamed those, that should have wilfully broken them? *Vultis veniam in virgâ? Will ye that I shall come to you with a rod?* saith the same Apostle. All the Christian World knew how sacred the authority of those great delegates of our Saviour was; how infallible their determinations; how undoubted their inspirations. Withal, it must be granted, that the first ages were the purest: as the water, that first rises from the spring, is clearer than that, which, by a long decursion, hath mixed itself with the soil of the channel. Can it, therefore, enter into any wise and honest heart, that those prime Saints, even in the greatest purity of the Church, would wilfully vary from the holy institutions of the blessed Apostles; and, as the fickle Israelites did so soon as Moses's back was turned, worship idols of their own invention? Surely, he must be strongly uncharitable, that shall think so; strangely impudent, that dares maintain it; and wickedly credulous, that can believe it.

But the defection began in the Church, presently after the Apostles; yea, in their time †: (a point, eagerly urged by the faction:) it is no trusting, therefore, to the universal practice of the successors:—

Our own authors are frequently alleged, for the earliness of this

* πάντα μου. 1 Cor. xi. 2. παραδόσεις.

† *Quæ defectio in Ecclesiâ quidem ipsâ Apostolorum ætati proximâ adeò cœpit, ut argumento certo illius universa praxis esse nequeat.* Park. Polit. Eccles. l. ii. c. 8.

apostacy; Whitakers, Reynolds, Field, Mornay: what need it, when the Apostle himself tells us, the *Mystery of Iniquity* began then to work? yea, and as it is said, your Moderator lately told you, St. Paul himself, by appointing Bishops, was himself a worker in it?

The *Mystery of Iniquity?* What is that, but the plots of that Antichrist?—

Yea, but you ordinarily speak of him, as I thought, but as one: The Roman Vice-God. Now I perceive it is a mistake: there was the Antichrist at Jerusalem; the Antichrist of Antioch, of Alexandria; shortly, in every Church, one.

But, let them say now, do they repute the Bishop of Rome to be the Antichrist or not? If they do, let them shew us what it is that makes him so, which all good Bishops do not as mainly oppose. What hand hath the Patriarch of Constantinople, or Alexandria, or the Abassine Bishops in his transcendent supremacy and usurpation? These disclaim him: these resist him. Did the Episcopacy of these and all other Christian Churches give any aid to the advancement of that usurper's Infallibility, or universal Supremacy? Did, or do the Christian Bishops of all other Churches give him their shoulder, to hoise him up above all that is called God? If they help him up, who offers to pull him down? Shortly, then, if the *Mystery of Iniquity* did then work for Rome, yet not for the Grecian, Syrian, Asian Churches. No, no: it was not any point of the defection, this; but rather of the perfection of the Church.

But here we are choaked with the examples of some Churches, which, soon after their plantation, swerved from their former purity. Of Israel, it is said, *Rehoboam left the law of the Lord, and all Israel with him;* 2 Chr. xii. 1. of the Galatians, *I marvel that you are so soon turned away from Christ;* Gal. i. 6: and several errors are reckoned up, of succeeding Churches and men. It is no such strange matter therefore, that the Christian Church should, in some sort, fail, after the decease of the Apostles:—

How little reason, and great uncharitableness, is there in this argument! If there were some errors, shall we suspect all truths? And, if some particular Churches failed in some opinions, shall we therefore mis-doubt the practice of the universal? Parker grants, that, in the times of the Apostles, the Church was in her ἀκμή; the height of her health. Even then, were there not quarrels? were there not foul mis-opinions in the Churches of Corinth, Galatia, Thessalonica, Colosse? If these particular failings did not hinder the soundness in doctrine, and ἐυταξη in government of the Universal Christian Church, what reason have we to cast this aspersion upon the sub-sequent? It is true, as physicians observe, that, in seven years, the body changes; and, in thirty, there is, as Keckerman observes not ill, a remarkable alteration in every state. Neither is the Church privileged from mutability: but, as a man changes his complexion but still holds his visage, and as the State changes its officers but still retains the laws and forms of administration; so the Church may perhaps alter some customs, and either mend or impair in manners, and yet still continue the rules and forms of her

government. Neither have we reason to think otherwise of those, which succeeded the Apostolic: and, if some men therein declined towards error or heresy, God forbid the Church should suffer, as guilty of their lapses! But, as for the main laws of Church-Discipline, if the succeeding governors should have so foully forgotten themselves, after the decease of the two great Apostles, of the Gentiles and the Circumcision: yet St. John lived a fair age after, no less than sixty eight years after our Saviour; and had leisure enough to control their exorbitances, had they been such: neither would he have endured any such palpable and prejudicial innovation in the Church of God.

Briefly, then, if it shall appear, that these holy men, who were immediate successors in the Apostolic Chairs, continued and maintained an imparity and superiority of the Episcopal Function, we have evicted what we plead for.

SECT. 6.

THE SIXTH GROUND:—

If the Next Successors would have innovated the Form of Government; yet they could not, in so short Space, have diffused it through the whole Christian World.

But, sixthly, if the succeeding Church-Governors would or durst have owned so much presumption, as to alter or innovate the form of government left by the Apostles; yet they could not possibly, in so short a space, have diffused their new uniform platform of administration through the whole Christian World.

For, who knows not, that universality of power and jurisdiction died with the Apostles? They only could claim the whole world for their diocese: neither could they leave any heirs behind them of their Apostleship. The succeeding administrators of the several Churches were fixed to their own charges; having neither power to command in another man's division, nor such eminence of authority as that their example should be a rule to their neighbours. How then can any living man conceive it possible, if there had not been an uniform order settled by the Apostles, that all the world should so suddenly meet in one form of policy, not differing so much as in the circumstances of government?

That, which Parker thinks to speak for his advantage (*neque uno impetu disciplina statim mutata est, sed gradatim et paulatim* *; that "the discipline was not changed at once, but by little and little, as by insensible degrees") makes strongly against him, and irrefragably for us: for here were no lingering declinations towards that government, which we plead for; but a present and full establish-

* Polit. Eccles. l. ii. c. 8.

ment of it in the very next succeeding hands, which could not have been but by a supereminent and universal command.

If we do but cast our eyes upon those Churches, which, now dividing themselves from the common rule of administration, affect to stand upon their own bottom; do we not see our countrymen of Amsterdam varying from those of Leyden concerning their government: and, in the New-English Colony, those of the Boston-Leaders, from the Western Plantation? When we see drops of water, spilt upon dry sand, running constantly into one and the same stream, we may then hope to see men and Churches, not oversway-ed otherwise with one universal command, running every where into a perfect uniformity of government; especially in a matter of such nature and consequence, as subordination and subjection is.

It was the singular and miraculous blessing of the Gospel in the hands of the first propagators of it, that, *There* was *no speech nor language where their voice* was *not heard. Their line*, of a sudden, went *out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world. The sun, which rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race*, could scarce out-go them; Ps. xix. 3, 4, 5.

But, as for their followers, the very next to them, they must be content to hold their own, a much slower, pace; and, by leisure, to reach their journey's end.

If, therefore, it shall be made to appear, that, presently after the decease of the Apostles, one uniform order of Episcopal Government, so qualified as we have spoken, was, without variation or contradiction, received in all the Churches of the whole Christian World, it must necessarily be granted, that Episcopacy is of no other than Apostolical Constitution.

SECT. 7.

THE SEVENTH GROUND:—

The Ancientest Histories of the Church and Writings of the First Fathers, are rather to be believed in the report of the Primitive State of the Church, than the latest Authors.

SEVENTHLY, I must challenge it for a truth not capable of just denial, That the ancientest Histories of the Church and Writings of the first Fathers are rather to be believed in the report of the Primitive State of Church-Government, than those of this present age.

A truth so clear, that a reasonable man would think it a shame to prove; yet such, as some bold leaders of the faction, that would be thought learned too, have had the face to deny.

Parker, the late oracle of the schism, hath dared to do it, in terms; who, speaking of the testimony of the primitive times, *Hæcne Ecclesia illa est, quæ certum testimonium in causâ disciplinariâ præsti-*

tura nobis est? "Is this," saith he *, in the high scorn and pride of his heart, "the Church, that shall give us so sure a testimony in the cause of discipline?" and, every where disparaging the validity of the ancient histories, prefers the present. Is Eusebius mentioned, who records the succession of Primitive Bishops from their first head? *At Eusebio defuit &c:* "But," saith he †, "Eusebius, being carried away with the sway of that age, wanted that golden reed, which is given to the historians of our times, Apoc. xi. 1. to measure the distance of times, the difference of manners, the inclinations of Churches, and the progress and increases of the Antichristian Hierarchy, &c." Are any of the Holy Fathers alleged? "Alas, poor men," saith he, "they were much mistaken!" yet, howsoever, they are much beholden to him; for, saith he ‡, *Non volentes, sed nescientes; non per apostasiam aut contemptum, sed per infirmitatem et ignorantiam, lapsi sunt Patres, qui in disciplinâ aberrârunt:* "The Fathers, who erred in this matter of discipline, did not offend out of will, but out of want of knowledge; not through apostacy or contempt, but through infirmity and ignorance."

But can I now forbear to ask, who can endure to hear the braying of this proud schismatic? For the love of God, Dear Brethren, mark the spirit of these men; and, if you can think it a reasonable suggestion to believe that all ancient histories are false, all the holy and learned Fathers of the Church ignorant and erroneous; and that none ever saw or spake the truth, not of doctrine only, but not of fact, until now that these men sprung up; follow them, and rely upon their absolute and unerring authority: but, if you have a mind to make use of your senses and reason, and not to suffer yourselves to be wilfully besotted with a blind and absurd prejudice, hate this intolerable insolence; and resolve to believe, that many witnesses are rather to be believed, than none at all; that credible, judicious, holy witnesses are rather to be trusted, for the report of their own times, than some giddy corner-creeping upstarts, which come dropping in, some sixteen hundred years after.

But what then will ye say to this challenge? *Quid, autem? Patres, qui adversus nos &c.* "The Fathers," saith Parker §, "which, by the favourers of Episcopacy are produced against us, were, for the most part, Bishops; so as, while they speak for Episcopacy, they plead for themselves: *Ecquis, igitur, eos credendos dicet?* Will any man, therefore, say they are to be believed? Or will any man forbid us to appeal from them?"

Blessed God! that any who bears the title of a Christian, should have the forehead thus to argue!

Appeal? To whom, I pray? To the succeeding Doctors and Fathers? no: they were in the same predicament. To the rest of the whole Church? they were governed by these leaders. Whither, therefore, can they imagine to appeal, but to themselves? And what proves this then, but their own case? And, if the Fathers may not

* Park. Polit. Eccles. l. ii. c. 8. † Ibid. l. ii. c. 5.
‡ Ibid. l. ii. c. 8. § Ibid. l. ii. c. 19.

be suffered to be our witnesses, will it not become the house well, that these men should now be the Fathers' judges?

But the Fathers were Bishops: the case was their own:—True, they were Bishops; and it is our glory and comfort, that we have had such predecessors. In vain should we affect to be more holy and more happy than they. Let them, if they can, produce such precedents of their parity. But, the case was theirs:—Had there been then any quarrel or contestation against their superiority, this exception might have carried some weight: but, while there was not so much as the dream of an opposition in the whole Christian World, how could they be suspected to be partial?

They wrote, then, according to their unanimous apprehension of the true meaning of the Scriptures; and according to the certain knowledge of the Apostolic Ordinances, derived to them by the undoubted successions of their known predecessors. Heaven may as soon fall, as these evidences may fail us.

See, then, I beseech you, Brethren, the question is, whether a man may see any object better, in the distance of one pace, or of a furlong: whether present witnesses are more to be believed, than the absent: whether those, which speak out of their own certain knowledge and eye-sight; or those, which speak out of mere conjecture.

And, if this judgment be not difficult, I have what I would. If I shall make it good, that all ancient histories, all testimonies of the holy Fathers of the Church of Christ, are expressly for this government, which we maintain and you reject, the cause is ours.

SECT. 8.

THE EIGHTH GROUND:—

Those, whom the Ancient Church of God and all the Holy Fathers of the Church since, have condemned for Heretics, are no fit guides for us to follow, in that their Judgment of the Government for which they were so condemned.

EIGHTHLY, I must challenge it for an unquestionable truth, That those men, whom the Ancient Church of God and the holy and orthodox Fathers have condemned for erroneous and heretical, are not fit to be followed of us, as the authors of our opinion or practice for the government of the Church, in those points, for which they were censured.

It may fall out too oft, that a man, whose belief is sound in all other points, may fail in one; and proceed so far, as to second his error with contumacy.

The slips of the ancients are too well known, and justly pitied; but they pass, as they ought, for private oversights. If any of them have stood out in a public contestation, as holy Cyprian did in that

case of rebaptizing, the Church takes up his truth, as her common stock; balks his error, not without a commiserating censure.

Now if any man shall think fit to pitch upon the noted mis-opinions of the holiest authors, for imitation or maintenance, what can we esteem of him, but as the fly, who, passing by the sound parts of the skin, falls upon a raw and ulcered sore?

And, if the best Saints may not be followed in their faults, how much less may we make choice of the examples or judgments of those, who are justly branded by the whole Church for schism or heresy? What were this other, than to run into the Prophet's Woe, in justifying the wicked, and taking away the righteousness of the righteous from them? Isa. v. 23. Is not he like to make a good journey, that chooses a blind or lame guide for his way?

When the Spouse of Christ enquires after the place of his feeding, and where he maketh his flock to rest at noon, he answers her; *If thou know not, O thou fairest among women, go thy way forth by the footsteps of the flock, and feed thy kids besides the shepherds' tents;* Cant. i. 7, 8. What is his flock, but Christian souls? and his shepherds, but the holy and faithful Pastors? The footsteps then of this flock and the tents of these shepherds, are the best direction for any Christian soul, for the search of a Saviour, and of all his necessary truths. To deviate from these, what is it but to *turn aside by the flocks of the companions?*

If, then, it shall be made to appear, that one only branded heretic, in so many hundred years, hath opposed the received judgment and practice of the Church concerning Episcopal Government, I hope no wise and sober Christian will think it safe and fit to side with him, in the maintenance of his so justly exploded error, against all the Churches of the whole Christian World.

SECT. 9.

THE NINTH GROUND:—

The Accession of Honourable Titles and Compatible Privileges, makes no Difference in the Substance of a Lawful and Holy Calling.

NINTHLY, it must be yielded, That the accession of honourable titles or not incompatible privileges, makes no difference in the substance of a lawful and holy calling.

These things, being merely external and adventitious, can no more alter the nature of the calling, than change of suits, the body.

Neither is it otherwise with the calling, than with the person whose it is. The man is the same, whether poor or rich. The good Patriarch was the same, in Potiphar's dungeon, and on Pharaoh's bench. Our Saviour was the same, in Joseph's workhouse, and in the hill of Tabor. St. Paul was the same, while he sat in the house with Aquila making of tents, that he was reigning in the pulpit, or disputing in the school of Tyrannus.

As a wise man is no whit differently affected with the changes of these his outward conditions, but looks upon them with the same face, and manages them with the same temper: so the judicious beholder indifferently esteems them in another; as being ready to give all due respects to them, whom the king holds worthy of honour, without all secret envy; yet not preferring the gold-ring before the poor man's richer graces; valuing the calling according to its own true worth, not after the price or meanness of the habiliments wherewith it is clothed.

If some garments be coarse, yet they may serve to defend from cold: others, besides warmth, give grace and comeliness to the body. There may be good use of both; and, perhaps, one and the same vesture may serve for both purposes.

It is an old and sure rule in philosophy, That degrees do not diversify the kinds of things. The same fire, that flashes in the tow, glows in the juniper: if one gold be finer than another, both are gold: if some pearls be fairer than other, yet their kind is the same.

Neither is it otherwise, in callings and professions. We have known some painters, and in other professions many, so eminent, that their skill hath raised them to the honour of knighthood. In the mean time, their work, and calling, is the same it was.

But what do I go about to give light to so clear a truth? If, therefore, it shall be made to appear, that the Episcopacy of this island is, for substance, the same with that of the first institution by the Apostles, howsoever there may have been, through the bounty of gracious princes, some additions made to it, in outward dignity or maintenance, the cause is ours.

SECT. 10.

THE TENTH GROUND:—

Those Scriptures, whereon a New and Different Form of Government is raised, had need to be more evident and unquestionable, than those, which are alleged for the former that is rejected.

TENTHLY, it cannot but be granted, That those passages of Holy Scriptures, wherein any form of government, different from the anciently received and established, is pretended to be grounded, had need to be very clear and unquestionable; and more evident and convictive, than those, whereon the former, now rejected, policy was raised.

For, if only Scripture must decide this question; and no other, either evidence or judgment, will be admitted besides it; and if, withal, there be difference concerning the sense of the texts on either sides alleged; it must needs follow, that the clearer Scriptures must carry it, and give light to the more obscure.

We are wont to say, that possession is eleven points of the law: surely, where that is had, and hath long been held, it is fit there should be a legal ejection, and that ejection must be upon better evidence of right. If, therefore, the Church of God have been quietly possessed of this government by Bishops, for above these sixteen hundred years, it is good reason the ejectors should shew better proof than the ancient possessors, ere they be ousted from their tenures. And what better proof can there be, than more clear Scripture?

Shortly, then, if it shall be made to appear, that the Scriptures brought for a Lay-Presbytery are few, doubtful, litigious, full of diverse and uncertain senses, and such as many and much clearer places shall plainly shew to be otherwise meant by the Holy Ghost, than these new masters apply them; then it cannot be denied, that the Lay-Presbytery hath no true footing in the Word of God, and that the old form of administration in an imparity of Ministers ought only to be continued in the Church.

SECT. 11.

THE ELEVENTH GROUND:—

If Christ had left this pretended Order of Government, it would have, ere this time, been agreed upon, what that Form is, and how to be managed.

ELEVENTHLY, I may well take it for granted, neither can it reasonably be denied, That, if the Order, which they say Christ and his Apostles did set for the government of his Church, which they call the Kingdom and Ordinance of Christ, be but one, and that certain and undoubted; then, certainly, it must, and should, and would have been, ere this, agreed upon by the abettors of it, what and which it is.

For, it cannot without impiety be conceived, or said without blasphemy, that the Son of God should erect such a kingdom upon earth, as, having lain hid for no less than sixteen hundred years, cannot yet be fully known and accorded upon: so that the subjects may be convinced, both that it is his, and by what officers and what rules it must be managed.

If, then, it shall be made to appear, that the pretenders to the desired Discipline cannot yet, all this while, agree upon their verdict, for that kingdom of Christ, which they challenge; it will be manifest to every ingenuous reader, that their platforms of this their imagined kingdom, are but the chimerical devices and whimsies of men's brains, and worthy to be entertained accordingly.

SECT. 12.

THE TWELFTH GROUND:—

If this, which is challenged, be the Kingdom of Christ; then, those Churches, which want any essential part of it, are mainly defective; and that there is scarce any at all entire.

Twelfthly, it must be yielded, That, if this, which they call for, be the Kingdom and Ordinance of Christ, then it ought to be erected and maintained in all congregations of Christians all the world over: and that where any essential part thereof is wanting, there the Kingdom of Christ is not entirely set up, but is still mainly defective.

If, therefore, it shall appear, that, even in most of those Churches which do most eagerly contend for the Discipline, there neither are nor ever were all those several offices, which are upon the list of this spiritual administration, it will irrefragably follow, that, either those Churches do not hold these offices necessary, which, having power in their hand, they have not yet erected; or else, that there are but very few Churches, if any, upon earth rightly constituted and governed: which to affirm, since it were grossly uncharitable, and highly derogatory from the just glory of God's kingdom under the Gospel, it will be consequent, that the device is so lately hatched, that it is not yet fledged; and that there is great reason, rather to distrust the plots of men, than to condemn the Churches of God.

SECT. 13.

THE THIRTEENTH GROUND:—

True Christian Policy requires not any thing absurd or impossible to be done.

Thirteenthly, I have reason to require it granted, That true Christian policy requires not any thing which is either impossible or absurd to be done.

If therefore it shall be pretended, that, upon the general grounds of Scripture, this sacred fabric of discipline raised by the wisdom of some holy and eminent reformers, conform to that of the first age of the Church, it is meet it should be made manifest, that there is some correspondence in the state of those first times, with the present; and of the condition of their Churches with ours: otherwise, if there be an apparent difference and disproportion betwixt them, it cannot sound well, that one pattern should fit both.

If then both the first planters, and the late reformers of the Church did that, which the necessity of the times would allow; this is no precedent for the same persons (if they were now living) and at their full liberty and power; neither can the Churches of those cantons or cities, which challenge a kind of freedom in a democratical state, be meet examples for those which are already established under a settled monarchy: if therefore it shall appear, that many foul and unavoidable inconveniences, and, if not impossibilities, yet unreasonable consequences will necessarily follow upon the obtrusion of a Presbyterian government upon a national Church otherwise settled, all wise Christians, who are members of such Churches, will apprehend great and just cause why they should refuse to submit, and yield approbation to any such novel ordinances.

SECT. 14.

THE FOURTEENTH GROUND:—

New Pretences of Truths never before heard of, especially in Main Points, carry just Cause of Suspicion.

FOURTEENTHLY, it must be granted, That, those truths in Divinity, which are new and hitherto unheard of in the Church, (but especially in those points, which are, by the fautors of them, held main and essential) carry just causes of suspicion in their faces, and are not easily to be yielded unto.

And, surely, if, according to Tertullian's rule, *quod primum verum*, that "the first is true;" then, the latest is seldom so, where it agrees not with the first. After the teeming of so many ages, it is rarely seen, that a new and posthumous verity is any other than spurious.

It was the position, it seems, of Poza, the brain-sick Professor of Divinity, set up by the Jesuits at Madrid, that "It is free for any man, besides and against the judgment of the holy Fathers and Doctors, to make innovations in the doctrine of religion *."

And, for his warrant of contemning all ancient Fathers and Councils in respect of his own opinions, borrows the words in Ecclesiasticus, cited by the Council of Constantinople †: *Beatus, qui prædicat verbum inauditum;* "Blessed is he, that preaches the word never before heard of;" impiously and ignorantly marring the text, mistaking the sense, belying the author, slandering the Council; the misprision being no less ridiculous, than palpable: for, whereas the words are εἰς ἀκοὴν, *in auditum:* he turns them both into one adjective *inauditum*, and makes the sentence as mon-

* *Liberum esse, præter et contra sanctorum Patrum et Doctorum sententiam, in religionis doctrinâ innovare.* Alphons. Var. Toletan. de Stratagem. Jesuit.

† Concil. Constantinop. Act. 5. Ecclesiast. xxv. 9. μακάριος ὁ κηρύττων τὸν λόγον εἰς ἀκοὴν ὑπαούοντος.

strous as his own stupidity. Pope Hormisda, in his Epistle to the Priests and Deacons of Syria, turns it right, *Qui prædicat verbum in aurem obedientis;* "He, that preaches a word, to the obedient."

Far be it from any sober and orthodox Christian, to entertain so wild and wicked a thought. He hath learned, that the old way is the good way, and will walk therein accordingly; and, in so doing, finds rest to his soul *. He, that preacheth this word, is no less happy, than he, that obediently hears it: neither shall a man find true rest to his soul, in a new and untrodden by-way.

If, therefore, it shall be made to appear, that this government by Lay-Presbyters, is that, which the Ancient and Succeeding Church of God never acknowledged, until this present age, I shall not need to persuade any wise and ingenuous Christian, if otherwise he have not lost the free liberty of his choice, that he hath just cause to suspect it for a mis-grounded novelty. For such it is.

SECT. 15.

THE FIFTEENTH GROUND:—

To depart from the Judgment and Practice of the Universal Church of Christ ever since the Apostles' Times, and to betake ourselves to a New Invention, cannot but be, besides the danger, vehemently scandalous.

LASTLY, it must, upon all this, necessarily follow, That to depart from the judgment and practice of the Universal Church of Christ, ever since the Apostles' times; and abandon that ancient form, wherein we were and are legally and peaceably infeoffed, to betake ourselves to a new one, never, till this age, heard of in the whole Christian World; it cannot but be extremely scandalous, and savour too much of Schism.

How ill doth it become the mouth of a Christian Divine, which Parker hath let fall to this purpose! who dareth to challenge learned Casaubon, for proposing two means of deciding the modern controversies †, Scriptures and Antiquity. What more easy trial can possibly be projected? Who, but a professed Novelist, can dislike it? Τὰ ἀρχαῖα, was the old and sure rule of that Sacred Council: and it was Solomon's charge, *Remove not the old land-marks;* Prov. xxiii. 10.

If, therefore, it shall be made to appear, that Episcopacy, as it presupposeth an imparity of order and superiority of government, hath been a sound stake pitched in the hedge of God's Church, ever since the Apostles' times; and that Parity and Lay-Presbytery are but as new-sprung briars and brambles, lately woven into the new-plashed fence of the Church: in a word, thus, if it be mani-

* Jer. vi. 16. † *Quòd duo κειτήρια posuerit.* Park. Polit. Eccles. l. ii. c. 5.

fest, that the government of Bishops, in a meet and moderate imparity, in which we assert it, hath been peaceably continued in the Church, ever since the Apostolical Institution thereof; and that the government of Lay-Presbyters hath never been so much as mentioned, much less received in the Church, until this present age: I shall need no farther argument, to persuade all peaceable and well-minded Christians to adhere to that ancient form of administration, which, with so great authority, is derived unto us, from the first founders of the Gospel; and to leave the late supply of a Lay-Presbytery to those Churches, who would and cannot have better.

THE SECOND PART.

PROOFS.

SECT. 1.

The Terms and State of the Question, settled and agreed upon.

THESE are the GROUNDS; which, if they prove, as they cannot but do, firm and unmoveable, we can make no fear of the superstructure.

Let us, therefore, now address ourselves to the particular points here confidently undertaken by us, and MAKE GOOD all those several issues of defence, which our holy cause is most willingly cast upon.

But, before we descend to the scanning of the matter, reason and order require, that, according to the old and sure rules of logicians, the terms be cleared and agreed upon: otherwise, we shall perhaps fight with shadows, and beat the air.

It hath pleased the Providence of God, so to order it, that, as the word itself, the Church; so the names of the Offices belonging to it, in their several comprehensions, should be full of senses, and variety of use and acception; and that, in such manner, that each of them runs one into other, and oftentimes interchanges their appellations.

A Prophet, we know, is a foreteller of future things: an Evangelist, in the natural sense of the word, is he that preaches the glad tidings of the Gospel; an Apostle, one of Christ's twelve great messengers to the world; a Bishop, ἐπίσκοπος, an Overseer of the Church; a Presbyter, some grave, ancient Churchman; a Deacon, a Servant or Minister in the Church: yet all these, in Scripture, are so promiscuously used, that a Preacher is more than once termed a Prophet; an Evangelist, an Apostle; an Apostle, a Bishop; an Apostle, a Presbyter; a Presbyter, an Apostle, as Romans xvi. 7; a Presbyter, a Bishop *; and, lastly, an Evangelist and Bishop, a Deacon or Minister; for all these met in Timothy, alone, who, being Bishop of Ephesus, is, with one breath, charged to do the work of an Evangelist, and to fulfil his διακονίαν or Ministry; 2 Tim. iv. 5.

It could not be otherwise likely, but, from this community of names, there would follow some confusion of apprehensions: for,

* 1 Cor. xiv. Acts i. 20. 2 John, 1. 1 Pet. v. 1. 1 Tim. iv. 6.

since names were intended for distinction of things, where names are the same, how can the notions be distinguished?

But, howsoever it pleased the Spirit of God, in the first hatching of the Evangelical Church, to make use of these indistinct expressions: yet, all this while, the offices were several; known by their several characters and employments: so, as the function, and work of an Apostle was one; viz. to plant the Church, and to ordain the Governors of it: of a Bishop, another; to wit, to manage the government of his designed circuit, and to ordain Presbyters and Deacons: of a Presbyter, another; namely, to assist the Bishop, and to watch over his several charge: of a Deacon, another; besides his sacred services, to order the stock of the Church, and to take care of the poor: yet all these agreed in one Common Service, which was the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Founding of God's Church.

And, soon after, the very terms were contra-distinguished; both by the substance of their charge, and by the property of their titles: insomuch as blessed Ignatius, that holy martyr, who lived many years within the times of the Apostles, in every of his Epistles, as we shall see in the sequel, makes express mention of three distinct orders of government, Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons.

Now we take Episcopacy, as it is thus punctually differenced, in an eminence from the two inferior orders of Presbyter and Deacon; so as to define it, "Episcopacy is no other than a holy order of Church-Governors, appointed for the administration of the Church:" or, more fully thus; "Episcopacy is an eminent order of sacred function, appointed by the Holy Ghost, in the Evangelical Church, for the governing and overseeing thereof; and, for that purpose, besides the administration of the Word and Sacraments, endued with power of imposition of hands and perpetuity of jurisdiction."

Wherein we find, that we shall meet with two sorts of adversaries.

The one are furiously and impetuously fierce, crying down Episcopacy for an unlawful and antichristian state, not to be suffered in a truly Evangelical Church; having no words in their mouths, but the same, which the cruel Edomites used concerning Jerusalem, *Down with it, down with it, even to the ground.* And such are the frantic Separatists, and Semi-separatists of our time and nation; who are only swayed with mere passion, and wilfully blinded with unjust prejudice. These are Reformers of the new cut; which if Calvin or Beza were alive to see, they would spit at, and wonder whence such an offspring should come: men, that defend and teach there is no higher ecclesiastical government in the world, than that of a parish; that a Parochial Minister, though but of the blindest village in a country, is utterly independant and absolute, a perfect Bishop within himself, and hath no superior in the Church upon earth; and do no less inveigh even against the overruling power of Classes, Synods, &c. than of Bishops. You are not.

perhaps, of this strain: for we conceive that our northern neighbours desire and affect to conform unto the Genevan or French Discipline *; for which we find Beza's directions. Although both your act of abrenunciation, and some speeches let fall in the assembly of Glasgow, and the plea of Covenanters (fetching Episcopacy within the compass of things abjured), might seem to intimate some danger of inclination this way; our charity bids us hope the best, which is, that you hate the frenzies of these our wild countrymen abroad, for whom no answer is indeed fit, but dark lodgings and hellebore.

The other is more mild and gentle, and less unreasonable: not disallowing Episcopacy in itself, but holding it to be lawful, useful, ancient; yet such as was, by mere human device, upon wise and politic considerations, brought into the Church, and so continued, and therefore upon the like grounds alterable.

With both these, we must have to do. But, since it is wind ill lost to talk reason to a madman, it shall be more than sufficient, to confute the former of them, in giving satisfaction to the latter: for, if we shall make it appear, that Episcopacy is not only lawful and ancient, but of no less than divine institution, those raving and black mouths are fully stopped, and those more easy and moderate opposites at once convinced.

But, before we offer to deal blows on either side, it is fit we should know how far we are friends, and upon what points this quarrel stands.

It is yielded by the wiser fautors of Discipline, that there is a certain Polity necessary for the retention of the Church's peace: that this Polity requires that there must be several congregations or flocks of Christians; and that every flock should have his own shepherd: that since those guides of God's people are subject to error in doctrine and exorbitance in manners, which may need correction and reformation; and many doubtful cases may fall out, which will need decision; it is requisite there should be some further aid, given by the counsel and assistance of other Pastors: that those Pastors, met together in Classes and Synods, are fit arbiters in differences, and censurers of errors and disorders: that in Synods, thus assembled, there must be due order kept: that order cannot be kept, where there is an absolute equality of all persons convened: that it is therefore necessary, that there should be a Head, President or Governor of the Assembly, who shall marshal all the affairs of those meetings, propound the cases, gather the voices, pronounce the sentences and judgments; but, in the mean while, he, having but lent his tongue for the time to the use of the Assembly, when the business is ended, returns to his own place without any personal inequality. A lively image whereof, we have in our Lower House of Convocation: the Clerks whereof are chosen by the Clergy of the several Dioceses: they all, having equal power of voices, assemble together, choose their Prolocutor:

* Honoratiss. Do. Glanico Cancellario Scotiæ Respon. ad Sex Questiones.

he calls the house, receives petitions or complaints, proposes the businesses, asks and gathers the suffrages, dismisses the sessions; and, the action once ended, takes his former station, forgetting his late superiority.

This is the thing challenged by the Patrons of Discipline, who do not willingly hear of an Upper House, consisting of the Peers of the Church, whose grave authority gives life to the motions of that Lower Body. They can be content, there should be a Prime Presbyter; and that this Presbyter shall be called Bishop; and that Bishop shall moderate, for the time, the public affairs of the Church, but without all innate and fixed superiority, without all (though never so moderate) jurisdiction.

Calvin, in this case, shall speak for all: who, writing of the state of the Clergy in the Primitive Times, hath thus *, *Quibus, ergo, docendi munus &c:* "Those, therefore, which had the charge of teaching enjoined unto them, they named Presbyters. These Presbyters, out of their number in every city, chose one, to whom they especially gave the title of Bishop; lest, from equality, as it commonly falls out, discords should arise. Neither was the Bishop so superior to the rest in honour and dignity, as that he had any rule over his colleagues: but, the same office and part which the Consul had in the Senate, to report of business to be done, to ask the votes, advising, admonishing, exhorting, to go before the rest, to rule the whole action by his authority, and to execute that, which by the common counsel was decreed; the same office did the Bishop sustain, in the Assembly of the Presbyters." Thus he. And to the same purpose Beza, in his Treatise of the Degrees of the Ministry; Moulin, Chamier, others.

So as we easily see, how our Bishop differs from Calvin's; namely, in a settled imparity, and a perpetuity of jurisdiction. Give me, therefore, such a Pastor, as shall be ordained a Perpetual Moderator in Church Affairs, in a fixed imparity; exercising spiritual jurisdiction, out of his own peculiarly demandated authority; this is the Bishop, whom we contend for, and whom they oppose.

I do well see, therefore, how we may make a shorter cut of this controversy, than hath formerly been made by others; whose large discourses, upon the importune angariation of others, have been learnedly spent, upon the names and titles of a Bishop and Presbyter; upon the extent of their first charge, whether Parochial or Diocesan; and upon the difference and priority of those limitations: since the only thing, that displeaseth in Episcopacy, is their majority above Presbyters, which it is pretended should be only a Priority of Order not a Superiority of Degree; and their power of jurisdiction over Presbyters. For, yield these, by a due Ordination, to a Prime Pastor, for a constant continuance, you make him a Bishop: deny these to a Bishop, you make him no other than a plain Presbyter.

Our only labour, therefore, must be, to make good these two

* Calv. Instit. l. iv. c. 4.

points; and to evince, that Imparity in the Governors of the Church, and the power of Episcopal Jurisdiction, is not of any less than Apostolical and Divine Institution: to which task we now address ourselves, Συν δὲ Θεὸς &c.

SECT. 2.

Church Government begun by our Saviour in a manifest Imparity.

We begin with our undertaken issues: and shall shew, that this Imparity of Government, and Episcopal Jurisdiction, was founded by Christ and erected by his Apostles, both by their practice and recommendation.

Who sees not, then, a manifest imparity in our Saviour's own choice, in the first gathering of his Church? wherein his Apostles were above his other Disciples; the Twelve, above the Seventy: above them, in privileges, and especially in the immediateness of their calling; above them, in their Master's respects; above them, in gifts, and in the power of their dispensation; above them, in commission; above them, in miraculous operations.

Even those Seventy were Ministers of the Gospel; but those Twelve were, even as it were, the Patriarchs of the Church, noted still by an article of eminence *οἱ δώδεκα, the Twelve.* Others were labourers in the work: these were *master-builders;* as St. Paul to his Corinths. Others might heal by their touch; these, by their very shadow. Others had the Holy Ghost: these gave it. Philip was an Evangelist: he preached: he wrought miracles: he converted and baptized the Samaritans: yet, till Peter and John came down and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they received not the Holy Ghost; Acts viii. 14, 15. And, how plain is it, that such honourable regard was given to the Twelve, that, when one room fell void by the treason of Judas, it must, by the direction of the Spirit of God, be made up by an election out of the Seventy *! Had it not been a higher preferment to have been an Apostle, wherefore was that scrutiny and choice?

What do I urge this point? He never read Scripture, that can doubt of it. Wherefore did the Chosen Vessel stand so highly upon the challenge of his Apostleship, if he had not known it to be a singular honour? And how punctually doth he marshal up, as some divine herald, the due ranks of Ecclesiastical Offices! *First, Apostles; secondly, Prophets; thirdly, Teachers; then, those that do miracles; after that, the gifts of healing; helps in governing; diversity of tongues;* 1 Cor. xii. 28.

But, perhaps, you will not be so illiberal, as to deny the Apostles a precedency of honour in the Church: how can you, and be a Christian?

* Hier. de Script. Eccles.

But you stick at their Jurisdiction. Here was nothing but equality :—

True, an equality among themselves: *Pari consortu præditi, et honoris et potestatis*, as Cyprian truly: but a superiority of power in them all, and in each of them, over the rest of the members of Christ's Church.

Verily I say unto you, saith our Saviour, *ye, that have followed me in the Regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye shall also sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel*; Matth. xix. 28. ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ, *in the Regeneration*: that is, as Cameron very well interprets it *, in the Renovation of the Church: for, under the state of the Gospel, the Church was as new born and made anew, according to that of St. Paul; *All things are become new*; alluding to the Prophet Isaiah, who, to this sense, *Behold*, saith he, *I create new heavens and a new earth; and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind*; Isa. lxv. 17. And Beza himself, though he make a difference in the pointing, and thereby in the construction; yet grants, that, according to his second sense, the preaching of the Gospel by Christ and his messengers is meant by this Regeneration: *Quia tum, veluti de integro, conditus est mundus*; "Because then the world was, as it were, made anew:" so as, then was the time, when the Son of Man began to be exalted to the throne of his glory, both in earth and in heaven: and then, should the Twelve, that had forsaken all for him, enjoy all in him: then should they sit on twelve thrones, and judge the twelve tribes of Israel.

What are the Twelve Tribes of Israel, but the Whole Church of God? For, whereof did the first Christian Church consist, but of converted Jews? And whither did our Saviour bend all his allusions, but to them? They had their twelve *Princes of the tribes of their fathers, heads of the thousands of Israel*; Num. i. 16. They had their *Seventy Elders*, to *bear the burden of the people*; Num. xi. 16, 17.

The Son of God affects to imitate his former Polity; and therefore chooses his Twelve Apostles and Seventy Disciples, to gather and sway his Evangelical Church.

The Twelve Tribes then, are the Church: the Twelve Apostles must be their Judges and Governors: their sitting, shews authority: their sitting on thrones, eminence of power: their sitting on twelve thrones, equality of their rule: their sitting to judge, power and exercise of jurisdiction: their sitting to judge the Twelve Tribes of Israel, the universality of their power and jurisdiction. And what judgment could this be, but Ecclesiastical and Spiritual; for civil rule they challenged not? And what thrones, but Apostolical; and, by their derivation, Episcopal?

Who knows not how ordinary that style is, ἐπισκόπου θρόνος? We find it even in Ærius himself †. And if the Apostle's seat was his throne, and the Bishops succeeded the Apostles in those seats, who

* Camer. *in locum.* † Epiphan. Hæres. 75.

can deny them this power of spiritual judicature and jurisdiction?

To the same purpose is that of St. Augustin; who, upon the words of St. John, *I saw seats, and some sitting on them, and judgment was given*, hath thus *, *Non hoc putandum de Ultimo Judicio &c:* "We may not think this spoken of the Last Judgment; but the seats of the Prelates or Presidents by whom the Church is governed, and the governors themselves, are to be understood; and the judgment, that is given, cannot be any better way taken, than for that which is said, *Whatsoever ye bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven.*"

SECT. 3.

The Execution of this Apostolical Power, after our Saviour's Ascent into Heaven.

THE power is clear, will you see the Execution of it?

Look upon St. Paul, the posthumous and supernumerary, but no less glorious Apostle. See with what majesty he becomes his new erected throne: one while, deeply charging and commanding †; another while, controuling and censuring ‡: one while, giving laws and ordinances §; another while, urging for their observance ‖: one while, ordaining Church-Governors ¶; another while, adjuring them to do their duties **: one while, threatening punishment ††; another while, inflicting it ‡‡. And, if these be not acts of jurisdiction, what can be such? which since they were done by the Apostle, from the instinct of God's Spirit wherewith he was inspired, and out of the warrant of his high vocation, most manifest it is, that the Apostles of Christ had a supereminent power in God's Church. And if any person whosoever, though an Evangelist or Prophet, should have dared to make himself equal to an Apostle, he had been hissed out, yea rather thunder-struck by deep censure, for an arrogant and saucy usurper.

Now, if our Blessed Saviour thought it fit to found his Church in an evident imparity, what reason should we have to imagine he did not intend so to continue it? It had been equally easy for him, had he so thought meet, to have made all his followers equally great: none, better than a Disciple; none, meaner than an Apostle. But now, since it hath pleased him to raise up some to the honour of Apostles; no less above the Seventy, than the Seventy were above the multitude; only enjoining them, that the highest in place should be the lowest in mind and humility of service; what doth he, but herein teach us, that he meant to set this course for the ensuing Government of his Church?

* Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. i. c. 20. † 2 Thess. iii. 6. ‡ 1 Cor. v. 4—7. § 1 Cor. xi. 2. ‖ 1 Cor. xvi. 1. ¶ 2 Tim. i. 6. ** 1 Tim. v. 21. vi. 13. 2 Tim. iv. 1. †† 2 Cor. xiii. 2. 1 Cor. iv. 21. ‡‡ 1 Tim. i. 20.

Neither is it possible for any man to be so absurd, as to think that the Apostles, who were, by their Heavenly Master, infeoffed in this known pre-eminence, should, after the ascent of their Saviour, descend from their acknowledged superiority, and make themselves but equal to the Presbyters they ordained. No: they still and ever, as knowing they were qualified for that purpose by the more special graces of the Holy Ghost, kept their holy state, and maintained the honour of their places.

What was the fault of Diotrephes, but that, being a Church-Governor, he proudly stood out against St. John; not acknowledging the transcendant power of his Apostolical Jurisdiction? whom the provoked Apostle threats to correct accordingly: so as those, that lay Diotrephes in our dish, do little consider that they buffet none but themselves, who symbolize with him in opposing Episcopal, that is, as all Antiquity was wont to construe it, Apostolical Government.

But you are ready to say, "This was during their own time: they were persons extraordinary; and their calling and superiority died with them:"—

Thus our Tileno-mastix, in terms *. The only question is, whether, of the ordinary Presbyters, which were singly set over several Churches, they advanced one in degree above his brethren. We shall err, then, if we distinguish not.

These great Ambassadors of Christ sustained more persons than one. They comprehended in themselves the whole Hierarchy: they were Christians, Presbyters, Bishops, Apostles. So it was, they were Apostles immediately called, miraculously gifted, infallibly guided, universally charged. Thus, they had not, they could not have, any successors.

They were, withal, Church-Governors, appointed by Christ to order and settle the affairs of his Spiritual Kingdom: and, therein, (besides the preaching of the Gospel and baptizing, common to them, with other Ministers) to ordain a succession of the meet Administrators of his Church. Thus they were, would be, must be succeeded: neither could the Church otherwise have subsisted. No Christian can deny this, all binding upon a necessity of Apostolical succession, though differing in the quality and degree of their successors.

SECT. 4.

The Derivation of this Power and Majority, from the Apostles to the succeeding Bishops.

Now, therefore, that we have seen what ground our Saviour laid for a superiority in them, let us see how they, by his divine inspiration, erected it in others, who should follow them.

* Paracl. l. i. c. 4.

That was Apostolical: this was Episcopal.

It is true, as Calvin saith, that, at the first, all, to whom the dispensation of the Gospel was committed, were called Presbyters; whether they were Apostles, Evangelists, Prophets, Pastors and Doctors: as, before, the Apostles were commonly called by the name of Disciples in every chapter; yet in degree still above the Seventy: and we do still say, one while, "Bishops and Curates," comprehending all Presbyters and Deacons under that name; another while, "Bishops, Pastors, and Curates," not distinctly observing the difference of names. So, they all were called Presbyters; yet not so, but that there was a manifest and full distinction betwixt the Apostles and Presbyters, as thrice Acts xv. They, therefore, though out of humility they hold the common names with others, yet maintained their places of Apostles; and governed the Church at first, as it were, in common. And thus, as St. Jerome truly, "All main matters were done, in the beginning, by the common counsel and consent of the Presbyters:" their consent; but still the power was in the Apostles; who, in the nearer Churches, since they in person ordered ecclesiastical affairs, ordained only Presbyters; in the remoter, Bishops. This, for the consummation of it, was an act of time. Neither was the same course held at once, in every Church; while it was in *fieri:* some, which were nearer, being supplied by the Apostles' presence, needed not so present an Episcopacy: others, that were small, needed not yet their full number of offices: neither were there, perhaps, fit men for those places of eminence, to be found every where. Whence it is, that we find, in some scriptures, mention only of Bishops and Deacons; in others, of Presbyters, not of Bishops.

This, then, was the Apostles' course. For the plantation of the Church, and the better propagation of the Gospel, wherever they came they found it necessary to ordain meet assistants to them: and they promiscuously imparted unto them all their own style, but Apostolical; naming them Bishops, and Presbyters, and Deacons, according to the familiarity and indifferency of their former usage therein. But, when they, having divided themselves into several parts of the world, found that the number of Christians, especially in the greater cities, so multiplied, that they must needs be divided into many congregations, and those congregations must necessarily have many Presbyters, and those many Presbyters in the absence of the Apostles began to emulate each other and to make parties for their own advantage; then, as St. Jerome truly notes, began the manifest and constant distinction, betwixt the office of Bishops and Presbyters, to be both known and observed. For now, the Apostles, by the direction of the Spirit of God, found it requisite and necessary, for the avoiding of schism and disorder, that some eminent persons should every where be lifted up above the rest, and ordained to succeed them in the overseeing and ordering both the Church and their many Presbyters under them; who, by an eminence, were called their Bishops, or, as the word signifies, *Supervisors* and Governors: so as the Ministers, σκοπῶνλες; Phil. iii. 17. they, ἐπισκο-

πȣ̃ντες: for, as the offices, so the names, of Bishop and Deacon, were of Apostolical foundation. These Bishops, therefore, were the men, whom they furnished with their own ordinary power, as Church-Governors, for this purpose. Now the offices grew fully distinct, even in the Apostles' days, and under their own hands; although, sometimes, the names, after the former use, were confounded.

All the question then, shortly, is, whether the Apostles of Christ ordained Episcopacy, thus stated, and thus fixedly-qualified with imparity and jurisdiction. For, if we take a Bishop for a Parochial Pastor, and a Presbyter for a Lay-Elder, as too many misconstrue the terms, it were no less than madness to doubt of this superiority: but we take Episcopacy in the proper and fore-defined sense; and Presbytery, according to the only, true, and ancient meaning of the Primitive Church, viz. for that which we call now Priesthood: the other is a merely new and uncouth devise; neither came ever within the ken of Antiquity.

As for the further subdivision of this quarrel, whether Episcopacy must be accounted a distinct Order, or but a several degree in the same Order, there is here no need, for the present, to enter into the discussion of it: especially since I observe, that the wiser sort of our opposites are indifferent to both; so that whichsoever you take, may be granted them to be but *juris humani*. And I cannot but wonder, at the toughness of those other opposites, which stand so highly upon this difference, to have it merely but a degree; in the mean while never considering, that those, among the Pontifical Divines, which in this point are the greatest patrons of this their fancy, go all upon the ground of the Mass; according to which, they regulate and conform their opinions therein: first making all ecclesiastical power to have reference to the body of Christ; as Bellarmin fully *: then, every Priest, being able with them to make his Maker, what possible power can be imagined, say they, to be above that? The Presbyter, therefore, consecrating as well as the Bishop, the Order, in their conceit, upon this ground, can be but one. So, then, these doughty champions among us do indeed but plead for Baal, while they would be taken for the only pullers of him down. But, for ourselves, taking Order in that sense, in which our oracle of learning, Bishop Andrews, cites it out of the School †, *quâ potestas est ad actum specialem*; there can be no reason to deny Episcopacy to be a distinct Order, since the greatest detractors from it have granted the power of Ordination of Priests and Deacons, and of Imposition of Hands for Confirmation, to Bishops only. They are Chamier's own words ‡: *Accipere Episcopum novam potestatem et jurisdictionem, non iverim inficias:* "I cannot deny, that a Bishop" as such "receiveth a new power and jurisdiction." Moreover, in the Church of England, every Bishop receives a new Ordination, by way of eminence commonly called his Consecration, which cannot

* Bellarm. de Sacram. Ordin. l. i. c. 9.

† Winton. Epist. ad Molin. 1.

‡ Camer. de Oecumen. Pontif. l. x. c. 5.

be a void-act, I trow; and must needs give more than a degree. And why should that great and ancient Council define it to be no less than sacrilege, to put down a Bishop into the place of a Presbyter, if it were only an abatement of a degree?

But, howsoever this be; yet, if it shall appear, that there was, by Apostolical Ordination, such a fixed imparity and constant jurisdiction amongst those, who were entrusted with the teaching and governing God's people, that is, of Bishops above the other Clergy, as I have spoken, we have what we contend for: which while I see doubted, I cannot but wonder with what eyes men read St. Paul in his Epistle to Timothy and Titus. Surely, in my understanding, the Apostle speaks so home to the point, that, if he were now to give direction to an English Bishop how to demean himself in his place, he could not speak more fully to the execution of this Sacred Office: for, I demand what is it that is stood upon, but these two particulars, the especial power of Ordination, and power of the ruling and censuring of Presbyters? and if these two be not clear in the charge of the Apostle to those two Bishops, one of Crete, the other of Ephesus; I shall yield the cause, and confess to want my senses.

SECT. 5.

The clear Testimonies of Scripture for this Majority, especially those out of the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, urged.

Now, because this is the main point that is stood upon, and some wayward opposites are ready to except at all proofs but Scripture; I shall take leave briefly to scan those pregnant testimonies, which I find in those two Apostolical Epistles.

And, first, Timothy is charged, to charge the preachers of Ephesus, that *they teach no other doctrine* than was prescribed; that *they do not give heed to fables and genealogies* *. If Timothy were an equal Presbyter with the rest, those Teachers were as good as he: what then had he to do, to charge Teachers? or what would those Teachers care for his charge? how equally apt would they be, to charge him to keep within his own compass, and to meddle with his own matters! It is only for superiors, to charge; and inferiors, to obey.

Secondly, this charge St. Paul commits to Timothy, to oversee and control the unmeet and unseasonable doctrines of the Ephesian false teachers, *according to the prophecies which went before of* him; and that, in opposing himself to their erroneous opinions, he *might war a good warfare* †. This controlment cannot be incident into an equality. In this charge, therefore, both given and executed, however it pleased our Tileno-mastix in a scurrilous manner to jeer us upon the like occasion, with a *profectò erat pessimus Dominus Episcopus Paulus*, that "St. Paul was an ill Lord Bishop," I may truly

* 1 Tim. i. 3, 4. † 1 Tim. i. 18.

say, that both St. Paul, and Timothy his disciple, doth as truly lord it here, in their Episcopal power, as those Bishops which they have abdicated.

Thirdly, Timothy must prove and examine the Deacons, whether they be *blameless*, or not; whether they be so qualified, as is by him prescribed: and, if they be found such, must allow them to *use the office of a Deacon*; and, upon the good and holy use of it, promote them to a higher degree *. How should this be done, without a fixed superiority of power? Or, what other than this, doth an English Bishop?

Fourthly, Timothy is encharged with these things in the absence of St. Paul, that, if he should *tarry long*, he might *know how to behave* himself *in the house of God, which is the Church of the Living God* †: that is, how to carry himself, not in the pulpit only, but in church-government; in admitting the officers of the Ephesian Church. This could not be meant of the duties of a mere Presbyter: for what hath such an one to do with the charges and offices of his equals? *par in parem* &c. Besides, that house of God, which is the Church, wherein his behaving is so required, is not some one private congregation: such an one were not fit for that style of *the pillar and ground of truth*; but that famous Diocesan Church of Ephesus, yea of Asia rather, wherein there was the use of the variety of all those offices prescribed. Neither may we think, that Timothy was before (after so much attendance of the blessed Apostle in his journeys) ignorant of what might concern him as an ordinary Minister: it was, therefore, a more public and general charge, which was now imposed upon him: he, therefore, that knew how to behave himself in a particular congregation, must now know what carriage is fit for him as a Diocesan.

Fifthly, Timothy must *put the brethren*, that is, the Presbyters, *in remembrance* of the foretold dangers of the last times; and must oppose the false doctrine there specified, with this charge, *command and teach* ‡. He must teach them himself: he must command others to teach them. Had he been only a simple Presbyter, he might command, and go without: now he must command. If our Lords Bishops do so much, what do they more?

Sixthly, Timothy is encharged with censures, and prescribed how he must manage them towards old and young: *Rebuke not an Elder* (roughly) &c. He is also to give charge concerning the choice, carriage, and maintenance of those widows, which must be provided for by the Church: he hath power to admit some, and to refuse others; and to take order, the Church be not charged unduly §: which a single Presbyter alone, is not allowed to do, even where their own Presbytery is on foot.

Seventhly, Timothy must care and see that the Elders or Presbyters, who are painful in their callings, be respectfully used, and liberally maintained ‖. What is this to an ordinary Presbyter, that

* 1 Tim. iii. 8, 9, 10, 13. † 1 Tim. iii. 15. ‡ 1 Tim. iv. 6, 11.
§ 1 Tim. v. 1, &c. ‖ 1 Tim. v. 17.

hath no power of disposing any maintenance? If every Presbyter had, and no body over them to moderate it, at what a pass would the quiet of the Church be! Who would not repute himself to be most painful, if himself might be judge? No: it was the Bishop's work, that: a thing that the Bishops once might well do, when all the Presbyters were (and so were all at first) as of the Bishop's family; all the tithes and means of the Church coming in to him, and he dispensing among the Priests and other Church-Officers, to every one his portion. Now, indeed, as by the distinction of parishes, and since that by other events, things are fallen; it is that, which our Bishops indeed may endeavour and pray for; but sure I am, it is more than they can hope to do, till God himself be pleased to amend it.

Eighthly, Timothy was charged *not to receive an accusation against an Elder*, or Presbyter, *but before two or three witnesses* *. So, then, Timothy, by his place, might receive accusations against Presbyters. How could he do so, if he were but their equal? Our Northern Paraclesis can tell us † *parium neutrum alteri subordinatur*, and *paria non sunt* ὑπάλληλα: that "fellows cannot be subordinate." Witnesses must be called before him, in cases of such accusation. How can this be, without a jurisdiction? And, when he finds a Presbyter manifestly faulty, he may, he must *rebuke* him *before all, that others also may fear*. That of Epiphanius ‡ is upon good ground, therefore: "The divine speech of the Apostle teacheth who is a Bishop, and who a Presbyter; in saying to Timothy, *Rebuke not an Elder*, &c. How could a Bishop rebuke a Presbyter, if he had no power over a Presbyter?" Thus he. The evidence is so clear, that Cameron himself cannot but confess §, *Nullus est dubitandi locus &c:* "There can be no doubt," saith he, "but that Timothy was elected, by the College of Elders, to govern the College of the Elders; and that, not without some authority, but such as had meet limits." Thus must, thus might Timothy do, even to Presbyters: what could a Bishop of England do more? And thus Cameron: though I cannot approve of his election by the College: that conceit is his own; but the authority is yielded.

Ninthly, Timothy is charged *before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels*, to *observe* all *these things, without preferring one* Presbyter *before another*, and *doing nothing by partiality* ‖. Plainly, therefore, Timothy was in such place and authority, as was capable of giving favour or using rigour to Presbyters: what more can be said of ours?

Tenthly, Timothy is charged to *lay hands suddenly on no man* ¶: he had, therefore, power of the imposition of hands. On whom should he lay his hands for Ordination, but on Presbyters and Deacons? therefore he was above Presbyters: *The less*, saith the Apostle to the Hebrews, *is blessed of the better;* Heb. vii. 7. He laid hands, then. "Yes, but not alone," say our opposites. My de-

* 1 Tim. v. 19. † Scot. ὁ τυχ. l. i. c. 4. ‡ Epiphan. Hæres. 75.
§ Camer. in 1 Tim. iv. ‖ 1 Tim. v. 21. ¶ 1 Tim. v. 22.

mand then is, "But why then should this charge be particularly directed to Timothy, and not to more?" The Presbytery some construe to have laid hands on the Ordained: but, the Presbytery so constituted, as we shall hereafter declare; but a mere Presbyter or many Presbyters, as of his or their own power, never. An Apostle did so to Timothy himself; and Timothy, as being a Bishop, might do it: but who, or where ever any less than he? Neither doth the Apostle say, "Lend not thy hand to be laid on with others;" but appropriates it as his own act. Whereas then our Antitilenus tells us, the question is not, Whether this charge were given to Timothy, but, Whether to Timothy alone; methinks he might easily have answered himself. Doth St. Paul, in this act, join any with him? Were there not Elders good store at Ephesus before? Could they have ordained without him, what need was there of this charge to be laid on Timothy? Be there, then, what Elders soever, their hands, without a Timothy, will not serve: his, without theirs, might. To his own, if, at any time, he joined theirs; what else do all Bishops of England?

This, concerning Timothy.

We come next to Titus, and his charge from St. Paul, to *set in order the things that were left yet undone* in the large isle of Crete; or, as it is now called, Candia; a populous island, and stored with no less than a hundred cities, whence it had the name of ἑκατόμπολις: and to *ordain Elders*, or Presbyters, *in every of those cities*, as he had been *appointed* by the Apostle *. Lo, the whole Diocese of Crete is committed to his oversight; not some one Parish in it. And what must he do? Two things are enjoined him; to ordain Ministers, and to correct disorders: ἵνα ἐπιδιορθώσῃ, "to correct," as Beza turns it not amiss; or, as Erasmus, *pergas corrigere*, with an intimation of his former service that way. Where, that the extent of the work may be noted, τὰ λείποντα (as also, חסרון in the Hebrew †) comprehends, both things amiss, and things wanting: so as the business of Titus was, as of a good Bishop, both to rectify and reform those things which were offensive; and, by new orders made, to supply those matters which were yet defective. As for the Ordination, it was not of some one Presbyter that wanted to make up the number: but it was universal, throughout that whole island; κατὰ πόλιν, *per civitates*; or, as we, *in every city*; even through the whole hundred, and not one Presbyter in each; but, as the occasion might be, many in every one. The Diocese was large, the Clergy numerous.

SECT. 6.

Some Elusions of these Scriptures met with, and answered.

THE elusion, which some, not mean opponents, have devised, that these acts were enjoined to Titus, as by way of society and part-

* Titus i. 5 † Eccl. i. 15.

nership with the Presbytery, so as that he should join with them in these duties of correction and Ordination, is so palpable and quite against the hair, that I cannot think the authors of it can believe themselves. Had the Apostle so meant, he could as easily have expressed it; and have directed his charge to more.

Titus alone is singled out. Now, if it were in the power of every Presbyter to do those things without him, what needed this weight to have been laid on his shoulders alone? And, if the charge were, that he must urge and procure it to be done, by what authority? And, if he had authority, either without or above them, it is that we strive for. And now, I beseech you, what doth any Bishop of England challenge more, as essential to his place, than power of Ordination, and power of correction of disorders?

Secondly, it is also the charge given to Titus, ἐπιστομίζειν, to *stop the mouths* of those false teachers, who broach doctrines they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake; and to pass sharp censures upon them *. What can do this, but Episcopal authority?

Thirdly, again, it is the charge upon Titus, *A man, that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject;* Titus iii. 10. So, then, it is to Titus it belongs, to proceed against erroneous teachers, to judge of heresy, to give formal admonitions to the heretic, to cast him out of the Church upon his obstinacy. Can any man suppose it to be for a mere Presbyter, to make such a judicial process against heretics, or to eject them out of the Church? Would not they have returned it upon him, with scorn and derision? Or, what is spiritual jurisdiction, if power to do this be not?

To sum up all, therefore, it is no other than our present Episcopal power, that, by the blessed Apostle, is committed to Timothy and Titus: and that, with so clear evidence, that, for my part, I do not more fully believe there were such men, than that they had such power, and these warrants to execute it.

It is a poor shift of some, That Timothy and Titus were Evangelists: and, therefore, persons extraordinary; and not, in this behalf, capable of succession. For, whatever they were in their personal qualifications, yet here they stood for Bishops; and received, as Church-Governors, these charges, which were to be ordinary, and perpetual to all that should succeed in ecclesiastical administration.

As for the title, how will it appear they were Evangelists? For Titus, there is no colour: for Timothy, it is true St. Paul charges him to *do the work of an Evangelist:* what of that? That might imply, as well that he was not indeed in that particular office; which yet St. Paul would have him supply howsoever †: and no doubt he did so: so he did the work of the Lord, as St. Paul did; and yet not an Apostle. He, that jeers this answer, might know, that the implication of the word is as large for both. Who knows not the promiscuous use of these terms? As well may they say he was a Doctor, because he is bidden to teach; and yet these offices are

* Tit. i. 11. † Scot. ὁ τυχ. l. i. c. 5.

challenged for distinct: or a Deacon, because he is charged with a διακονία. What is it to *do the work of an Evangelist*, but to preach the *Evangelium pacis; the Gospel of peace?* which he might, he must do, as a Bishop: and what propriety is there of these enjoined works to an Evangelist, as he was an Evangelist? What! can they shew it was his office, to ordain, or to censure? Nay, rather, how should those works which are constant and ordinary, and so consequently derivable to all successions to the end of the world, be imposed upon a mere extraordinary agent? Neither is there any opposition at all in these terms: they might be Evangelists, while they were in their journey; attending on the Apostles, and preaching abroad: they might be and were Bishops, when they were settled upon the charge of some territory or province.

"But," saith our Tileno-mastix, "four years after St. Paul had given this charge of Episcopacy to Timothy, there was an equality of Presbyters at Ephesus: they were all convented; and no news of Timothy, as their Bishop *:"—Poorly: when the sun shines, what use is there of the stars? When St. Paul was present, his greater light extinguishes the less: what need any mention of Timothy? Or, why may not I take upon me to affirm as more likely, that St. Paul, who had associated Timothy with him, in six several Epistles, would also call him as his assessor, in this his last exhortation to his Presbyters? Neither can we be flouted out of that construction of the late learned Bishops, Barlow and Buckeride, of, *In quo vos Spiritus Sanctus constituit Episcopos:* that these Elders were indeed Bishops; such, as whereof Timothy was one; such, as whereof St. Peter acknowledges himself a Compresbyter? for, if it be alleged, as it is, that this is against our own principles, who allow but one Bishop in one city, and these were many; let me put the objector in mind, that though these Bishops were called together by St. Paul from Miletum to Ephesus, yet they were not all said to be Elders of Ephesus; but, from thence, monition went speediliest out to all places to call them. And so we hear St. Paul say, *Ye all, amongst whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God:* which plainly argues, they were not confined to the compass of one city or territory, but Overseers of several and far-dispersed charges. As St. Paul therefore to his Timothy, so St. Luke here uses the terms promiscuously; one being as yet in common use for both, though the offices were sensibly distinguished.

And now, what shall we say to this? Tell me, ye that look upon these papers with censorious eyes; tell me, is all this, think you, no other than a formal presidence of an assembly, without any power or command? Is this to do but as a Consul in a Senate; to propound cases, to gather votes, to declare the judgment of the Presbytery or Synod; or, as Zanchy resembles it, *ut Rector in Academiâ*, "as a Rector in one of their Academies;" or, rather, as St. Jerome, whom you challenge for your patron in this point, hath it †, *tanquam Imperator in Exercitu*, "as a General in an Army," who hath power

* Acts xx. † Hieron. Epist. ad Evagrium.

both to marshal all the troops, and to command the captains and colonels, and to execute martial law upon officers? If you have a mind to suffer your eyes to be willingly blinded with such improbable suggestions, falling from those, whom you think you have otherwise reason to honour; hug still your own palpable error; not without our pity, though without the power of redress: but, if you care for truth, and desire in the presence of God to embrace it for truth's own sake without respect of persons, ask your own hearts, whether these charges and services, laid by the Elect Vessel upon his Timothy and Titus, be any other than really Episcopal; and such, as manifestly carry in them, both Superiority and Jurisdiction.

SECT. 7.

The Testimony of St. John, in his Revelation, pressed.

NEITHER can all the shifts in the world elude that pregnant vision and charge of the blessed Apostle St. John; in whose longer-lasting time, the government of the Church was fully settled, in this threefold imparity, of the Orders and Degrees: who, having had the special supervision of the whole Asian Church, was, by the Spirit of God, commanded to direct his vii Epistles to the Bishops of those seven famous Churches, by the name of so many Angels: *To the Angel of the Church of Ephesus; To the Angel of the Church in Smyrna, &c.*

For, what can be more plain, than that, in every of these Churches, as for instance that of Ephesus, there were many Presbyters, yet but one Angel? If that one were not in place above the rest, and higher by the head than they, how comes he to be noted in the throng? Why was not the direction, "To all the Angels of the Church of Ephesus?" All were angels, in respect of their ministry: one was the angel, in respect of his fixed superiority *.

There were thousands of stars in this firmament of the Asian Churches: there were but seven of the first magnitude. Who can endure such an evasion; That one is mentioned, many are meant? as if they had said; "To one; that is, to more:" "To one angel; that is, to more angels than one †." To what purpose is it to insist upon any propriety of speech, if we may take such liberty of construction? as if, when the Prophet came to Jehu with a message, and expressly said, *To thee, O captain*, he should have turned it off to the rest, and have said, "To me, that is, not to me alone, but to all my fellows with me."

But, to put this matter out of doubt, it is particularly known, who some of those Angels were. Holy Polycarpus was known to

* *Divinâ voce laudatur sub Angeli nomine Præpositus Ecclesiæ.* Aug. Ep. 162.

† *Non populum aggreditur; sed principem Cleri, utique Episcopum.* Marlorat.

be the Angel of the Church of Smyrna; whom Ignatius, the blessed martyr, mentions, as, by his Episcopacy, greater than his Clergy. Timothy had been, not long before, Bishop of Ephesus; yea, of the Asians: now, Onesimus was; whose metropolis Ephesus was: wherein Ignatius acknowledges πολυπληθίαν, "a very great multitude" of Christians; so large, that, in the Emperor Leo's time, it had xxxvi Bishoprics under it: and so was Sardis, having under it xxiv*. And shall we think, that these great Dioceses were as some obscure Parishes, wherein were no variety of eminent persons? So as the Angel, that is noted here, must needs be of a large jurisdiction and great authority.

But, if any man shall imagine these things spoken to the Angel, as to him under that title, in the name of all the rest, let him know, that this cannot be: for that the charges and challenges there made are personal, and such as could not be communicated to all; for who can say, that all those of the Church of Ephesus were patient and laborious, that none of them fainted, that they all lost their first love, that all hated the work of the Nicolaitans †? Who can say, that all those of the Church of Smyrna were either poor or rich ‡? that none in the Church of Pergamos denied the faith §?

Besides, here is a manifest distinction, betwixt the Pastor or Bishop, and those of his charge; and they are described by the severalties of their estates: as, when he had acknowledged the graces of Polycarpus, the Angel of Smyrna, and encouraged that blessed Martyr; by way of premonition to some of his Church, *Behold, some of you the Devil shall cast into prison; and ye shall be tried, and endure tribulation ten days;* and then addressing to him, *Be thou faithful to the death, &c:* Rev. ii. 10. And, in his Fourth Epistle, distinguishing the Angel or Bishop of Thyatira from the rest of his charge: *But unto you,* saith he, *and the rest of Thyatira, as many as have not this doctrine, and the depth of Satan, as they speak, I will put none other burden upon them: But that which ye have, hold fast till I come;* Rev. ii. 24, 25.

So that this conceit is no less wild than that other, which follows it, of my old acquaintance Brightman: who makes not only these Angels, the types of those Churches; but those Churches of Asia, the types and histories of all the Christian Churches, which should be to the end of the world. Thus the bells say, what some hearers think.

So clear is this truth, that the opposites have been forced to yield the Priority here intimated: but a Priority of Order only: not of power: a Priority of Presidency, for the time: not personal. Beza yields him, τον προεζῶτα; as he acknowledges Justin Martyr to call him, "President of the Presbytery:" *Imò ne perpetuum. q. istud προεζῶτος, munus esse necessariò opportuisse;* but perhaps not perpetual. Wherein I bless myself, to see how prejudice can blind the

* Jura Græc. pp. 88, 90. † Rev. ii. 2. 3. 4. 6.
‡ Rev. ii. 9. § Rev. ii. 13.

eyes of the wise and learned: for what author, in the whole world, ever mentioned such a fashion of ambulatory government in the Church? And do not our histories testify, that Polycarpus, the Angel of Smyrna, died Bishop there? that Onesimus, by Ignatius's testimony, so continued Bishop of Ephesus; James, at Jerusalem? and, if those errors, taxed by the Holy Ghost, were but for the time of a shifting Presidency, why should any one of the momentary guides of the Churches be charged so home, with all the abuses of their jurisdiction? How easy had it been for him to shift the fault, as he did the chair! for how could it concern him, more than the next men? Surely, this conceit is more worthy of pity, than confutation. No indifferent reader can look upon that Scripture, and not confess it a straitened construction.

Here, then, were certainly, both continuance and jurisdiction. Wherein Parker braves our learned Doctor Field, as relying merely upon the proofs of human authority; but that worthy Divine, had he insisted upon the point (which he but touched in the way) could easily, out of the very text itself, have evicted the angels' power and jurisdiction: for, how plain is it, that the Angel of Ephesus had taken the examination of the counterfeit apostles, and found them liars! which if a mere Presbyter had undertaken to do, to be sure, he had been shaken off with scorn enough. It is imputed to the Angel of the Church of Pergamos, that, however himself, in his own person, held constant to the faith; yet, that there were those under his charge, who held the doctrine of Balaam, the beastly errors of the Nicolaitans: they were of his Clergy that taught these wicked doctrines: and, for this, the Bishop is taxed and menaced: how should this be, if he had not had a coercive power to restrain and punish them? And, more plainly, the Angel of the Church of Thyatira, notwithstanding all his good parts, graces, services, is sharply taxed: what is his fault? that *thou sufferest the woman Jezebel, who calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and seduce my servants, &c:* Rev. ii. 20. Were he but an ordinary Presbyter, unarmed with power, how could he help it? or why should he be charged with what he could not redress? Let an ingenuous reader now judge, whether these be not more than probabilities of a supereminent and jurisdictive power, in these special Angels of the Asian Churches.

Shortly then, upon these clear passages of St. Paul and St. John, meeting with the grounds laid by our Blessed Saviour, I am, for my part, so confident of the divine institution of the Majority of Bishops above Presbyters, that I dare boldly say, there are weighty points of faith, which have not so strong evidence in Holy Scriptures.

Let me instance in that power, which we, that are Evangelical Ministers, have, by the virtue of our Sacred Orders, given to us alone, for the consecration and distribution of the Holy Eucharist: a point, not more highly than justly stood upon, by all Orthodox Divines, yea Christians. What warrant can we challenge for this right, but our Saviour's practice; and, withal, that speech of his to

his disciples, *Do this in remembrance of me?* Luke xxii. 19. Now, if this *Hoc facite* shall be taken, as it is by some, as not spoken of the consecration or benediction, but of the receipt; what warrant had the Apostles and all their holy successors in the Church of God, ever since to enjoin and appropriate this sacred work to none, but those that are Presbyters by Ordination?

The receiving of infants to holy baptism is a matter of so high consequence, that we justly brand our Catabaptists with heresy, for denying it: yet, let me, with good assurance, say, that the evidences for this truth come far short of that, which the Scriptures have afforded us for the superiority of some Church-Governors over those, who otherwise indeed, in a sole respect of their ministerial function, are equal.

He, therefore, that would, upon pretence of want of Scriptures, quarrel at the divine institution of Bishops, having so evident and unavoidable testimonies, might, with much better colour, cavil at those blessed ordinances of God, which the whole Church hath thought herself bound, upon sufficient reason, to receive and reverence.

SECT. 8.

The Estate and Order of Episcopacy deduced from the Apostles to the primitive Bishops.

Did not the Holy Scriptures yield unto us these firm grounds, whereon to build our Episcopacy, in vain should we plead the tradition and practice of the Church, ever since: forasmuch as we have to deal with those, who are equally disaffected to the name of a Bishop and to Tradition; and are so forestalled with their own prejudice, that they are carried, where Scripture is silent, to an unjust jealousy against the universal practice of the whole Church of God upon earth. But now, when Christ and his Apostles give us the text, well may the Apostolical and Universal Church yield us the commentary. And that, let me boldly say, is so clear for us, that, if our opposites dare stand to this trial, the day is ours. Their guiltiness, therefore, would fain decline this bar.

Parker, taking advantage from a word of Tertullian *, *Nihil interest quando quid sit, quod ab Apostolis non fuit:* "It matters not when any thing is, which was not under the Apostles: that is adulterine, whatever it be, that is not named by the Apostles," infers; "What then? It matters not when the Episcopal Hierarchy began, whether sooner or later: it is enough that it is adulterine, for that it is not named by the Apostles. And, contrarily, it matters no whit, at what time the Reformed Discipline was impaired; whether in the very first Church, or no; or whether in the time immediately succeeding." Thus he †.

* Tertull. de Præscript. c. 24, 25. † *Quid igitur? nihil interest* &c. Lii. c. 8.

And shall we take him at his word? Where, then, did the Apostles name this man's Consistory? Where, his Lay-changeable Presbytery? Where, his Discipline? It is, therefore, adulterine. As also, where name they the people's voice in their minister's election? Where Classes or Synods? Are all these adulterine? For us, we are not concerned in this censure: our Episcopacy is both named, and recommended, and prescribed by the Apostles. As for his Discipline, seeing it never came within the mention, either of an Apostle or of any Christian, for above fifteen hundred years since our Saviour left the world; what can that be, but grossly adulterine?

But, to make up all: Parker should have done well to have taken notice of the following words of Tertullian: *Quod ab Apostolis non damnatur, imò defenditur, hoc erit judicium proprietatis:* "That, which is not condemned by the Apostles, yea defended rather, may well be judged for their own:" and then he would have found how strong this plea of Tertullian is against himself: for where, ever, can he shew Episcopacy condemned by the Apostle? Yea, how clearly do we show it, not allowed only, but enjoined! Finding, therefore, Episcopal Imparity so countenanced by the Written Word, we have good reason to call in all Antiquity, and the Universal Church succeeding the Apostles, as the voice of the Spouse, to second her Glorious Husband.

Had there been any sensible gap of time, betwixt the days of the Apostles and the Ordination of Bishops in the Christian Church, we might have had some reason to suspect this institution to have been merely human: but now, since it shall appear, that this work of erecting Episcopacy passed both under the eyes and hands of those sacred ambassadors of Christ, who lived to see their Episcopal Successors planted in the several regions of the world; what reason can any man pretend, that this institution should be any other than Apostolical? Had it been otherwise, they lived to have countermanded it.

How plain is that of St. Ambrose! Paul saw James at Jerusalem, because he was made Bishop of that place by the Apostles: and, to the same effect, St. Austin, contra Crescon. l. 2. St. Jerome, the only author amongst the ancients, who is wont with any colour to be alleged against the right of Episcopacy; yet himself confesseth, that Bishops began in Alexandria, from Mark the Evangelist, who died six years before St. Peter or St. Paul; thirty-five years before St. James, the Apostle; forty-five years before Simon Cleophas, who succeeded St. James in the Bishopric of Jerusalem, being the kinsman of our Saviour, as Eusebius *; brother to Joseph, as Hegesippus. The same author can tell us, that, in the very times of the Apostles, Ignatius was Bishop of Antioch, indeed of Syria; Polycarpus, of Smyrna †; Timothy, of Ephesus; Titus, of Crete, or Candia: that Papias, St. John's auditor, soon after was made Bishop

* Euseb. l. iii. c. 11.

† *Sicut Smyrnæorum Ecclesia habens Polycarpum à Joanne conlocatu* . Tert. de Præsc.

of Hierapolis; Quadratus, a disciple of the Apostles, Bishop of Athens, after Publius his martyred predecessor.

And, can we think these men were made Bishops, without the knowledge and consent of the Apostles then living, or with it? Without it, we cannot say, except we will disparage both the Apostles' care and power; and, withal, the holiness of these their successors, who were known to be apostolical men, disciples of Christ, companions of the Apostles, and lastly blessed Martyrs. If with it, we have our desire: what shall I need to instance?

Our learned Bilson hath cleared this point, beyond all contradiction. In whom *, you may please to see, out of Eusebius, Hegesippus, Socrates, Jerome, Epiphanius, others, as exact a pedigree of all the holy Bishops of the Primitive Church, succeeding each other in the Four Apostolical Sees, until the time of the Nicene Council; as our Godwin or Mason can give us of our Bishops of England; or a Speed or Stow, of our English Kings. There you shall find, from James the Lord's brother, who, as Jerome himself expressly, sat as Bishop in the Church of Jerusalem; to Macarius, who sat in the Nicene Council, forty Bishops punctually named: from St. Peter, who governed the Church of Antioch, and was succeeded by Evodius, and he by Ignatius, twenty-seven: in the See of Rome, thirty-seven: in the See of Alexandria, from Mark the Evangelist, twenty-three: a catalogue, which cannot be questioned, without too much injurious incredulity; nor denied, without an unreasonable boldness.

The same course was held in all other Churches: neither may we think these varied from the rest; but rather, as Prime Sees, were patterns to the more obscure. "For the other," saith Eusebius †, "it is not possible, by name, to rehearse them all that were Pastors, employed in the first successions of the Church-Government after the Apostles." Neither, indeed, needeth it: the wariest buyers, by one handfull, judge of the whole sack: and this truth is so clear, that the most judicious late Divines have not stuck to acknowledge so much as we have desired.

SECT. 9.

The Testimony and Assent of Bucer, and some famous French Divines.

"By the perpetual observation of the Church, even from the Apostles themselves," saith Bucer, "we see, it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, that, among the Presbyters to whom the charge of the Church is specially committed, one should have the singular charge of the Churches; and, in that charge and care, governed others: for which cause, the name of Bishops was attributed to these Chief Governors of the Church." Thus he, in full accord with us.

* Perpet. Govern. of the Church, ch. 13. † Euseb. l. iii. c. 37.

And Chamier, when he had first granted *, that *statim post Apostolorum excessum*, "immediately after the decease of the Apostles," began the difference between a Bishop and Presbyter; straight, as correcting himself, adds, *Quid? Res ipsa cæpit tempore Apostolorum, vel potiùs ab ipsis profecta est;* "The thing itself began in the very time of the Apostles, yea proceeded from them." Thus he: although, withal, he affirms this difference not to have been essential, but accidental; a distinction, in this respect unproperly, perhaps, applied by him. But, otherwise, Spalatensis justly both yields and makes it in a right and sure sense: for, certainly, in the proper works of their ministerial function, in preaching and administering the Word and Sacraments, they differ not, or only differ in some accident; but yet, in those points, which concern Ordination and the Administration of Government, then the difference is real and palpable; and that, as we shall soon see, not without a fixed Jurisdiction †.

To the same purpose, my reverend and ancient friend Moulin, in one of his Epistles to the renowned Bishop of Winchester; *Statim post &c:* "Soon after the Apostles' time," saith he ‡, or rather in their own time, as the Ecclesiastical Story witnesseth, it was constituted, that, in one city, one Presbyter should have pre-eminence over his colleagues, who was called a Bishop." *Et hanc regiminis formam omnes ubique Ecclesiæ receperunt:* "and this form of government all Churches every where received."

I do willingly take the word of these two famous Professors of the French Church. The one says *constitutum est*, "It was constituted in the time of the Apostles;" the other, that "it proceeded from the Apostles themselves." If it were constituted in their time, and proceeded from them, and were in this name received of all Churches; then, certainly, it must be yielded to be of Apostolical, that is, Divine Institution.

More, if it needed, might be added; and that, out of Chamier's own allegation.

Thus much truth is not grudged us, by these ingenuous Divines. All the question is, of the nature and extent of this superiority. This difference there was; but, as that great Pancratiast, and others with him, contend; though many prerogatives were yielded to the Bishop in his place, especially in the nobler cities: yet this place was but *Primatus Ordinis;* "a Primacy of Order" only: *Nulla erat hic dominatio, aut jurisdictio, sed sancta charitas;* "Here was no rule, no jurisdiction, but all was swayed by a holy charity §."

Here's the knot: where's the wedge? Why, 'tis here. If charity did it then, it doth it still: for, I hope, jurisdiction and charity may well stand together: and Chamier had no reason to op-

* Cham. de Membris Eccles. Milit. l. iv. c. 1.

† *Nulla est essentialis distinctio inter Episcopos et Presbyteros, respectu ministerii; idem enim utriusque est: Apostoli, tamen, erant primarii à Christo ministri instituti; quibus, et non aliis, Ecclesiæ suæ fundationem et regimen commisit.* Spalat. de Rep. Eccl. l. 2. c. 3.

‡ Molin. Epist. ad Winton. Ep. 3. § Cham. ubi suprà.

pose things, which agree so well; and as well in a Bishop, as in a civil Magistrate.

For, as for Rule, if we affect any but fatherly, and moderate, and such as must necessarily be required for the conservation of peace and good order in the Church of God, we do not deprecate a censure. We know how to bear humble minds, in eminence of places: how to command, without imperiousness; and to comply, without exposing our places to contempt. So as those are but spiteful frumps and malicious suggestions, which are cast upon us, of a tyrannical pride, and lordly domineering over our brethren. We are their superiors in place, but we hate to think they should be lowlier in mind.

But, hereof, we shall have fitter occasion in the sequel.

SECT. 10.

The Superiority and Jurisdiction of Bishops, proved by the Testimony of the First Fathers and Apostolical Men: and, first, of Clemens, the Partner of the Apostles.

As for that jurisdiction which we claim, and those reverend and obedient respects which we expect from our Clergy; if they be other than those, which were both required and given in the very first times of the Gospel, under the Apostles themselves, and of those whom they immediately entrusted with the government of the Church, let us be hissed out from among Christians.

For proof of this right, then, whom should I rather begin with, after the Apostles, than an Apostolical man; a copartner and a dear familiar of the two prime Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul? I mean Clemens, whom St. Paul mentions honourably in his Epistle to the Philippians, by the title of one of his *fellow-labourers, whose names are in the book of life:* Phil. iv. 3: one, who laid St. Peter in his grave, as Theodoret tells us; and followed that blessed Apostle, both in his See and in his Martyrdom: yea, one, whom Clemens Alexandrinus enstyles no less than an Apostle of so great reputation in the Church, that, as Jerome tells us, he was by some reputed the penman of the holy Epistle to the Hebrews: and that learned Father finds the face of his style alike, if not the same.

You look now, that I should produce some blown-ware out of the pack of his Recognitions, or Apostolical Constitutions: but I shall deceive you; and urge a testimony from that worthy and apostolic author, which was never yet soiled, so much as with any pen, either in citation, or much less in contradiction; of venerable and unquestionable authority. It is of that noble and holy Epistle of his, which he wrote to the Corinthians upon the occasion of those quarrels, which were, it seems, on foot in St. Paul's time, and still continued: emulation and side-takings, amongst and against their teachers; which, belike, proceeded so far, as to the ejecting of their Bishop

and Presbyters out of their places. He gravely taxes them, with this kind of spiritual conspiracy; and advises them to keep their own stations.

For which purpose, having laid before them the history of Aaron's rod budding, and thereby the miraculous confirmation of his election, he adds *, "And our Apostles, knowing, by our Lord Jesus Christ, the contention that would arise, ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς, about the name of Episcopacy; and they, for this very same cause, having received perfect knowledge; appointed the foresaid (degrees), and gave thereupon a designed order or list of offices, that, when they should sleep, (in their graves), others, that were well approved men, might succeed in their charge or service. Those, therefore, which were constituted by them, or of other renowned men (after them), with the consent and good liking of the whole Church, and have accordingly served unblamably, in the sheepfold of Christ, with all meekness, quietly, and without all taint of corruption; and those, who, of a long time, have carried a good testimony from all men; these we hold cannot justly or without much injury be put from their office and service. For, it were no small sin in us, if we shall refuse and reject them, who have holily and without reproof undergone these offices of Episcopacy. And, withal, blessed are those Presbyters, who, having dispatched their journey (by death), have obtained a perfect and fruitful dissolution: for now, they need not fear, lest any man shall out them from the place wherein they now are. For, we see that some ye have removed and displaced from their unblamably-managed office. Ye are contentious, my Brethren; and are quarrelsome about those things, which do not concern salvation. Search diligently the Scriptures &c." Thus Clement.

Did he write this, trow we, to the Church of Corinth, or of Scotland? Judge you how well it agrees. But, in the mean time, you see these distinctions of degrees: you see the quarrels arising about the very title: you see that the Bishops ordained by the Apostles succeeded in their service: you see they continued, or ought to continue in their places, during their life: you see it a sin to out them, except there be just cause in their misdemeanor.

The testimony is so clear, that I well foresee you will be not a little pinched with it; and desirous to give yourself ease. And which way can you do it?

Perhaps you will be quarrelling with the authority and antiquity of the Epistle. But this iron is too hot for you to take up. It hath too much warrant in the innate simplicity of it, and too much testimony from the ancient Fathers of the Church, for any adversary to contradict. Though it could come but lately to our hands, yet we know, long since, that it had the attestation of Justin Martyr; of Irenæus, who calls it ἱκανωτάτην γραφὴν, τοῖς Κορινθίοις; of Clemens

* Clem. Epist. ad Corinthios. c. 44, 45. Ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν ἔγνωσαν διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι ἔρις ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς· διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν προγνῶσιν τελείαν κ. τ. λ.

Alexandrinus; of Origen; of Cyril of Jerusalem; of Photius, who terms it ἐπιστολὴν ἀξιόλογον, "a very worthy Epistle;" of Jerome, who terms it, *valde utilem*, "a very profitable Epistle," and tells us that it was of old publicly read, as authentical, in Churches, and that in the character of it, it much resembles that to the Hebrews. This noble monument, that you may not doubt how it came so late to our hands, was, by Cyril, the late worthy Patriarch of Constantinople, sent out of his library of Alexandria, whence he removed, to our gracious Sovereign of Great Britain, for a precious present; as that, which was, by the hand of St. Tecla herself, transcribed, and placed at the end of the Old and New Testament, fairly by her written in the same character: a present, worth too much gold. And, if any man do yet misdoubt, his eyes may inform him by the view of it, in his Majesty's Library, where it is kept; and, out of a desire of more public good, was lately set forth by the learned searcher of antiquities, Mr. Patrick Yong, the worthy keeper of his Majesty's Library.

But, if any man shall hope to elude this testimony, by taking advantage of the only mention of Presbyters and Deacons in the foregoing passages, let him know, this was only according to the occasion of the writing of that Epistle. And, withal, let him consider who wrote it; even Clement, Bishop of Rome: whether the first, as some of the ancient; or the third, as others; after St. Peter: a difference, not hard to be reconciled: and, therefore, how little danger there is of his favouring a parity in that sacred administration.

SECT. 11.

The Pregnant and Full Testimonies of the Holy Saint and Martyr, Ignatius, urged.*

After him, what better and more convincing authority can we appeal unto, than that of holy Ignatius, the famous Martyr of

* Scarcely any other question respecting Ecclesiastical Antiquity has been so vehemently discussed, as that which concerns the writings of Ignatius. The defenders of Episcopacy finding in them the most explicit and unequivocal declarations in their favour, it became the interest of its opposers to prove them spurious.

"Ne de brevioribus quidem Ignatii Epistolis," observes Harles in his new edition of Fabricius's Bibliotheca Græca, "tam acriter fuisset disputatum, nisi patrones vindicésque jurium et dignitatis Episcoporum in illis Epistolis præsidium, idque firmum, ad suam sententiam et Episcoporum auctoritatem, quæ vel adeo constituta jam ætate Apostolorum permagna fuisset, ut jam Ignatii ævo discrimen inter Episcopos et Presbyteros esset observatum, stabiliendam repetisse sibi persuasissent. Hinc, post editas illas atque vindicatas a Vossio et Usherio, ii præcipue, qui pro auctoritate Episcoporum inter Anglos, Gallos, etiam Germanos, quasi militaverunt, fidem illarum æquis viribus veluti defendere studuerunt: inter quos eminet Pearsonus; cui etiam multi viri docti inter Lutheranos, qui vocantur, accesserunt. Eo majorem diligentiam adhibuerunt, et acriorem vim ingenii atque majorem litterarum adtulerunt copiam ad fidem et brevioris et longioris immuen-

Christ? whose memory is justly precious to the whole Church of God, to this very present age: that Miracle of Martyrs, who called his fetters Christ's chains of spiritual pearls; who, when he was to be thrown to the wild beasts for the profession of Christ, could boast, that he should set to the world, as the sun, that he might rise to God; and, when he heard the lions roaring, "I am," said

dam atque infringendam, in Angliâ qui Presbyteriani dicuntur: quorum dux quasi et fortissimus fuit et maximè idoneus Dallæus."

There has been long but one opinion respecting the spuriousness of VIII Epistles, which have passed under the name of Ignatius: but for the genuineness of the VII Epistles of which our author speaks (viz. those to the Trallians, Magnesians, Philadelphians, Smyrneans, Polycarp, the Ephesians, and Romans,) there are irrefragable arguments.

It was, however, allowed, even by some who received these VII Epistles as genuine, that they were greatly interpolated and corrupted. Vedelius, whose edition of them printed in small folio at Geneva in 1623, is used by our author, marks many passages in the margin as supposititious, and borrowed chiefly from the Apostolical Constitutions. Our author was, however, of a different opinion: but with how little success he opposes Vedelius, we shall presently see. The incomparable Usher published at Oxford, in 1644, three years after this work of Bishop Hall, the same Greek Text as that in Vedelius's edition, but accompanied by a Latin Version discovered by him in this country, which differed most widely from the Greek. In 1646, Isaac Vossius published, at Amsterdam, the first copy of the genuine Greek Text of VI of these Epistles, obtained from a MS. in the Medicean Library at Florence; the Epistle to the Romans, which is wanting in that MS., being published in Greek by Ruinart from a Colbert. MS. at Paris. With the Greek Text, Vossius printed the Latin Version of Usher's edition, with which version the genuine Greek was found almost wholly to agree. Usher published, in consequence, the next year, his Appendix Ignatiana; wherein he cordially adopted the Medicean Text: and this text has been since received as the standard and genuine text by Pearson, Hammond, Cotelerius, Smith, and others. The interpolated edition is sometimes called the Larger, and the genuine the Smaller edition.

I shall point out the variations between the interpolated text as quoted by our author, and the genuine. It will be seen, that several passages, the genuineness of which he defends against Vedelius, are in reality not genuine; and that others are interpolated, of which Vedelius appears to have had no suspicion. Enough, however, remains as genuine, to prove the main points in question, viz. the distinction of the three Orders, and the superiority of the Episcopal.

The reader will find, the principal authors on this subject enumerated by Fabricius, Bib. Græca, lib. v. cap. 1. in vol. v. of his own edition, pp. 38—47; or vol. vii. of Harles's edition, pp. 32—47, with additional authors by that editor. He may consult Hammond's "Dissertatio de Ignatio," in his Works, fol. vol. iv. pp. 744—774; his "Answer to the Animadversions on the Dissertations touching Ignatius's Epistles, and the Episcopacy in them asserted," particularly chap. iii. sect. 3. pp. 22—25, at the end of the Second Volume of his Works; and Cotelerius's Patres Apostolici, edit. 1724, by Le Clerc, in the Second Volume of which he will find every thing most interesting on the subject—viz. the VII Genuine Epistles, in the smaller or pure edition; the same Epistles, in the larger or interpolated; the VIII Spurious Epistles; the different Latin Versions; and the Prefaces and chief Notes of Usher, Vossius, and others; with the Vindiciæ Ignatianæ of Bp. Pearson. See also the judicious and impartial Lardner (Credib. p. ii. ch. 5. in his Works: Lond. 1788. vol. ii. pp. 65—70): who, while he acknowledges the question respecting the authenticity of even the smaller edition of the VII Epistles to be very difficult; yet, considering the testimonies to be found to them in Irenæus, Origen, and Eusebius, and also their internal characters of great simplicity and piety, accounts them, in the main, the genuine production of Ignatius. EDITOR.

he *, " Christ's wheat: oh, let me be ground with the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found pure bread for my God: make much of these wild beasts, that they may become my sepulchre; that nothing may be left of my body, &c. I would rather die for Christ, than reign over the whole world."

This blessed Saint in all those confessedly-genuine Epistles which he wrote, seven in number, still so beats upon this point, as if religion depended upon it, Reverence and Obedience to their Bishops.

This man lived in the days of the Apostles; conversed with them; and, in likelihood, saw Christ in the flesh, being martyred in the eleventh year of Trajan, according to Baronius: and, therefore, thoroughly acquainted with the state of God's Church, in the Apostles' time, and his own; and should, in this name, be more to us than a thousand witnesses. Every word of his is worthy to carry our hearts along with him.

Hear, then, what he saith in his Epistle *ad Trallianos* †: " Be subject to your Bishop, as to the Lord, for he watcheth for your souls." And, straight ‡: " Necessary it is, that, whatsoever ye do, ye should do nothing without your Bishop: but be ye subject also to your Priests, as to the Apostles of Christ." See what a distance here is! Whereas, other of the Fathers compare the Bishops to the Apostles, Presbyters to the Seventy Disciples, this man advanceth his pattern higher: requiring obedience to Bishops, as to Christ; to Presbyters, as to the Apostles. And what proportion is there, betwixt the respects we owe to God and to man?

And, a while after, yet higher. " The Bishop," saith he §, " bears the resemblance of God the Father of all things; the Priests are as the bench of his Apostles, &c."

And, lest any man should construe these words to sound only of a generality of reverent respects, without yielding of any power of command, soon after he speaks home: " for what other," saith he ‖, " is a Bishop, than he, that is superior to all principality and power; and, as far as a man's power may reach, made an imitator

* Ἀκούσας τῆ βεύγματῆ τῶν λεόντων, ἔφη σίτος Ιησῆ Χριστῆ εἰμί κ. τ. α. Hier. Catalog. Script. Eccles.

† Τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσεσθε, ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀγρυπνει ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν· Epist. ad Trall. p. 4. ed. Vedelii.—The genuine text of the Medicean codex has the passage thus,—τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσεσθε ὡς Ἰησῆ Χριστῷ. EDITOR.

‡ Ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἐστιν, ὅσαπερ ποιεῖτε, ἄνευ τῆ Ἐπισκόπῃ μηδὲν πράττειν ὑμᾶς· ἀλλ' ὑποτάσσεσθε καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, ὡς ἀποστόλοις Ἰησῆ Χριστῆ—Epist. ad Trall. p. 4. ed. Vedelii.—The genuine Greek has this whole passage; only it substitutes ὥσπερ for ὅσαπερ; which, says Hammond, (Works vol. ii. Append. p. 23.) makes a " more grammatical sense: not 'whatsoever things you do, do nothing &c.,' but 'it is necessary, as already you practise, to do nothing without the Bishop'." EDITOR.

§ Ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος τῆ Πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων τύπος ὑπάρχει οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι, ὡς συνέδριον Θεῆ, καὶ σύνδεσμος ἀποστόλων Χριστῆ· Epist. ad Trall. p. 5. ed. Vedelii.—ὡς καὶ τὸν Ἐπίσκοπον, (scil. πάντες ἐντρεπέσθωσαν) ὄντα υἱὸν τῆ Πατρός. τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους ὡς συνέδριον Θεῆ, καὶ ὡς σύνδεσμον ἀποστόλων· Cod. Med. EDITOR.

‖ Τί γάρ ἐστιν Ἐπίσκοπος; κ. τ. α Epist. ad Trall. p 9. ed. Vedelii.—The whole passage is wanting in the Codex Med. EDITOR.

of the Christ of God? And what is the Presbytery or Priesthood, but a holy company, the counsellors and assessors of the Bishop? and what the Deacons, but the imitators of the angelical powers, which give him pure and unblamable attendance?"

What say ye now to this, ye Patrons of Parity in Church-Government? How do ye think your opinion consorts with this blessed Saint's, the holy partner of the Apostles? Here, ye have the three distinct Orders of Bishops, Priests or Presbyters, and Deacons. Here, you have a clear and constant Superiority of Bishops above Priests, with no less difference than between a prince and his council-board; above Deacons, no less than between a prince and his attendants: and this, delivered according to the received judgment and practice of the Primitive Church.

The testimony is too pregnant to be eluded. And yet, well-fare a friend in a corner! Nic. Vedelius, because he sees the witness so clear, that he cannot be shifted off, charges him with corruption and subornation; pretending, that, sure, these words are foisted in, he knows not how, into the text.

We are yet beholding to him, for asserting the truth and legitimation of these Seven Epistles of our Martyr, which Coke, and Parker, and Antitilenus, being nettled with their unavoidable evidences, durst cry down for bastardy; whom I leave to be thoroughly schooled by Chamier, Rivetus *, Vedelius †; by whom, out of all Antiquity, they are sufficiently vindicated, to the shame of the injurious accusers. It is out of my way to follow this chase.

But, herein, Vedelius plays his part; that those passages, which he finds in these, confessedly authentic Epistles, most convictive for our purpose, he would fain challenge to be corrupted.

And why so? "Surely," saith he, "these words of principality and power ascribed to Bishops do not savour of that golden age of the Apostles, wherein Ignatius lived; when Episcopacy was not *imperium et potestas*, "a rule and power," but a service rather."

And why not both? As if excellency of dignity, could not consist with humility of officiousness. What else doth our Saviour imply in his charge, *He, that is the greatest amongst you, let him be your servant?* their glory, like as their Saviour's kingdom, was not of this world. Spiritual greatness may well agree with outward lowliness. St. Paul matcheth ἀσθενείαν and δυνάμιν, *weakness* and *power* ‡; and even whiles he was tent-making could speak of his ἐξουσία and δυναμίς §.

And why should this phrase be here seized upon suspicion, rather than in other passages of holy Ignatius, where it is plainly attributed to Bishops? as in that to the men of Smyrna, as we shall see in the sequel.

And why might not he digest this phrase, which he so commonly met with in Antiquity? Amongst the rest, it is remarkable, that the very same sentence, which he cites for his defence out of Chrysos-

* Critic. Sacr. † Vedel. Apol. et Exerc. ‡ 1 Cor. ii. 3, 4.
§ 1 Thess. i. 5. iii. 2.

tom cuts his throat. "Then their Præfecture," speaking of the Apostle's Bishop *, "was not an honour, but a provident care for those whom they ruled over." Lo, here was a Præfecture, first; and, then, here are ἀρχόμενοι, which implies ἀρχήν, "a rule:" not alluding to the abuses of his own time, as Vedelius, poorly; but to the Apostles, in whom honour did well agree with care. Was there ever man, that denied Apostleship to be an honour? much less, holy Chrysostom. The Father's meaning plainly is, that the Apostles did not stand so much upon their own honour, as the care of their charge: as what good Bishop doth otherwise? In the mean time, here is an ἀρχή, "a rule," implied in that testimony which is brought to impugn it: for Ignatius's passage is as undoubted as his Epistle; and the Bishop's power is not κρατεῖν, only, which Vedelius could yield, but ἄρχειν.

And what need Vedelius to stand upon this term, when Chamier himself so fully yields it? *Revera Episcopatus est ἀρχή*; and, *singuli Episcopi in suis Ecclesiis sunt principes* †.

The Martyr, for a close, shuts up with a "Farewell in the Lord Jesus; and be subject to your Bishop, &c ‡."

In the second § Epistle, to the Magnesians, for I love to follow the trace of that blessed Saint, "I exhort you," saith he ‖, "that your care and study be to do all things in a godly concord: your Bishop being president in the place of God; your Priests, in the place of the Senate of the Apostles, &c."

And, not long after: "As the Lord," saith he ¶, "did nothing without his Father, who said, *I can do nothing of myself*; so neither may any of you do ought without your Bishop: whether it be Priest, or Deacon, or Laick. Neither let any thing seem meet for

* Τότε ἡ ἐπιτασια ἦν οὐ τιμὴ, ἀλλὰ πρόνοια τῶν ἀρχομένων. Chrysost. in Act. c. 1. Citat. in Append. Notarum Criticarum Nic. Vedelii.

† Cham. de Oecumen. Pontif. l. xiii. c. 19. ex Nazianzen.

‡ Ἔρρωσθε ἐν Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ· ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ, ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις· Epist. ad Trall, pp. 16, 17. ed Vedelii.—Ἔρρωσθε ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς τῇ ἐντολῇ, ὁμοίως καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ. Codex Med. EDITOR.

§ The Bishop numbers the Epistles as they stand in Vedelius's edition; but the order varies in different editions. EDITOR.

‖ Παραινῶ, ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ Θεοῦ σπουδάσατε πάντα πράττειν· προκαθημένου τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ, καὶ τῶν Πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τόπον Συνεδρίου τῶν Ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν Διακόνων, τῶν ἐμοὶ γλυκυτάτων, πεπιστευμένων διακονίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Epist ad Magnes. p. 54. ed. Vedelii.—This passage exists entire in the Codex Med. As it is decisive on the main points in question, I have given it more at large than our author has done. EDITOR.

¶ Ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ Κύριος ἄνευ τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐδὲν ποιεῖ· Οὐ δύναμαι γάρ, φησι, ποιεῖν ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ οὐδέν· οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου, μηδὲ Πρεσβύτερος, μὴ Διάκονος, μὴ Λαϊκός· μηδέ τι φαινέσθω ὑμῖν εὔλογον, παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην· τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον, παράνομον καὶ Θεῷ ἔχθρόν· Epist. ad Magnes. p. 55.—This passage, wherein our author triumphs; but the extravagance of which, it must be allowed, savours strongly of spuriousness; is thus radically altered in the Codex Med. Ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ Κύριος ἄνευ τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἐπίνησε, ἡνωμένος ὢν. οὔτε δι' αὐτοῦ, οὔτε διὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων οὕτως μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου, καὶ τῶν Πρεσβυτέρων, μηδὲν πράσσετε· μηδὲ πειράσητε εὔλογόν τι φανῆσθαι ἰδίᾳ ὑμῖν. On this passage see Hammond's Works. vol. ii. Appendix pp. 22, 23. EDITOR.

you to do, without his judgment; for, whatsoever is so done, is wicked, and an act of mere enmity to God." What will our refractaries say to this, who affect to make head against their Bishops; yea, not only suffer him to do nothing without them, but suffer him to do nothing at all, yea suffer him not to be? O God, if thy blessed Martyr Ignatius now lived, and saw these insolencies, how would he think himself fallen amongst more fierce beasts, than those which were prepared for him!

In his third Epistle, to the Philadelphians; "So many," saith he *, "as are Christ's, are for the Bishop; and those, that decline from him and take part with the accurst, they shall be cut off together."

And, not long after, in the same Epistle; "In Christ," saith he †, "there is neither bond nor free. Let the princes or chief governors obey Cæsar. Let the soldiers obey their chief governors. Let the Deacons and the rest of the Clergy, with all the people, soldiers, governors, and Cæsar himself, obey their Bishop. Let the Bishop obey Christ; as Christ obeyed his Father. And thus shall unity be conserved in all things." Thus he.

Now comes in Nic. Vedelius, and, seconding Scultetus, cries out of manifest interpolation. I wish I had leisure in this place, to follow him home: he is out of my way; yet I must step aside to him a little.

And what, and where, then is this so open fraud, in foisting in this clause of Ignatius?

"Cæsar was then no Christian. In vain should the true Ignatius have charged Cæsar to obey the Bishop:"—Weakly objected: for, as Mæstræus answers him well, "The Martyr tells us what should be done, not what was." It is true, that the greatest monarchs of the world, even those whose vassals we confess ourselves in temporal respects; yet, in spiritual regards, ought to submit their souls to our government, or rather to God's in us.

"But Ignatius admonisheth Christians, not Heathen of their duty:"—Weak still. His admonition is universal, though directed to Philadelphians; and those men, which were now Ethnicks, might prove Christians. The rules must not vary with the persons.

"But, it would have been scandalous, especially in those times, to exhort a Heathen Emperor, to submit himself to a Christian:"—

* Ὅσοι γὰρ Χριστοῦ εἰσὶν, οὗτοι μετὰ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου εἰσίν· ὅσοι δ' ἂν ἐκκλίνωσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν ἀσπάσωνται μετὰ τῶν κατηραμένων, οὗτοι σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐκκοπήσονται. Epist. ad Philadelph. p. 91. ed Vedelii.—Ὅσοι γὰρ Θεῷ εἰσὶν καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὗτοι μετὰ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου εἰσίν. Codex. Med. EDITOR.

† P. 96. ed Vedelii. Our Author's strenuous defence of this passage will not save it. The genuine text has not a word of it: and Hammond strongly condemns the extravagance of the doctrine. "Here," says he, "I acknowledge, there is a testimony and evidence of the charge of extolling Bishops above the greatest Potentates; for, sure, Cæsar was such: and if Ignatius had thought fit to use such language, and done it at a time when Cæsar was heathen, and he by Cæsar's sentence already condemned and within a while to be brought forth to the amphitheatre, I might have justly deserved a severe animadversion for moving tongue or pen in defence of this rebellious, extravagant, senseless doctrine." See his Works, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 24. EDITOR.

Still alike. What scandal more in this, than in the rest of the doctrine of the Gospel; which, in the mouths of all faithful preachers, requires princes to yield their necks to the yoke of Christ? Why more, then, *Go tell that fox;* and the *non licet* of the Baptist to Herod? Why more, than the bold speeches of the martyred Saints to their Heathen persecutors? Why more, than of that Christian Bishop to Julian; of Chrysostomus to Eudoxia? Why more, than the high language of Valentinian and Trajan to Valens; and hundreds other of this kind *?

But, which is grossest of all, he makes the end of all, the conservation of unity in the Church. "And what," saith he, "are Heathens within the Church? Or, is there any union betwixt Christ and Infidels?" As if Ignatius had written only for a day! as if these men must needs live and die Heathens! The cavils must be more probable, that must cast a Martyr; or rob us of his holy instruction.

Yet again, therefore, hear what our St. Ignatius says, in the same Epistle. "It is hard," saith he †, "to reject the preaching of the Apostles. The Priests are good; and so are the Deacons" or Ministers "of the Word: but the Chief Priest is better, who is trusted with the Holy of Holies, who only is entrusted with the secrets of God."

Here Vedelius startles; and not he only, but Chamier too, contends the Chief Priest, not to be meant of the Bishop, but of Christ.

But the place easily quits itself. Ignatius plainly compares these holy offices with themselves, not with Christ. How absurd had it been, to make a comparison, betwixt the goodness of Priests and Deacons and the goodness of Christ! as if there had been any possibility of proportion: as if any doubt could have risen, this way! This meliority, therefore, or betterness above the Priests and Deacons, is ascribed to the Bishop, by the name of the High Priest, in allusion to the Jewish privileges of the great Pontiff, who only might enter the Holy of Holies.

Our Martyr goes on. In his Epistle to those of Smyrna he is, if it be possible, more punctual. "Follow your Bishop," saith he ‡,

* Socrat. l. vi. c. 16. Theod. l. iv. c. 31 and 33.

† Σκληρὸν τὸ ἀθετεῖν τὸ κήρυγμα τῶν Ἀποστόλων. Καλοὶ μὲν οἱ Ἱερεῖς, καὶ οἱ τοῦ λόγου Διάκονοι· κρείσσων δὲ Ἀρχιερεύς, ὁ πεπιστευμένος τὰ Ἅγια τῶν Ἁγίων, ὃς μόνος πεπίστευται τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Epist. ad Philadelp. p. 102. ed Vedelii.—Καλοὶ καὶ οἱ Ἱερεῖς· κρεῖσσον δὲ ὁ Ἀρχιερεύς, ὁ πεπιστευμένος τὰ Ἅγια τῶν Ἁγίων, ὃς μόνος πεπίστευται τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ· Codex Med. And as the genuine text immediately adds αὐτὸς ἂν θύρα τοῦ Πατρὸς, δι' ἧς εἰσέρχονται Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ, καὶ οἱ Προφῆται, καὶ οἱ Ἀπόστολοι, καὶ ἡ Ἐκκλησία· which cannot be said of the Bishop, but must be limited to Christ, our Author's argument falls to the ground. EDITOR.

‡ Πάντες τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ κ. τ. α. Epist. ad Smyrn. p. 168. ed. Vedelii. The former part of this passage, a few trivial differences excepted, is in the genuine text. It varies, however, towards the end. Instead of ὥσπερ ὅπου ὁ Χριστὸς, πᾶσα ἡ οὐράνιος στρατιὰ παρέστηκεν, ὡς ἀρχιστρατήγῳ τῆς δυνάμεως Κυρίου, καὶ διανομεῖ πάσης νοητῆς φύσεως. οὐκ ἐξὸν ἐστὶ χωρὶς τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου, οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὔτε προσφέρειν, οὔτε θυσίαν προσκομίζειν, οὔτε δοχὴν ἐπιτελεῖν· the Codex Med. has ὥσπερ ὅπου ἂν ἦ Χριστὸς

"as Christ did his Father; and the College of Priests, as his Apostles. Reverence your Deacons, as ministering according to the command of God. Let no man, without the Bishop, do any of those things which appertain to the Church. Let that Eucharist be held right and unquestionable, which is done by the Bishop; or by such an one, as he shall allow. Where the Bishop shall appear, there let the multitude assemble; as where Christ is, there all the heavenly host stands by him &c. It is not lawful, without the Bishop, to baptize; nor to offer &c." And soon after *, "Honour God as the Author and Lord of All Things; and your Bishop, as the Chief Priest, bearing the image of God: of God, I say, as Chief; and of Christ, as Priest &c. Neither is there any thing greater in the Church than the Bishop, who is consecrated to God, for the salvation of the world: neither is there any among the princes, like to the king, who procures peace and equity to his subjects &c." And, anon, "Let all your things be done in decent order in Christ. Let your Laics be subject to the Deacons, the Deacons to the Priests or Presbyters, the Presbyters to the Bishop, the Bishop to Christ, as he is to his Father." Could he speak plainer?

I.o, saith Vedelius, and our Scotus *ὁ τυχῶν*, "This savours not of the age of Ignatius, in whose time no such distinction, as of the Clergy and Laity, was on foot:"—Weakly suggested. Had they but read our Clement, in his fore-recited Epistle to the Corinthians†, they had soon eaten this word. *Τοῖς Ἱερεῦσι*, saith he, "To the Priests, their proper place is assigned." Their Laics have their services: *ὁ Λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προσάγμασιν δέδεται*; "A Layman is bound to lay ordinances."

But I may not so far hinder my way, as to make excursions to meet with cavils. If any man be disposed to accept, I am ready to give him full satisfaction in a meet season.

In his Epistle to Polycarpus, he requires, that no man should so much as marry without the Bishop's consent; and, soon after, "Let all things," saith he, "be done to the honour of God. Give regard to your Bishop as God to you. My soul for theirs, who obey their Bishop, Presbyters, and Deacons ‡."

In his Epistle to the Ephesians, magnifying their Bishop Onesi-

Ἰησοῦς. ἐκεῖ ἡ Καθολικὴ Ἐκκλησία· οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστιν χωρὶς τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου, οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν. And Ignatius adds this important declaration, with even more emphasis in the genuine than in the spurious text, ἀλλ' ὁ ἂν ἐκεῖνος (meaning the Bishop) δοκιμάσῃ, τοῦτο καὶ τῷ Θεῷ εὐάρεστον· ἵνα ἀσφαλὲς ᾖ καὶ βέβαιον πᾶν ὃ πράσσεται. EDITOR.

* Τίμα μὲν τὸν Θεὸν κ. τ. α. Epist. ad Smyrn. p. 169. ed. Vedelii. This passage, and that which is next quoted Πάντα οὖν κ. τ. α. p. 170. are not in the Codex Med. EDITOR.

† Clem. ad Corinth. c. 40.

‡ Πρέπει δὲ τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ ταῖς γαμούσαις, μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου τὴν ἕνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι, ἵνα ὁ γάμος ᾖ κατὰ Κύριον, καὶ μὴ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν· Πάντα εἰς τιμὴν Θεοῦ γι ἐσθω. Τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε, ἵνα καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῖν. ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσομένων. Ἐπισκόποις, Πρεσβυτέροις, Διακόνοις· Epist. ad Polycarp. p. 208. ed. Vedelii.—The Codex Med. has this passage, with a few slight variations. Its expressions are certainly strong and decisive. See it defended and illustrated by Hammond: Works. vol. ii. Appendix p. 24. EDITOR.

mus, he charges them to give all respects to him; and adds *, "Ye ought to look upon your Bishop, as upon God himself, since he waits upon the Lord and serves him." And, towards the end †, "Following the Holy Ghost for your guide, obeying your Bishop and the company of Presbyters, with an entire heart &c."

What shall we think of all this? Was not St. Ignatius fee'd to speak on the Bishop's side? Or how would these words have sounded in the late Assemblies of Glasgow and Edinburgh? Are we more holy than he? Is the truth the same it was, or is the alteration on our part?

All these have been large and full testimonies, of the acknowledged superiority of Bishops, and of the high respects that are and were ever due to these prime governors of the Church.

But, if any man think these come not yet home to the point, let him cast his eye back upon the First Epistle *ad Trallianos;* and mark well what he saith: where, having reckoned up the Three, so oft-mentioned Orders, of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, he adds ‡; "Without these, there is no elect Church: without these, no holy congregation; no assembly of Saints:" and I persuade myself that you also are of the same mind.

Lo here words, which no Vedelius can carp at as interpolated; imposing such a necessity of the being of these Three several Orders in God's Church, that it cannot be right without them. I see and pity his shuffling §, but would be glad to see a satisfactory answer from any hands. In the mean time, I wish, with learned Bishop Andrews ‖, those Churches where they are missing, that happiness, which now, to our grief, and I hope theirs, they are forced to want.

I have dwelt long with blessed Ignatius: where could I be better? That one author is instead of many. Why should I not boldly say, if, besides the Divine Scriptures, there were no other testimony but this one Saint's, it were abundantly enough to carry this cause: and I must wonder at any man, who, confessing Ignatius to have been so holy a Bishop, so faithful a Martyr, so true a Saint, can stick at a truth so often, so confidently, so zealously recommended by him to the world. For me, let my soul go with his: let his faith be mine: and let me rather trust one Ignatius, than ten thousand Cartwrights, Parkers, Ameses, or any other their ignorant and mal-contented followers.

Tell me now, my Dear Brethren, tell me in good earnest, do you not think this Ignatius a likely man to build up the kingdom of Antichrist?

* Epist. ad Ephes. p. 219. ed. Vedelii. The Codex Med. omits the clause "since he waits upon the Lord and serves him." EDITOR.

† Epist. ad Ephes. p. 233. ed. Vedelii. The Codex Med. omits the clause, "Following the Holy Ghost for your guide." EDITOR.

‡ Epist. ad Trallian. p. 5. ed. Vedelii. χωρὶς τούτων. Ἐκκλησία ἐκλεκτὴ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐ συνάθροισμα ἁγίων, οὐ συναγωγὴ ἱσιών.—The Codex Med. has χωρὶς τουτων Ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται. EDITOR.

§ Append. Notarum Criticarum. ‖ Epist. ad P. Molin.

Were not these shoulders fit for the supportation of that *Man of Sin?* Away with these absurd and wicked fancies: and, if this charge of his were holy and apostolical, wherein he requires us to honour our Bishops, as the Lord himself, whom they serve and represent; what doom do you suppose would he have passed upon those, who, as such, abhor them, and eject them as Devils. I cannot, without horror, think of either the act or the issue.

SECT. 12.

The Testimony of the Ancient Canons, called the Apostles'.

YET, perhaps, if Ignatius went alone, he might herein incur some suspicion: now, all Antiquity is with him: never any ancient author said otherwise.

We will begin with those Canons, which are enstyled τῶν ἁγίων καὶ πανσέπτων Ἀποστόλων, "of the holy and most venerable Apostles:" surely, if not theirs, yet of some apostolical men, near to their times; worthy, even for their age and authority, to be reverenced of all Christians, as the most credible witnesses of the state of those Primitive Times.

In them, besides the note of professed distance betwixt the Bishops and Presbyters proclaimed in every chapter, there are those, which do imply a power and jurisdiction.

As Can. xv: "If any Presbyter or Deacon *, or any of the number of Clerks, leaving his division," or parish, "shall go to another; and, without the leave or allowance † of his own Bishop, abide in another parish," or charge; "we forbid him further to minister: especially, if, when his own Bishop calls him back, he refuses to return, continuing still perverse." And, again, in the next ‡, "If any Bishop, with whom such a clerk shall stay, shall there keep him against this decreed cessation, let him, as a master of disorder, be barred from communion."

And Can. xxxii. "If any Presbyter, contemning his own Bishop, shall hold conventicles apart and shall erect another altar, when he hath no just exception against his Bishop in matter of religion or justice, let him be deposed ὡς φίλαρχος, "as a man that affects to rule," for he is a tyrant."

And, Can. xxxiii: "If any Presbyter or Deacon shall, by his own Bishop, be put from his place, it is not lawful that he be received by any other; but only of him, that formerly discharged him: except, perhaps, the Bishop, that put him out, be deceased."

And, because it was so early perceived, that, even amongst the Bishops themselves, an equality might breed confusion, it is enact-

* Can. xv. Εἴ τις Πρεσβύτερος κ. τ. α. † Παρὰ γνώμην.

‡ Our Author numbers these Canons according to the Version of Dionysius Exiguus. In the Greek, these two Canons form but one; that is, the xiith. EDITOR.

ed in the xxxvth Canon, That the Bishops of all nations should know him that was ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτος, "the prime amongst them;" and esteem him as their head; and do nothing without him.

Shortly, Can. xxxix: it is ordained, That the Bishop should take the charge and care of all the affairs belonging to the Church, and dispense them as in the presence and view of God Almighty.

And, in the xlth Canon, "Let the Presbyters and Deacons do nothing, besides the liking and allowance of their Bishop: for the people of God are committed to him, and an account must be required of him for their souls."

Hear this, now, ye, that pretend there is so much difference betwixt the state of our Bishops and the primitive. What do we challenge, more than the Apostolic Canons enjoin? what do they prescribe less than we challenge? There is a power over the Clergy: a power, of disposing them to general stations; a power, of deposing or sequestering them, upon just demerits, from those charges; a power, not to oversee only, but to regulate their Clergy; a power, to manage all ecclesiastical affairs: and if this be no rule, no jurisdiction, we claim none.

Certainly, no wit of man can devise any evasion here, but by exception at the credit of the evidence. Loud clamours are raised of their counterfeisance. Rather than fail, Pope Gelasius himself is brought in to disprove these Canons, as Apocryphal: and they, that do most eagerly cry the Pope down for the Antichrist, are readiest to plead his authority against their brethren: not considering, the Pope, herein, *(Vafer Afer*, as Fregevill justly calls him), drave his own plough; for nothing could more cut him in the affectation of his supremacy, than those Canons, which therefore it is no marvel if he disparage.

The truth is, whereas there are Eighty-five of those Canons, in more than one edition, Fifty of them are most ancient and legitimate, the other Thirty-five later and spurious. With this distinction Binius answers the censure of his Pope. "The first Fifty," saith he, "are received as authentical, by the ancient Popes, Councils, Fathers; as containing orthodox doctrine: the other later are condemned by Gelasius." Indeed, such age and worth plead for the first rank, that, as Isidorus truly *, "The holy Fathers confirmed their acts by Synodal authority, and placed them amongst Canonical Constitutions."

If any man desire full information concerning the antiquity and authentickness of these Canons, I remit him to Frigevillæus †; where he shall find how many of these Canons were transferred into, and approved, and cited by the Councils of Nice, Gangra, and Antioch, not without the very appellation of Apostolical: the like afterwards done by the Councils of Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, Orleans, Cabilon. There he shall find them cited, for such, with approbation of Eusebius, Socrates, Theodoret, Sozomen. There he shall find, that Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, made use of these Ca-

* Isidor. Præfat. ad Collect. Canonn. † Fregevil. Palma Christiana.

nons as the test, whereby to examine the Roman Pope's Decrees: that, by these, the African Fathers repelled the Pope's tyrannical usurpation.

But what shall I need to urge these attestations, when Calvin * himself, and Chamier, and every ingenuous writer, confess them to be of very great, and, therefore very reverend, antiquity †.

SECT. 13.

The State and History of the Next Age.

As touching the state of this truth in the age next succeeding, how easy were it to accumulate histories to make it good!

As that of Methodius, in Marianus Scotus ‡, who tells us, that the Apostle Peter directed Eucharius one of the Seventy, with Valerius and Maternus, to preach the Gospel in Germany and France: and that Eucharius, planting a Church in Trevers §, held the Bishopric of that city twenty-three years; and then left the Episcopacy of that Church to Valerius, who, after fifteen years' sitting there, left it to Marternus, he to Auspicius, &c.

And that of Hegesippus, in Eusebius ‖; who, travelling to Rome under Amicetus, conferred with Primus Bishop of Corinth, and divers other Bishops as he went, and found them, in every succession and in every city, constantly observing the truth &c. And the Church of Corinth held on in the right way unto the time of Primus, Bishop there.

With these whom can I more fitly match, than holy Irenæus, the famous Bishop of Lyons, near bordering upon this age? whose testimony may be a clear commentary upon the former passages: *Habemus enumerare eos, qui ab Apostolis &c:* "We can," saith he ¶, "reckon up those, who, by the Apostles, were made Bishops in the Churches, and their successors, even unto our times &c. The blessed Apostles," viz. Peter and Paul, "founding and furnishing the Church," of Rome, "delivered the Episcopacy of the government of that Church to Linus. Of this Linus, Paul makes mention in those Epistles he wrote to Timothy. Anacletus succeeded him. In the third place, Clemens, after him, took that Bishopric; who both saw the Apostles themselves, and had conference with them &c. After this Clemens, succeeded Evaristus; after Evaristus,

* Calvin. *Valdè antiqui testes moris Ecclesiæ.* Instit. l. iv. c. 4.

† The reader may see these Canons at large, with the judgments of Cotelerius and Beveridge respecting them, and Beveridge's Notes, in the First Volume of Cotelerius's *Patres Apostolici:* pp. 429—482 of Le Clerc's edition, 1724: and Beveridge's Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Primitivæ Illustratus, with Thomæ Brunonis Judicium de Auctore Canonum &c., pp. 1—198, of the 2d Part of Vol. ii.

EDITOR.

‡ Citat. a D. Bilson. Perpet. Regim. Eccl. cap. 13.

§ Travericæ Ecclæs. culmina &c.

‖ Hegesip. apud Euseb. l. iv. c. 22.

¶ Iren. l. iii. advers. Hæres. c. 3.

Alexander; and, after him, Sixtus was made the sixth Bishop from the Apostles; and, after him, Telesphorus, who most gloriously suffered martyrdom; after him, Higinus; then, Pius; and, after him, Anicetus; and, after that Soter had succeeded Anicetus, now, in the twelfth place from the Apostles, Eleutherius possesseth the Bishopric." And soon after, he addeth (a passage which I cannot pretermit) "And Polycarpus," saith he, "was not only taught by the Apostles, and conversed with many of them who saw our Lord Christ; but also was, by the Apostles, made Bishop in Asia, in that Church which is at Smyrna: whom we ourselves saw in our younger age; for he lasted long, and, being very old, he most nobly and gloriously suffering martyrdom, passed out of this life." Lo, here was but one age's difference. Polycarpus saw and conversed with the Apostles: Irenæus saw Polycarpus: by their hands was he ordained Bishop; constantly lived and died a martyr, in that holy function.

Tertullian was not much below Irenæus, in age: not at all below him, in the clearness of his suffrage. *Edant origines &c:* "Let them," saith he *, "set forth the originals of their Churches: let them reckon upon the order of their Bishops; so running down by their successions from the beginning, as that their first Bishop had one of the Apostles or Apostolical men, for his author and predecessor. Thus do the Apostolical Churches bring in their accounts: as the Church of Smyrna, having Polycarpus placed there by St. John: the Church of Rome sheweth Clement, ordained by St. Peter: and so the rest of the Churches shew, what sprouts they have of the Apostolic seed; even those, which were first placed in their Episcopacy by the Apostles."

What can be spoken more fully for the Apostolic institution of Episcopacy? This is more than enough, to shew the state of the first ages of the Church, under and after the Apostles; and, therein, the superiority and jurisdiction of Bishops, received from their sacred hands.

Now, if we think good to descend with the times, which way soever we shall cast our eyes upon Ecclesiastical Histories, upon Fathers, upon Councils, I speak it knowingly, we shall meet with no other relation. Should I undertake to gather in those proofs, which are every where scattered in their undeniable records, one tome would not be enough; and you might well ask the meaning of such waste. I shall content myself to glean out some few ears, out of a large and plentiful field.

* *Edant origines Ecclesiarum suarum: evolvant ordinem Episcoporum suorum; ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille Episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis aut Apostolicis viris habuerit authorem et antecessorem, &c.* Tertull. de Præscription. advers. Hær.

SECT. 14.

Proofs of the confessed Superiority of Bishops, from several Arguments out of Antiquity.

And here, in the first place, it is well worthy to weigh much with us, that all Antiquity makes Bishops the successors of the Apostles. The testimonies * of Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Basil, Theodoret, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustin, Sidonius, and others, are so familiarly quoted by all writers, that I shall not need to urge them.

In the next, those titles of superiority and jurisdiction, which are given by all Antiquity to Bishops above Presbyters, may well settle our assurance in it. They are ἄρχοντες, "Rulers," in Ignatius; *Principes Sacerdotum*, in Ambrose †; the same, with ἱεράρχοι, in Dionysius ‡; "An order, generative of other Fathers," as Epiphanius §. They have an ἀνθενδείαν given them, by the Council of Carthage ‖. *Excelsiorem gradum*, by Jerome ¶; πρεσβεία τιμῆς, by the Council of Constantinople; "Eminence of oversight," by the Council of Sardica **; "Incomparably eminent Apostleship," by Sidonius Apollinaris ††; "Excellent dignity and authority," by the Council of Constantinople, in Trullo; τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πραγμάτων ἐξουσίαν, Concil. Antioch. c. 25. It were easy to be tedious, in this kind. If, now, the Bishops of this island challenge no more than is given to those Church-Governors of the Primitive Times, certainly either they must be condemned, or not justified ‡‡.

In the third place, it will easily be made to appear, that, in all the passages of Fathers and Councils, the Presbyters are called "The Bishop's Presbyters." Indeed, how should it be otherwise? For, as our learned Bishop of Winchester §§, of old, "The Presbyters were, as it were, of the family of the Bishop: and lived upon those distributions, which were laid down, as at the feet of the Apostles first, so now at theirs; until the division of several parishes enfeoffed them in a settled maintenance from their peculiar charges." Thus, as Doctor Downame instances, Arius is said to have been Alexander's Presbyter; Petrus and Irenæus, Timotheus and Macarius, to have been Athanasius's Presbyters; by the same token that Timotheus, a grave and reverend personage, as the history reports, wittily and justly took off a foul aspersion from his innocent and honoured Diocletian: the deputies of Silvester, in the Council of Nice, were his Presbyters: thus, Crispio is named Epiphanius's Archdeacon; Heraclides to have been Chrysostom's Deacon. It were easy to fill up pages, out of Eusebius alone, with such instances.

* Vide Bils. loco citato.

† Ambros. in Ephes. iv. Idea. Optatus l. i. contra Parmen.

‡ Hierarch. Eccles. c. 5.

§ Πατέρων γενετικὴ τάξις. Epiphan. in Hæres. 75. ‖ Conc. Carthag. c. 68.

¶ Hieron. in Es. lx. 17. ** Conc. Sardic. c. 10. †† Sidon. Apoll. l. vi. Ep. 1. ‡‡ There is an obscurity in this sentence, which none of the former editions remove. Editor. §§ Winton. Epist. ad Molin.

SECT. 15.

Power of Ordination only in Bishops.

But, in the fourth place, the several acts, that were appropriated to the Bishops alone, by the universal consent of all times, do more than sufficiently evince their acknowledged superiority.

Wherein, even those testimonies, which are wont to be alleged against us, do directly plead for us. Jerome himself can say, *Exceptâ Ordinatione;* and Chrysostom, who is cited for ὃ πολὺ τὸ μέσον, can yet add τὴν γὰρ χειροτονίαν μόνην, "Only in laying on of hands, Bishops go beyond them *."

Neither is this any slight difference, or despicable privilege; but such as implies a manifest superiority, as Ambrose justly inferreth, and a clear distinction of Order.

Hands were imposed in the Church of old, for more than one purpose. In Absolution, for the penitent's reconciliation to God and the Church: in Confirmation, for the increase of grace upon the baptized: in Ordination, for the blessing and hallowing of the ordained †.

The first of these, as incident and annexed to the Holy Order of Priesthood, may be common to a Presbyter, within his own compass; but the other two have been ever held so intrinsical to Episcopacy, that I would fain see where it can be shewed, that any extremity of necessity was, by the Catholic Church of Christ, ever yet acknowledged for a warrant sufficient to diffuse them into other hands. It was to Timothy and Titus, by the consent of all Antiquity Bishops of their several Dioceses, and not to any ordinary Presbyter, that St. Paul gives that charge of imposition of hands. That Presbyter had been a monster among Christians, that would have dared to usurp it: and the Church of those first ages observed it so curiously, that, besides those strict laws which they made for the prevention of any such insolence, restraining even one kind of *Chorepiscopi*, "Rural Bishops," from this power (for there was another sort, which were, in the nature and quality of suffragans, furnished with Episcopal right) they have left unto us memorable records of their severe proceedings against such presumptions.

I may not forget two or three remarkable histories to this purpose.

Colluthus, a Presbyter of Alexandria, took upon him to ordain Presbyters. For this, he was convented in the general Council, before Hosius and other Bishops: and, with deserved checks, remanded to keep within his own tether; and a nullity pronounced of those his misordained.

Ischiras, who pretended to be one of those his mis-made Presby-

* Homil. 11. in 1 Tim. iii.

† Conc. Carthag. 4. c. 3. *Benedicente eum Episcopo, et manum super caput ejus imponente.*

ters, was, in his administration of the blessed Sacrament, while he had the holy cup in his hand, violently opposed; and that upon the instigation of Athanasius, by Macarius. He complains there of a sacrilegious assault: about a hundred Bishops are assembled in Egypt: Ischiras himself is convented; his Ordination examined; and he found to be no Presbyter, because only ordained by a Presbyter. He is sent away without remedy, with a divestiture from his pretended Orders; and, together with all his fellows, turned down to the Laic form. The equity of the fact is so clear, saith this Apologist for Athanasius *, that no man ever thought it could be doubted of: a history, as our learned Bishop well observes †, so much the more considerable, for that it carries in it the universal consent of the whole Primitive Church, whose abridgement that holy Council was; which was, after, repeated and seconded by the Synod of Alexandria.

Much of the same kind is that commonly noted story of the Council of Seville ‡. A Bishop, who had sore eyes, being to ordain Priests and Deacons, laid his hands on them; but caused his Chaplain, a Presbyter that stood by, to supply his eyes, by reading the words of their Ordination and Benediction. The Council questioned the fact; censured it of bold presumption and usurpation; and would have censured the man, if his death had not prevented them; and concluded, *Tales meritò &c:* "Those men are worthy to be discarded, because they were wrongfully made."

What need I press the history of Musæus and Eutichianus, whose Ordinations were also, in this manner, rescinded and nullified by the Council of Sardica? or that of the great Council of Constantinople concerning Maximus? or, out of Sozomen, the proceedings against Elpidius, Eustathius, Basilius, Eleusius, for their mis-ordination of Presbyters?

This peculiar act was a thing so universally both granted to and practised by Bishops, that in vain shall we search through all Antiquity, for an instance of any regular performance to the contrary.

Neither can the opposites hope to find shelter under that noted text of St. Paul to Timothy: *Neglect not the gift that is in thee &c. by the imposition of hands of the Presbytery;* 1 Tim. iv. 14: when Calvin himself interprets the place, not of the men, but of the office §; following herein Jerome, and Anselm, Haimo, Lyra, and others; referring it to the gift, not to the hands. Whose reason also is more strong than his authority: for, if Timothy were ordained by a Presbytery, then by more than one: but St. Paul, in another place, saith, that his hands (and no other) were imposed on Timothy; and, if more hands were required to this service, it had been as easy for the Apostles to have encharged it upon the Presbytery, as upon Timothy. Little did Calvin think of the double Presbytery

* *Quo pacto igitur Presbyter Ischiras, aut quo tandem authore constitutus?* Athanas Apolog. 2.

† Perpet. Governm. c. 13. ‡ Concil. Hispalen. 2. c. 5.

§ Calv. Instit. l. iv. c. 3.

of Tileno-mastix *, when he gave this interpretation of St. Paul's χειροτονία. But, if either the Apostles then, or the Bishops since, have had other hands laid upon the Ordained, together with theirs, as the rule and practice of the Church of England is; yet fain would I see where ever it can be read, that Presbyters, without a Bishop, in a regular course imposed hands for Ordination.

SECT. 16.

Power of Jurisdiction appropriated to the Bishops, from the first.

THUS, for Ordination, the case is plain. I speak it confidently, it is more plain, if more may be, for power of Jurisdiction.

It is for a Timothy or Titus (Bishops) to receive accusations against Presbyters, or to reject them; not for one Presbyter against another.

It is the charge laid upon Presbyters, by more than one ancient Council or single Father, to do nothing at all without the consent, ἄνευ γνώμης Ἐπισκόπου, of the Bishop. We have heard it from holy Ignatius, and from the Apostolic Canons: we may hear it, when we please, from the holy Martyr St. Cyprian, from the Second Council of Carthage †, from the Council of Gangra ‡, from the Council of Antioch §.

Yea, let me say, those ancient restrictions were such, as if they should be now urged upon our inferior Clergy, they would be cried down for intolerably tyrannical. It was in the Bishop's power to raise the Clergy from one degree to another: neither might they refuse his designations. They might not remove from one Diocese to another, without his consent; which is still laudably continued, in that the testimony of the Ordinary still is required: or, if they did, the Bishop had power to recal them. They might not so much as travel from one Diocese to another, without his *Reverendæ:* much less might they fix there; or, if they did, the act was reversible by the Diocesan. For the particulars whereof, I refer my reader to our learned Bishop Downame ‖, who is very large in this subject.

As for matter of censure, wherein the proof of jurisdiction mainly consisteth, how particularly was this ever managed by Episcopal power! and that, not only in case of Excommunication of Laics (which hath wont, of old, to be therefore called *Mucro Episcopi* ¶: for, as for that giddy conceit of the whole Church's interposition and act in these sentences, which our Tileno-mastix stands upon, it is long since cried down; not by Calvin only, but even by our late Separatists, amongst whom this case hath been thoroughly sifted); but even of Correction, Excommunication, Deposition of Clerks, Dea-

* Paracl. c. 5. † Concil. Carthag. ‡ Concil. Gangr.
§ Concil. Antioch. ‖ Defence, 2d Part. Ch. 5. ¶ Vivald. Candelabr.

cons and Presbyters: Correction; so the Council of Agatha *: Excommunication; so the Council of Sardica †, the Council of Ephesus ‡, the Council of Chalcedon §: Deposition; so the Council of Antioch ‖; so Arius was deposed by Bishop Alexander; Eutyches, by his Diocesan: so the holy Martyr Cyprian, in that famous Epistle to Rogatianus, tells him ¶, That he, being a Bishop, and abused by his Deacon, might, by the vigour of Episcopacy and authority of his Chair, proceed in censure of such contumacy; and advises, if the offender hold on, to exercise upon him *potestatem honoris*, "the power of his honour," and either to depose or excommunicate him: and yet, who dares say, that our blessed Martyr was proudly tyrannical, and not holily zealous in observation of lawful discipline? And, lastly, for it were easy to be tedious in particularities, the ancient Canon of the Apostles (32) to this purpose is recited and ratified by two Councils, the one of Antioch **, the other of Chalcedon; and there applauded by the acclamation of a just rule, and the rule of the Fathers.

And now, say, Reader, what is Superiority and Jurisdiction over all subordinates, if this be not? If any Bishop of this island have challenged and usurped more than the written Word of God, seconded by the ancient Canons of the Primitive Church and holy Fathers thereof do allow, let him bear his own burden: but, certainly, if the holy Synod of England should, at any time, be required to publish any Canon, for the determining the latitude of Episcopal Power and the due exercise thereof, they could hardly devise to express it in more full terms, than the ancient Council of Antioch hath done. "Let every Bishop," saith it ††, "have authority of his own See: both to govern it according to the fear of God, which is before his eyes; and to have a provident care of the whole country which is under his city; as also to ordain Presbyters and Deacons, and to govern all things with judgment.

Upon all this, which hath been said, I wonder how the opposers of Episcopacy can read these so plain proofs of the judgment and practice of the Ancient Church of God, and not be ashamed of their palpable innovation.

Hitherto we have clearly deduced the Superiority of Bishops above the other Clergy, and the power of their jurisdiction, from Christ and his Apostles; and conveyed it through the constant practice of the Primitive Church, since which time no adversary doubteth of it.

* Conc. Agath. c. 1. de Contumac. Clericis. Conc. Agath. c. 2. de Episcopis, qui, pro minimis causis, excommunicant.

† Conc. Sardic. c. 16. de Clericorum Excommunicatione.

‡ Conc. Ephes. c. 5. § Conc. Chalced. c. 23. ‖ Conc. Antioch. c. 4.

¶ Cypr. l. iii. Ep. 9. ** Concil. Antioch. 1. c. 5.

†† Concil. Antioch. sub Julio. c. 9. *Unusquisque Episcopus habeat suæ Parœchiæ potestatem, &c.*

SECT. 17.

Exceptions against our Episcopacy answered: and, particularly, of the Dissimilitude of our Bishops to the Primitive; especially, in their Pomp and Perpetuity.

But two main exceptions are taken at our Episcopacy; wherein, it is pretended, there is an utter dissimilitude, betwixt the anciently acknowledged superiority and ours.

The one is Perpetuity; the other, Lordliness. In both which regards, Parker, according to his loud language, says, there is as much likeness betwixt the English Episcopacy and the Ancient, as betwixt light and darkness.

For both these, briefly.

That there is and must needs be a superiority of some Pastors above others, Beza himself cannot deny, who makes the vii. Angels προεςῶτας *: neither, indeed, can there be any government without it. "But this presidence," saith he †, "is not perpetual; but only for the time, and vicissitudinary. There can be no Church without a Ministry: those Ministers are divided into Presbyteries: those Presbyters must have a head: that head is to overrule the body, for his turn." "And this," saith he ‡, is that regency, which was in the Primitive Times, and is now renewed in some Churches: wherein the president takes his chair, moderates the assembly, hath majority of rule during his presidency, and is for the present the governor of his brethren; the action ended and his course finished, returns to his old form, with a *sumus ergo pares.*" And was this the inequality of the Church-Governors in the Primitive Times? Was this the form of the regiment and presidency of the Primitive Bishops? Blessed God! Where was this monster of opinion formed? Who ever read or heard of such a course of administration, from the beginning of God's Church upon earth, until this present age? And yet these men, the better to gild their upstart fancies to the eyes of the vulgar, dare thus confidently obtrude it upon the Primitive Times! Did not James, Ignatius, Polycarpus, and all those noted Successors, in their several charges, live and die Bishops there? Do not all the subscriptions of Councils, all histories that ever were in the Church, testify so much? Was there ever any writer, but any one, that hath given intimation, but bare intimation, of any such shifting of Church-Governors? for that mistaken allegation of St. Ambrose is justly hissed out of all countenance. Did ever the man fall into any kind of mention, that once practised it? And shall grave Divines give

* Beza in Apoc. ii. 1.

† Vide Bez. et Saraviam in Resp. ad Triplicatum Episcopatum; et de Gradibus Minist. c. 23.

‡ Refut. of Mr. Downame.

themselves liberty to dream of such strange, chimerical devices; and, then, merely to get glory to themselves and strength to their own fancies, so boldly obtrude them upon God's Church for good law, and as highly tending to God's glory? If we do not find amongst the Ancient so direct contradictions to this conceit, we must impute it to this, that they did not suppose so impossible a fancy could have fallen into any wise heads. Yet that of blessed Cyprian is clear enough *: "Where a Bishop is once lawfully ordained, whosoever would now, moreover, be made a Bishop (in that See,) it is necessary that he should be forthwith put out of the Church; and that he have not the Church's Ordination, who does not hold the Unity of the Church, &c." And, soon after †, "Forasmuch as after the first Bishop (viz.) during his life, there cannot be a second; whosoever after that one, who ought to be alone, is made, he is not a second, but none at all." Thus he. But what need I urge this, when the very word of Ordination strikes it dead? For what Ordination to that their in-and-out office, have these succeeding and momentary Presidents? And what Bishop was ever in the Church, without Ordination? So as I must have leave to wonder at this uncouth novelty; and to say, that I cannot tell how to resemble it, better than to that old abusive sport, which was cried down in the Council of Salisbury, called *Episcopatus Puerorum*‡, practised also in the Popish times here in England, upon St. Clement's night and on St. Nicholas': wherein boys and youths, dressed up after the manner of Episcopal habits, took upon them to act the Bishop's sacred actions; and, after the pastime ended, disrobed themselves, and returned to their wonted trade. Both these, I confidently say, are the mere mockeries of Episcopacy: and, if that other sport pleased but children and fools, it is a wonder how this could please wise men.

As for the state and Lordliness which is usually objected to our Episcopacy, it is indeed a common eye-sore to our envious detractors. This is it, that fills the world with clamour, and pamphlets with spiteful invectives. *Quis furor, O Cives!*

As for the Title, first, alas, how poor a quarrel it is! Certainly, if there were that true piety and those gracious dispositions, in the hearts of men professing the Gospel, towards God's ambassadors and agents, which there ought to be, they could not, they would not grudge them any styles of eminence: their very feet would be beautiful; their hands sacred; their heads glorious. Now, every thing is too much. But, not to scan the original of Κύριος and *Dominus*, which every man knows how common it was of old to fathers, masters, husbands, governors, prophets; that no man may wonder Sarah called Abraham Lord, Rebekah calls Abraham's servant so; *Drink, my Lord*; Gen. xxiv. 18. Nay, what if it be made to appear, that even those titles, which are now stumbled at, were the usual style of the ancient Bishops? So Eusebius, to the

* Cypr. l. iv. Epist. 2. † Vid. suprà Epist. Clementis ad Corinthios.
‡ Binius, Anno 1274. *Episcopatus Puerorum.*

Bishop of Trevers: "To my Lord Paulinus *;" and Paulinus, in his Epistle to him, "To my Lord Eusebius." So the Bishops of Ægypt, to Bishops assembled in the Council of Tyre: "To our most honourable Lords †." The Synod held at Jerusalem, to the people of Egypt, Libya &c. calls Athanasius their "Pastor and Lord ‡:" and Julius, Bishop of Rome, the great abettor of Athanasius, is, by the holy Bishops, styled κύριος μακαριώτατος, "most blessed Lord:" and Nazianzen, "My Lords the Bishops:" and George, the Bishop of Laodicea, writing to certain Bishops, calls them most honourable Lords; and, in the same Epistle, putting both together, "Most reverend and most honourable Brethren §:" and Bishop Downame, to whom I refer my reader for this point ‖, hath instanced abundantly. Yet I may not omit those more aged titles, which he hath omitted; even of blessed Ignatius himself, who calls the Bishop of the Magnesians ἀξιόπροπέςαῖον ¶; and Polycarpus, the Bishop of Smyrna, ἀξιόθεον **, "God-worthy Bishops;" which, I suppose, compreliends the highest degree of grace: much like to those, which the late worthy Patriarch of Constantinople gave, in his Epistle to our late Archbishop of Canterbury ††. And how much more is this, than we find in their own letters: "To our most reverend Brother, Mr. Cartwright ‡‡?" and how much below that other, *Non minus Farello, quàm Paulo* §§, meaning the blessed Apostle of the Gentiles? And, again, that, in the "Practice of Prelates ‖‖," "Calvin, Beza, Viretus, Knox, Cartwright, are the only Worthies of the world, that have maintained Discipline?" For us: if, then, it hath pleased gracious princes, for expression of the honour which they gave to God, in the honour given by them to our holy function, to grace us with eminent titles and rights, can any Christian man be so foolishly spiteful, as to think, because we are Lords-Bishops, that we challenge to be Lords of our Clergy? as he said well, "Because they themselves are usually styled Masters, are they therefore the Masters of their Church?" I would these maligners should know, that, with high titles, we can bear as humble minds, to say no more, as those, that pick that quarrel; and are so little transported with these puffs of style, that we account it, according to our Saviour's prescription, our greatest glory to be servants to the souls of the meanest drudges in the family of our God.

But if the name offend, the Thing offends much more. We have the lands, rents, royalty, possessions of Lordships, rights of Barony. What! Have we not yet been prey enough to this malignant and sacrilegious envy? Are we not yet despoiled to purpose? Is that little pittance, which hungry sacrilege and cruel rapine have left behind them, still a beam in these evil eyes? We

* Τῷ δεσπότῃ μᾶ Παυλίνῳ. † Κυριοῖς τιμιωτάτοις. ‡ Παμένα ὑμῶν καὶ κύριον § Ἀοιδιμωτάτοις καὶ τιμιωτάτοις ἀδελφοῖς. ‖ Vide B. Downame's Defence B. iii. c. 6. ¶ Ignat. Epist. ad Magnesianos. ** Epist. ad Smyrnenses. †† Vid. Epist. in fine Histor. Turcicæ: Append. &c.

‡‡ Chap. to Mr Cartwr. §§ Calvin Epist. Farello de Bisulensi quodam.

‖‖ Practice of Prelates D. 2. Cited in the Survey of Disc. p. 372.

are Barons, by our places; but, as one said truly, Bare-ones indeed, for the most part: and, if these men may have their wish, shall be, as a lawyer was long since pleased to term us *, *Barones Elcemosynarii*. Cast your eyes, you greedy Church-Robbers, upon what we had; and then tell me, if you can grudge us a feather of that fowl, which you have stolen and devoured. To speak of one, which I have reason to know: there is a Bishopric in the world, which had Twenty-seven rich manors within the Diocese, besides other foreign; and Fourteen fair houses, and parks about them: which hath now but Seven of the meanest manors left, in full lease; and One only house, without so much as a stick of wood for the hearth, or a handful of hay for the stable; and yet none of the ancient burdens subtracted. What think you of this abatement? There are others, I suppose, proportionably, in the same predicament. If it be not yet low enough, ye, that have our cloak, take our coat too. We were not worthy to be St. Paul's disciples, if we had not *learned to want and to abound*.

Little do these men think, what charges do necessarily attend our places; what hospitality is expected from us; what competency of means is requisite to bear us up from that contempt, which unavoidably accompanies a base condition. But, if this satisfies them not, *ringantur*. In the mean time, what a difference is there between times! Our poor, well-meaning, ignorant forefathers thought their Clergy could never have enough: statutes of Mortmain needed to hold their hands. Their knowing, rich, zealous offspring think their better-deserving Clergy can have never too little. We see and heartily pity the incompetent provision of our foreign brethren, whose parts are as eminent as their maintenance poor. And this is that pass of perfection, which these mis-zealots would bring our Clergy unto; and are angry, because we are not enough beggars. They would have their Pastors true Ministers, that is, their servants; and, even in that state, not too full fed. I remember what learned Saravia overheard some of his Antwerpian masters say, when speech was concerning the augmentation of his stipend †: *He, that delicately bringeth up his Servant, shall have him become his Son at the last;* Prov. xxix. 21. Blessed be God, that we are not under such mercy! though it is the regret of some, that we are not. That *double honour*, which St. Paul thinks some good Elders worthy of, is held too good for our best: and that *moyens* is too vast for a Bishop, which some Lay-Presbyter may put over without envy; yea, some noble Elder, for such the time now yields, shall be cried up for spending upon one supper a Bishop's yearly revenue. As it is, we bless God and our good Kings, for what we have left: but I wis it is not so much, as that any man should, at the sight of it, need to feed upon his own heart, instead of our trencher. But if any of our profession, being blessed with plenty of means, shall run forth into lavish excess,

* Ex juris-consulto quodam D. Henric. Spelman Collect. Synod in Anno 794.
† Sarav. de Gradib. Minist.

pampering his appetite with Apician delicates, or ruffling in proud and costly attires and furnitures, beyond the bounds of gravity and holy moderation, as I verily suppose our Island yieldeth none such; let his person suffer; let his calling be innocent, and honourable. It is not wealth or power, that is justly taxable in a Bishop; but the abuse of both: and that man is weakly grounded, which would be other than faithful to his God, whether in a higher or meaner condition.

Forasmuch, therefore, as these imaginary dissimilitudes betwixt the Primitive Episcopacy and ours are vanished, and ours for substance is proved to be the same with the first that ever were ordained, and those first were ordained by Apostolic hands by direction and inspiration of the Holy Ghost, we may confidently and irrefragably conclude our Episcopacy to be of no less than Divine Institution.

SECT. 18.

The Practice of the Whole Christian Church, in all Times and Places, is for this Government by Bishops.

However it pleaseth our Anti-præsulists to slight the practice and judgment of all Churches save the Primitive Church; which they also, without all ground and against all reason, shut up within the strait bounds of two hundred and fifty years, out of a just guiltiness of their known opposition: yet it shall be no small confirmation to us, nor no less conviction to them, that the voice, as of the primitive, so of the whole subsequent Church of God upon earth to this very age, is with us and for us.

Quod semper et ubique, "Always and every where;" was the old and sure rule of Vincentius Lirinensis: and who thinks this can fail him, is well worthy to err.

It were a long task, to instance in all Times, and to particularize in all Churches. Let this be the trial: turn over all histories: search the records of all times and places: if ever it can be shewn, that any Orthodox Church in the whole Christian World, since the times of Christ and his Apostles, was governed otherwise than by a Bishop superior to his Clergy, unless perhaps during the time of some persecution or short interregnum, let me forfeit my part of the cause. Our opposites dare not stand upon this issue: and, therefore, when we press and follow them upon this point, they run back fifteen hundred years; and shelter themselves under the Primitive Times, which are most remote. And why will they be thus cowardly? They know all the rest are with us, and against them: yea, they yield it; and yet would fain think themselves never the worse. Antichrist, Antichrist had seized upon all the following times, and corrupted their government. What a mere gullery is this! Do not they themselves confine Antichrist to Rome? And hath not Bishop Downame diligently noted his προσκμή, in Boni-

face; his ἀκμή, in Hildebrand; his παρακμή, in the later times? Surely, had these men bestowed that time in perusing Bishop Downame's discourse concerning Antichrist *, which they have spent in confuting his worthy sermon, they had needed no other, either reformation or disproof. For, can any indifferent man be so extremely mad, as to think all the Christian World, these men only by good luck excepted, is or ever was turned Antichrist? or, that that Antichrist hath set his foot every where, in all assemblies of Christians? and that he still keeps his footing in all God's Church upon earth? To say nothing else concerning the notorious falsity hereof, what a derogation were this to the infinite wisdom, providence, and goodness of the Almighty: that he should so slacken his care of his Church, as that he should, from the very beginning, give it up, wholly up, to the managing of Antichrist, for the space of more than fifteen hundred years; without any check or contradiction to his government, no not within the first century! Yea, but his Mystery began to work betime:—true; but that was the *Mystery of Iniquity*, not the mystery of good order and holy government: and, if the latter times should be thus depraved, yet can any man be so absurd as to think, that those holy Bishops of the Primitive Times, which were all made of meekness and humility and patience, being ever persecuted and cheerfully pouring out their blood for Christ, would, in their very offices, bolster up the pride of Antichrist †? Or, if they would, yet can we think that the Apostles themselves, who saw and erected this superiority, as Chamier himself confesseth, would be accessary to this advancement of Antichrist? Certainly, he had need of a strong and as wicked a credulity, of a weak and as wild a wit, that can believe all this. So the *semper* is plainly ours.

And so is the *ubique*, too. All times are not more for us, than all places. Take a view of the whole Christian World.

The state of Europe is so well known, that it needs no report.

Look abroad: ye shall find ‡, that, for the Greek Church, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, which, in the Emperor Leo's time, had eighty-one Metropolitans and about thirty-eight Archbishopries under his jurisdiction, hath under him still seventy-four Metropolitans, who have divers Bishops under them: as Thessalonica, ten Bishops under him; Corinth, four; Athens, six &c.

For the Russian Church, which, since the Mahometan tyranny, hath subjected itself to a Patriarch of their own, near home; of Moscow, he hath under him two Metropolitans, four Archbishops, six Bishops.

For the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, to which have belonged the three Palestines, and two other provinces; Tirius reckons also five Metropolitans and ten Bishops.

For the Patriarchate of Antioch, which hath been accounted one of the most numerous for Christians, it had, as the same author

* Diatrib. de Antichrist. contr. Leon. Lessium.
† Loco suprà citato.
‡ Christianography, of the Greek Church.

reckons, fifteen provinces allotted to it; and, in them, Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops, no fewer than 142.

For the Armenian Christians, they acknowledge obedience to the government of two Patriarchs of their own: the one, of Armenia the Greater, who kept his residence of old at Sebastia; the other, of Armenia the Less, whose residence was formerly at Mytilene, the mother city of that province, now near Tarsus in Cilicia. Mr. Sandys reports their Bishops to be 300; but Baronius, 1000.

For the Jacobite Christians, they have a Patriarch of their own; whose Patriarchal Church is near to the city of Merdin, in Mesopotamia: and he hath under his government many Churches dispersed in the cities of Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Syria.

For the Maronites, whose main habitation is in Mount Libanus, containing in circuit 700 miles, they have a Patriarch of their own, who hath eight or nine Bishops under his jurisdiction.

For the mis-named Nestorian Christians, they are subject to their Patriarch of Musal, or Seleucia; besides others, which they have had: under one whereof, is said to have been twenty-two Bishoprics, and more than six hundred Territories.

For the Indian Christians, named from St. Thomas, they have their Archbishop lately subjected to the Patriarch of Musal.

For the African Christians, we find, that, in one province alone, under one Metropolitan, they have had one hundred and sixty-four Bishops. They are under the government of the Patriarch of Alexandria; to whose jurisdiction belong both the Christians of Egypt, and those about the bay of Arabia. Upon whose late solemn consecration, how many Bishops attended, and what solemnity were used, were too long to rehearse.

For the Abassine Christians, they are subject to their Abuna, a Patriarch of their own. Some report of one hundred and twenty-seven Archbishops: and Alvares, that, in one Church of the Holy Trinity, upon a solemn occasion, he saw two hundred of their Mitred Clergy together.

Thus have I, for the reader's satisfaction, contracted into a short view some passages of the laborious "Christianography" of Mr. Paget, gathered by him out of many authors: whereby it well appears, how the Christian Church is governed abroad; and, which is very remarkable, well near all of these, in a manner, utterly divided from the correspondence with Rome, and professedly opposite to most of her errors, and chiefly to her ambitious and tyrannous usurpation; but all gladly ever submitting themselves to that Episcopal Government, which some few, very ill-advised but very well self-conceited new comers, here in a corner of our Europe, have, for their own ends, presumed to contradict.

SECT. 19.

Of the Suppression of Contrary Records: and the Sole Opposition of the Heretic Ærius.

CLEARLY, then, all times, all places, all histories are for us: not one, that ever mentioned the discipline and government pretended.

It is a very poor and beggarly evasion of Parker, and Anti-Tilenus, That, perhaps, there were some, but they were suppressed. Suppressed! now, gramercy for that. By whom? I hope, by the Hierarchy. What! when there was no opposition? no colour of offence? Suppressed! what, not only their edition in this age of presses, but their very mention? Can they persuade themselves? (others, sure, they cannot:) or, if they can, I would fain see them, that, among so many holy Fathers, and faithful recorders of all occurrences that befel the Church, whose worthy monuments are in our hands, there should not be the least touch, either of their dislike of Episcopacy, if there had been any, or of their allowance of the Discipline called for; not so much as the least intimation of any city or region, that was or wished to be otherwise governed, than by a Diocesan Bishop? As well may they tell us, there are people at this day on and beyond the mountains of the moon, who do still and ever have governed themselves by their platform; though who and what they are, could not, cannot possibly be discovered.

Onwards, then. It can be no great comfort or credit to the disparagers of Episcopacy, that the only founder and abettor of their opinion, which we meet with in all the world of history and record, is a branded heretic, Ærius; branded, even for this very point, which they now maintain. And how could this be, if the conceit had been formerly current? Or, why he singled from the rest, if there had been others known to have been of the same mind? No man ever wrote of heretics, who did not name him for one; Epiphanius, Austin, Philaster.

And who can choose but blush, to hear those, who would go for Orthodox Christians, now, at the latter end of the day, after so many ages of exsibilation, to take upon them the defence of a noted heretic, against all the holy Fathers of the Church; yea, against the whole Church of God, whose judgment those Fathers expressly declared?

Hear, then, of your Patriarch, all ye opposers of Episcopacy; and then judge how you like him. All agree in the story: Epiphanius is the fullest. "Ærius," saith he *, "was a man frantic-headed, proud-minded; an Arian altogether." He would fain have been a Bishop; and, when his school-fellow Eustathius came to that honour, which he eagerly desired and missed of, he was so much

* Ἐμβροντήθης τὴν διάνοιαν. Epiph. Hæres. 75.

the more nettled with emulation. Eustathius humoured him, by all means: he was still the more peevish: at last, he brake forth into opposition; "and," saith that Father, "his speech savoured rather of madness than of sober humanity. For he said, What is a Bishop better than a Presbyter? The one differs not at all from the other. There is but one order, one honour, one dignity of both. Doth the Bishop impose hands? so doth the Presbyter. Doth the Bishop administer baptism? so doth the Presbyter. The Bishop dispenseth the service of God: so doth the Presbyter. The Bishop sits in his chair or throne: so doth the Presbyter *."

These are the opinions, among others, for which Ærius was hooted, not out of the Church only, but out of the cities, towns, and villages: which I grieve to see taken up, in this doting and last age of the world, by those, who should be both godly and wise.

He, whom Epiphanius, in the voice of God's Church, styles *magnum mundo malum*, "a great mischief to the world," is now applauded by those, who pretend to holiness, for a great patron of truth.

SECT. 20.

The Vindication of those Fathers, which are pretended to second Ærius's Opinion.

But what noise is this I hear from our Antepiscopists, of many Fathers who favoured and cried up this opinion of Ærius? Surely, if there had been any such, the world would have rung of it, ere now. The then-present Church would sooner have noted it, than those, that lag after them, so many hundred paces of years.

But, to make this good, more than once is laid in our dish by Parker †, and the Censure of Tilenus, the quotation of Medina, which our reverend and learned Bishop of Durham, Dr. Morton, in his Apology, cites ‡, *Non dubito &c.* "I doubt not," saith Medina, "to affirm, that St. Jerome, Sedulius, Primasius, Theodoret, held, with the Ærian heretics, that the Order of Bishops and Presbyters is, *jure divino*, the very same." It is well that he omitted St. Augustin, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Oecumenius.

Well, what of this? The learned Bishop cites Medina; but doth he approve him? He scorns the motion. Medina cites those Fathers, as for this opinion: the more shameless he! Is it ever the truer, because a sworn champion of the tyranny of Rome, and a professed enemy to the Reformed Religion, impudently avers it? It is enough for me, to leave him to the castigation of Bellarmin: and, though I might spend paper in vindicating these sacred names, from the aspersion of the favour of Ærianism; yet, for that it is but incidentally in our way, I shall rather remit my reader to the learned and satisfactory discourse of the Archbishop of Spalato, who hath prevented that labour §.

* Epiph. loco citato. † Paracles. l. i. c. 7. ‡ Apol. p. 2. c. 12.
§ *Intolerabilis est Medinæ impudentia.* Spalat. de Rep. Eccles. l. ii. c. 3.

All the rest are easily freed.

St. Jerome and St. Ambrose, in the opinion of some, seem to take in water.

For the former, as he was naturally a waspish and hot good man; so now, being vexed with some cross proceedings, as he thought, of John, Bishop of Jerusalem, he flew out into some expressions indeed, but yet such as in other places he doth either salve or contradict. The passages are scanned thoroughly, by many authors. It is true, then, that he saith, Bishops are greater than Presbyters rather *consuetudine Ecclesiæ*, than *Dominicæ dispositionis veritate* * : but, even in that, withal, he grants Episcopacy to be an Apostolical Institution †; for he interprets himself, that this custom was derived and continued from the Apostles, and that the *dominica dispositio* of which he spake, was to be taken of a personal appointment from Christ our Saviour ‡. Wherefore, what can be more plain, than that his *to'o orbe decretum* relates to Apostolic Constitution? The very pedigree of it is, by himself, fetched from the time of the quarrels, which St. Paul mentions in his Epistle to the Corinths: *One says, I am of Paul; another, I am of Apollos; I am of Cephas;* which was in the heart of the Apostolic Times. And, relating those words of the Bishop of Jerusalem's letters, "There is no difference betwixt a Bishop and a Presbyter," he passeth a *satis imperitè* upon it; professing to his Marcella, against the novelty of Montanus; "With us, our Bishops hold the place of the Apostles; and that, the depression of their Bishops below their place, was utterly perfidious:" and, commenting upon that passage of the Psalm, *Instead of fathers, thou shalt have children;* "The Apostles," saith he §, "O Church, were thy fathers, &c. Thou hast, instead of them, children, which are, the Bishops, created by thyself." And, which is for all, where he is most vehement for the dignity of a Presbyter, yet he adds, *Quid facit Episcopus excepta Ordinatione, quod Presbyter non facit?* "What doth a Bishop besides Ordination, which a Presbyter doth not?" That very exception exempts him from Ærianism; and those other clear testimonies, besides more which might be cited, shew him, though but a Presbyter, no friend to the equality of our Presbyterians.

As for St. Ambrose, they could not have pitched upon a better man: a renowned Archbishop and Metropolitan; and of so holily-high a grain, as that he would not abate one inch of Archiepiscopal port and power; no, not to an Emperor. Yet, this is the man, that shall plead against the superiority of Bishops. And what will he say? "Of a Bishop and a Presbyter," saith he, "there is one Order, or Ordination: for either of them is a Priest; but the Bishop is the first: so that every Bishop is a Presbyter, but not every Presbyter a Bishop; for, among the Presbyters, the Bishop is the first." But, first of all, by Parker's own confession, it is not St. Ambrose that saith so, but a changeling in his clothes: so, not

* Hier. ad Evagrium. † Eadem Epistola ad finem. ‡ Hier. in i. ad Titum. § Hier. in Ps. xliv.

only Whitakers, Spalato, Cocus, Rivetus, and others; but even some of the great Pontifician authors, as we shall see upon another occasion more fully. Secondly, Ambrose himself tells another tale, in his genuine writings: "There is one thing," saith he *, "that God requires of a Bishop; another, of a Presbyter; another, of a Deacon." And, again, "As Bishops do ordain Presbyters, and consecrate Deacons; so the Archbishop ordaineth the Bishop." Do you not think this man likely to speak for the new government? Thirdly, if he had said as they make him, they must give him leave to interpret himself. The Bishop is *Primus Sacerdos*, that is, saith he, *Princeps Sacerdotum*.

SECT. 21.

The Practice of the Waldenses and Albigenses, in Allowance of Episcopal Government.

SHORTLY, then, all times, all histories, all authors, all places are for us.

Yea, which is most remarkable, even those factions, which divided themselves from the Church, as the Arians, Novatians, Donatists, yet still held themselves to the government of their Bishops. It was their question, whether this or that man should be their Bishop: it was never questioned, whether they should have any Bishops at all.

Yea, in these latter times, the very Waldenses and Albigenses, when, in some things, they justly flew off from the Romish Superstition; yet still would have a Bishop of their own. It was one of the articles, that was objected against them †: the Supremacy of the Pope, usurping above all Churches, is by them denied: neither that any degree is to be received in the Church, but only Priests, Deacons, and Bishops. And Æneas Sylvius, in his Bohemian History, reporting the tenets of the Waldenses, hath thus ‡, *Romanum Pontificem &c.* That "the Bishop of Rome is but equal to other Bishops;" that, "among Priests, there is no difference;" that, "not dignity, but merit of life, makes one Presbyter better than another."

Those of Merindol and Cabrieres (a people, which, about two hundred years ago, came out of the country of Piedmont, to inhabit in the waste parts of Provence) being there planted, and hearing of the Gospel preached in Germany and Switzerland, sent, in the year 1530, George Maurellus and Petrus Latomus, to confer with the learned men of those parts. They met with Oecolampadius, Bucer, Capito. Maurellus, escaping home alone, told his

* Ambros. de Dignitate Sacerd. c. 3, 5. † Artic. Wald. Anno 1170, and 1216. ‡ Fox. p. 209. de Dogmat. Waldens.

compatriots how much they had erred; and how their old Ministers, whom they called their Barbes, that is their uncles, had misled them.

But, before this, their 'complices, the good Christians who were termed Albigenses, did set up to themselves a Bishop of their own, one Bartolomæus, remaining about the coasts of Croatia and Dalmatia; of whom the Cardinal Portinensis, the Pope's Legate, writes thus * to the Archbishop of Rouen, about the year 1146: *Etenim de Carcasonâ oriundus &c:* "For one Bartolomæus, the Bishop of the Heretics, born in Carcasona, taking upon him the deputation of that Anti-pope, yielded unto him a wicked and abominable reverence, and gave him a place of residence in the town of Porlos, and removed himself to the parts of Thoulouse. This Bartolomæus, in the tenor of his letters, which run every where in the first style of his salutation, entitles himself on this manner, 'Bartolomæus, the servant of the servants of God, to N. the salutations of the holy faith.' This man, amongst all his other enormities, makes Bishops; and takes upon him perfidiously, to govern and order the Churches." Thus, that Cardinal.

And those Angragnians, who are commonly said, for some hundred of years, to have cast off all relation to the Church of Rome; yet, in their Confession of Faith and Answers exhibited to the president, appointed commissioner for their examination, confessed and acknowledged, upon mention made of ancient Councils, that the Councils had made divers notable decrees concerning the election of Bishops and Ministers of the Church, concerning Ecclesiastical Discipline, as well of the Clergy as the people. These Christians were far from that peevish humour, wherewith divers mis-zealots are now-a-days transported. What speak I of these? The very late Christians, who, within the ken of memory, came into this kingdom for protection, had the noble Johannes à Lasco for their Bishop †.

Thus it was, with all Christian men and assemblies, all the world over; till, within the age of some who might be yet living, the waters of the Cantons, and the Lake of Lemanus, began to be troubled.

And now, when the gross errors of doctrine came to be both discovered by one side and impetuously defended by the other, and the impugners cruelly persecuted to bonds and death, those, who could not enjoy the freedom of the true religion under their Popish Bishops, thought themselves driven to set up Church-Governors and Pastors of their own: and, these once established, now must, belike, be defended. They might not be under those, they had: they could not have those, they should: they rested under those, they could get. And hence is all this distraction.

* Epist. Legati Papæ Card. Portinens. vide Fox. Acts &c.
† Hadrian Sarav. Præfat. ad tractat. de Gradibus Minister.

SECT. 22.

The Government by Bishops both Universal and Unalterable.

We have seen the grounds of Church-Government laid by our Saviour himself in imparity. We have seen it so built up by Apostolic hands. We have seen the practice of the ancient and subsequent Church, laying on the roof to make a perfect fabric.

Yet, what is all this, if the charge be not Universal and Perpetual? Yield it to be so Ancient as the Apostles themselves; yet, if it be arbitrary, whether for time or place, what have we gained?

Surely, as God is but one, and ever himself; so would he have his Church. There may be threescore queens, and fourscore concubines, and virgins without number; but his Dove, his undefiled, is but one: and, though she may go in several dresses and trimmings; yet, still and ever, the stuff is the same. Plainly, though there may be varieties of circumstantial fashions in particular Churches; yet the substance of the government is, and must be ever, the same.

That ordinary power, which the Apostles had, they traduced to their successors; as bequeathed by our Saviour, in his last farewell to them, unto the end of the world. For, we may not think, as one said well, that the Apostles carried their commission with them up to heaven. They knew it was given them, for a perpetuity of succession. He, that said, *Go, teach all nations and baptize*, added, *Behold, I am with you to the end of the world*. He could not mean it of their persons, which stayed not long upon earth after him: he meant it of their evangelical successors.

So was he with them, as he was with his domestics, their predecessors, not in the immediateness and extraordinary way of calling; not in the admirable measure and kinds of their χαρίσματα, or gifts; not in the infallibleness of their judgment, nor in the universality of their charge: but in the effectual execution of those offices, which should be perpetuated to his Church, for the salvation of mankind. Such were the preaching of the Gospel, and the administration of the Sacraments; the ordaining Church-officers; the ordering of Church-affairs; the infliction of censures; and, in short, the Power of the Keys, which, we justly say, were not tied to St. Peter's girdle, but were communicated to all his fellows, and to all his and their successors for ever: by virtue whereof, all true Pastors can open and shut heaven gates above; much more, the Church doors here upon earth.

And all these acts are of such necessity, that, without them, the Church could not at all subsist; at least, not long and in any tolerable condition. The power of these acts, as it was, by our Saviour's commission, originally in the Apostles; being by them conveyed to the Church, and not by the Church conveyed to them: so it succeeded, accordingly, in and to their successors, and was incorporated into their office. "We, that are Priests, receive the Keys

in Peter," saith St. Ambrose. *Veniat ad Antistites*, saith St. Augustin; "Let them come to the Bishops, by whom the Keys are ministered in the Church." As Beza said truly of the promise of the Holy Ghost *, that it was given for the good of the whole Church, yet not unto the whole Church; but peculiarly unto the Apostles, to give to others at least: so must it be said of this power. And so, indeed, by Calvin's own determination †, none, but Pastors, might lay hands on the ordained; and none, but they, were capable to wield the great censures of the Church.

Shortly, then, was this power left by the Apostles, or was it not left?

If it were left, (as we could else have no Church), was it left with all, or with some? With all, it cannot: the multitude cannot be thought fit for these affairs. If with some, then whether with one in a city or territory, or with more. If with more, why is the charge then imposed upon one? one Timothy, in Ephesus: one Titus, in Crete: one Angel, in Thyatira: one other, in Philadelphia, Laodicea, and the rest: and why are those single persons challengeable for the neglect? And, if this power and this charge were, by the very hands of the Apostles, entailed upon these eminent persons, which should by due Ordination therein succeed them, and from them lineally descend upon us, I wonder what human power dare presume to cut it off. Neither do I less marvel at the opinions of those Divines, which, holding Episcopacy thus to stand *Jure Apostolico*, in the first institution; yet hold it may be changed in the sequel. For me, I have learned to yield this honour to these inspired men, that I dare not but think these their ordinances, which they intended to succession, immutable.

Some kinds of ceremonious prescriptions fell from them, which were meant to be only local and temporary. Those, we have no reason to think ourselves obliged to: but those, which they left for the administration of God's Church, it shall be high presumption in any to alter. Because the Apostles did but meet together, divers times, on the first day of the week; and St. Paul ordered that day for the laying aside their collections; and that is only called the Lord's Day by the Apostle; how strongly are the vehement opposites of Episcopacy wont to maintain that day, in succession to the Jewish Sabbath; and that, in all points unalterable, by any human authority! Surely, had they but the tenth part of that plea from the Apostles, for this their Judaical-Evangelical Sabbath, which we have for our Episcopacy, they would make us feel the dint of this argument; and would, in the rigorous observation of it, out-do the Jews.

But you are now ready to choke me with some Apostolical Ordinances, which were even of themselves reversed:—be it so. Then you tell me of the first form of their government of the

* Beza de Grad. Minist. c. 5.

† Calv. Instit. l. iv. 3. *Hoc postremò habendum est, non universam multitudinem manus imposuisse suis ministris, sed solos Pastores.*

Church, which, say you, was by an equality: from which, if, as we plead, they afterwards ascended to this imparity, which we now contend for, why is it not as safe, say you, for us to take up that their first form, as this latter?

Admitting all this, our answer is the readier. We like well to make those holy men of God our choosers. They thought fit to alter to this; and, therefore, we think fit to hold to it. They tried both; and left this to be continued.

The truth is, the Church of God, at the very first, was only in framing; and not, all of a sudden, framed. In framing thereof, as the equality among themselves, by the fulness of grace which they all had, conduced to that work; so, all that while, for the better promoting of the same work, they themselves maintained their own superiority and power over other Presbyters.

So, then, the change being made by the Apostles themselves, and not by other; they being infallibly guided by the Spirit of God, though they changed, we may not.

Nay, because they changed, we may not. The Holy Ghost led them unto it; and therefore we, unless we will oppose the ordinance of the Holy Ghost, must not detrect to continue it.

Otherwise, why may I not urge the same argument in the instanced Sabbath? The Apostles had duly kept the seventh day, according to the Law: they after fell to the observation of the first day. What, shall any man now infer, why not the Jewish Seventh, which was first kept; rather than the Evangelical First, which was last taken up?

However, then, as it is usually upbraided to us out of our reverend Whitgift, there may be some appendances and formalities of government, alterable by the wisdom and discretion of the Church; yet, for the main substance, it is now utterly indispensable, and must so continue to the world's end. Indispensable by any voluntary act: what inevitable necessity may do, in such a case, we now dispute not*: necessity hath dispensed with some, immediately Divine Laws. Where, then, that may be justly pleaded, we shall not be wanting, both in our pity and in our prayers.

* *Nisi coegerit dura necessitas, cui nulla lex est posita.* Hadr. Sarav. Resp. ad Bez. de Gradib. &c.

THE THIRD PART.

ON LAY-ELDERS.

SECT. 1.

The Appellation of Lay-Elders, and the State of the Question concerning them.

THE question concerning the LAY-PRESBYTERY is not easily stated. The thing itself is so new, that we are not yet agreed of the name.

Presbyter, we know, in the Greek, as also *Zachen*, in the Hebrew (whence the use of it is borrowed), is a word importing age, and signifies a man elder in years: now, for that years should and do commonly bring knowledge and experience, and carry gravity and authority; therefore it is traduced from that natural sense, and used to signify a man of some eminence in place and government.

So we have, in the Old Testament, *Elders of the House;* Gen. l. 7: *Elders of the Congregation;* Lev. iv. 15: *Elders of the City;* Deut. xix. 12: *Elders of the Land;* Gen. l. 7: *Elders of the People;* Matt. xxi. 23. And these, sometimes matched with the highest offices: so we have *Elders and Judges;* Deut. xxi. 2: *Princes and Elders;* Ezra x. 8: *Priests and Elders;* Lam. i. 19. And all these were titles of civil authority.

But, when we come to the days of the Gospel, under the New Testament; now we find the *Elders of the Church;* Acts xx. 17. Acts xi. 30. and xiv. 23: a name, which comprehended all those sacred persons, who were employed in the promulgation of the Gospel, as Calvin well observes, whether Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, and Doctors; and, indeed, none but them: and, in vain shall we seek for any other Presbyters or Elders in the Acts or Epistles of the blessed Apostles, or in all following Antiquity.

What to make therefore of those Elders or Presbyters which are now in question, which, saith Travers, if you will speak properly, are only them that rule, he were wise that could tell. Merely civil, they would not be; for they take upon them ecclesiastical charges: merely sacred and spiritual, they are not; for they are neither

Bishops, Priests, nor Deacons: merely laic, they would not be *; Clergymen they deny to be. Those, of old, that served at the altar, were wont to be described by their linen vestures; other men, by woollen: these are neither of both, but a mixture of both; a linsey-woolsey contexture; a composition, which as God (in type of what, I now say not) forbad under the Law, so he never had use of it, never acknowledged it under the Gospel. How, therefore, in this fag-end of the world, they should come to have any new being in the Church, it is enough for me to wonder. If they affect to be *Seniores Populi*, we would not grudge them this title: but, if *Seniores*, or *Presbyteri Ecclesiæ*, they have no more right to that, than we Bishops have to crowns and scepters.

Lest any doubt should seem ungrounded, Beza, who will not yield these Elders Laics; to grace them the more, ascribes † to them some kind of spiritual cure: they feed the flock, by governing: they are διδάκτικοι, and preach, after a sort, in the reproof of sin in their Consistory: and, yet, he is fain to contra-distinguish them from teaching Elders; and their style, forsooth, is κυβερνήσεις, "governments ‡."

But, tell me, I beseech you, Dear Brethren, you, that are so apt to affect and receive a foreign Discipline; tell me, in good earnest, can you think this to be the feeding of the flock of Christ, which St. Paul requires of the Elders at Ephesus? Acts xx. 28. Can you think these men to be such, as the Apostle there speaks of: *In quo Dominus vos constituit Episcopos?* encharging them with the flock, over which Christ hath made them Bishops? Was ever any Lay-Elder styled by that name? Doth not Calvin himself confess, that the Presbyters, both there mentioned and Titus i. 5, are no other than Doctors and Teachers; because, in both places, they are styled Bishops? And was there ever heard of a Lay-Bishop in the world; those sacrilegious excepted, in some parts of Germany, who retain nothing of that divine order, but lands and name?

Yea, my Brethren, why are ye willing to be deceived? who ever spake or heard of a Lay-Presbyter in all the Church of God, till this age? Take the term as it is. We are forced upon this epithet, for distinction sake; not out of any scornful intent of discouraging God's people. We know, that, in a general acception, they are all the Lord's inheritance; but because there is a necessary difference to be put betwixt them, whom God hath separated to his own immediate service in the Ministry, and those Christians which are under them in their ministerial charge; we make use of these terms, wherewith the greatest Antiquity hath furnished us.

The old Canons, named Apostolical, make frequent mention of it. The blessed Martyr, old Ignatius, as in other places, so especially in his Epistle to them of Smyrna, which we have already

* Bez. Resp. ad Sarav. negat esse Laicos. † Ubi suprà.

‡ Abrah. Henric. Thes. Genev. The administration of the Word is given to the Elders, but to another end &c. *Ut, judiciis Ecclesiasticis præsidentibus, pastoribus præsunt.*

cited, is clear, *οἱ λαϊκοὶ κ. τ. α.*: "Let the Laics be subject to the Deacons, the Deacons to the Presbyters, &c *." And, before him, the holy Martyr Clement, Bishop of Rome; as we have formerly alledged: "A layman is bound to laic precepts." And, yet before him also, I, for my part, am confident, that St. Peter, whom this man succeeded, both in his Chair and Martyrdom, meant no other, when he charged his fellow Bishops that they should feed their flock, *μὴ κατακυριεύοντες τῶν κλήρων*, not domineering over their Clergy; 1 Pet. v. 3: for the word is plural; not as if it were *Clero*, but *Clericis*. And, in the verse before, it is, *ἐπισκοπῶντες*, the very act of Episcopacy: those, which would have it taken otherwise, are fain to add a word of their own to the text; reading it, "God's heritage;" whereas the original is merely *κλήρων*, perfectly to this sense. Neither is there any Ataxy to be feared, in bringing in this distinction, betwixt pastors and flock: it is an Eutaxy, rather; and such as, without which, nothing could ensue, but confusion.

If these men then be spiritual and sacred persons, why do they not challenge it? If laic, why are they ashamed of it? If betwixt both, let them give themselves that title which Bernard gives himself, upon the occasion of his forced forbearance of his canonical devotions: *Ego tanquam Chimæra quædam mei seculi.*

Hear, then, ye seduced Brethren, that go all upon trust for the strong belief of a Lay-Presbytery: your credulity hath palpably abused you. It is true, this advantage you have, that the first authors of this late device were men of great note in their times; but men, still. And, herein, they shewed it too well: that, for their own ends, they not only invented such a government, as was never heard of in any Christian Church, throughout the whole world, before them; but also found out some pretence of Scriptures, never before so understood, whereupon to father their so new and (now) plausible erection.

SECT. 2.

No Lay-Elder ever mentioned or heard of, in the Times of the Gospel, in all the World, till this present age. The texts of Scripture particularized, to the contrary.

And, that you may not think this to be some bold, unwarranted suggestion from an unadvised adversary; let me tender this fair offer to you. It is a hard and long task, for a man to prove negatives. Let any of your most learned and confident teachers produce but the name of any one Lay-Presbyter, that ever was in the Church, from the times of Christ and his Apostles, until this present age, I shall yield the cause, and live and die theirs.

* This passage is not found in the genuine text of Ignatius. See p. 576 of this vol. Note *. Editor.

We find, in common experience, that we apprehend things according to our own prepossession. Jaundiced eyes seem to see all objects yellow; blood-shotten, red. It is no marvel, if those, who have mancipated their minds to the judgments of some whom they over-admire, and have lent their eyes out of their own heads, wheresoever they find mention of an Elder in the New Testament, think presently of a Lay-Presbytery: like that man in Erasmus, who persuaded himself he saw a strange dragon in the air, because his friend confidently pointed to it, and seemed to wonder at his not seeing it. But those, who, with unpartial and unprejudiced hearts, shall address themselves to the Book of God, and with a careful sincerity compare the Scriptures, shall find, that, wheresoever the word Elder or Presbyter is, in an evangelical sense, used in the holy Epistles, or the History of the Acts, except it be in some few places where eldership of age may be meant, it is only and altogether taken for the Ministers of the Gospel.

There are, if I reckon right, some two and twenty places, where the word is mentioned. Were it not too long to take them into particular examination, I should gladly scan them all: some, we will.

Let us begin with the last. *The Elder unto the well-beloved Gaius;* 2 John i. And, *the Elder to the elect lady;* 3 John i. What Elder is this? Is it not the holy and dear Apostle, St. John?

The Elders, which are among you, I exhort, who am also an Elder &c. Feed the flock of God, which is among you; saith Saint Peter; 1 Pet. v. 1. Lo, such an Elder as St. Peter, such were they whom he exhorts! Their title is one: their work is one. I suppose no Lay-Elder will take upon him this charge of feeding the flock of Christ, with St. Peter: and, if Beza would fain, out of favour to their new erection, strain the word so far as to feeding by government; yet, it is so quite against the hair, that Calvin himself, and Chamier, and Moulin, (and who not?), do every where contradistinguish their Pastors to their ruling Elders. And, for the place in hand, Calvin is clear ours: "The flock of Christ," saith he, "cannot be fed, but with pure doctrine, *quæ sola spirituale est pabulum.*"

Is any man sick among you? saith St. James: *Let him call for the Elders of the Church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord, and the prayer of faith shall save the sick;* James v. 14. Are these Lay-Elders, think we, whom the Apostle requires to be called for: who must comfort the sick; cure him by their prayers; anoint him with their miraculous oil, for recovery? Let me ask, then: were there no spiritual Pastors, no Ministers among them? And, if there were such, was it likely or fit they should stand by, while Laymen did their spiritual services? Besides, were they lay-hands, to which this power of miraculous cure, by anointing the sick, was then committed? Surely, if we consult with St. Mark, we shall find them sacred persons: such lips, and such hands must cure the sick.

So, then, the Elders of St. John, St. Peter, St. James are certainly Pastors and Ministers.

And what other are St. Paul's? *For this cause*, saith he to Titus, *I left thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain Elders in every city.* What Elders are those? The next words shall tell you: *If any be blameless, the husband of one wife, having faithful children, &c. For a Bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God.* Lo, St. Paul's Elder here, is no other than a Bishop! Even then, as the Fathers observe, every Bishop was a Presbyter: and though not every Presbyter a Bishop, yet every Presbyter a sacred and spiritual person; such a one, as is capable of Holy Ordination.

Thus might we easily pass through all these texts, wherein there is any mention of Presbyters.

One only place there is, that might, to a fore-inclined mind, seem to give some colour, (and, God knows, but a colour) of a Lay-Presbytery: *Let the Elders that rule well*, saith St. Paul to Timothy, *be counted worthy of double honour; especially they, who labour in the word and doctrine;* 1 Tim. v. 17. A place, which hath been so thoroughly sifted by all, who have meddled with this ill-raised controversy, as that no human wit can devise to add one scruple of a notion, towards a farther discussion of it. I dare confidently say, there is scarce any one sentence of Scripture, which hath undergone a more busy and curious agitation. The issue is this: That never any expositor, for the space of fifteen hundred years after Christ, took these Presbyters for any other than Priests or Ministers: of eleven or twelve several expositions of the words, each one is more fair and probable than this, which is newly devised and obtruded upon the Church:—That the text is so far from favouring these Lay-Presbyters, that we need no other argument against them: for, where was it ever heard of, or how can it be, that mere Laics should be προεςῶτες? Bishops and Pastors have had that style, as in Scripture; so, in following Antiquity, that passage of Clemens Alexandrinus, cited by Eusebius, concerning St. John, that he at Ephesus committed the charge of his young man to an old Bishop, whom he calls τὸν προεςῶτα, besides that of Justin Martyr already cited, and others, shew it plainly. And if, as some, our appellation of Priest come from πρεσβυς, as it well may, how can a Layman be so? Or if from Prestre, as the more think, let us have Lay-Priests, if Lay-Presbyters. And what better commentary can we have of St. Paul's καλῶς προίςασθαι, than himself gives of himself, in his exhortation to the Elders or Pastors, at Ephesus? who interprets it, by *carefully attending* to themselves and their flocks; which even their own authors are wont to appropriate to Pastors. And what can that double honour be, which the Apostle claims for these Elders or Presbyters; but respect, and due maintenance? To whom is this due, but to those, that serve at the altar? As for Lay-Presbyters, was it ever required, that they should be maintained by the Church? And what can those κοπιῶντες be,

but those Priests, which diligently and painfully toil in God's harvest; *in the Word and Doctrine?* All the Elders, therefore, there intended, are exercised *in the Word and Doctrine:* but there are some, that do κοπιᾶν, labour more abundantly than the rest: these must be respected and encouraged accordingly. Neither is there any reason in the world, to induce an indifferent man to think, that this μάλιστα κοπιῶντες should imply a several and distinct office; but rather a more intense and serious labour in the same office: as might be shewn in a thousand instances.

Whereas, therefore, this is the only Scripture, that, in some foreprized ears, seems to sound towards a Lay-Presbytery, I must needs profess, for my part, if there were no other text in all the Book of God more pregnant for their disproof, I should think this alone a very sufficient warrant for their disclamation. And I do verily persuade myself, that those men, who, upon such weak, yea, such nogrounds, have taken upon them, being mere Laics, to manage these holy affairs of God, have a hard answer to make one day, before the tribunal of Almighty God, for this their presumptuous usurpation.

Now, then, since this one litigious and unproving text is the only place in the whole New Testament, that can bear any pretence for the Lay-Presbytery (for, as for their *Dic Ecclesiæ*, and their κυβερνήσεις, they are so improbable, and have been so oft and thoroughly charmed, that they are not worth either urging or answer); and, on the contrary, so many manifest and pregnant testimonies of Scriptures have been and may be produced, wherein the Presbyters or Elders of the Church, are, by the Spirit of God, only meant for the spiritual guides of his people; I hope every ingenuous Christian will easily resolve, how much safer it is for him, to follow the clear light of many evident Scriptures, than the doubtful glimmering of one mistaken text.

SECT. 3.

Lay-Eldership a mere Stranger to all Antiquity; which acknowledgeth no Presbyters, but Divines.

And, as the Scriptures of God never meant to give countenance to a Lay-Presbytery, so neither did subsequent Antiquity.

I speak it upon good assurance; there was never any clause in any Father, Council, History, that did so much as intimate any such office in the Church of God, or the man that wielded it. The fautors of it would gladly snatch at every sentence in old records, where they meet with the name of a Presbyter; as if there the bells chimed to their thought: but, certainly, for fifteen hundred years, no man ever dreamed of such a device. If he did, let us know the man.

I am sure our Apostolical Clemens makes a contra-distinction of Laics and Presbyters *.

And Ignatius, the holy Martyr, yet more punctually, goes in these degrees †; Οὐδὲν ἄνευ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου, μηδὲ Πρεσβύτερος, μηδὲ Διάκονος, μηδὲ Λαϊκός: "Do nothing without your Bishop; neither Presbyter, nor Deacon, nor Laic ‡." This difference is so familiar with that Saint, as that we scarce miss it in any of his Epistles: insomuch as Vedelius himself, finding in the Epistle of this Martyr to the Ephesians §, τὸ ἀξιονόμαστον πρεσβυτέριον, translates it, *memorabile Sacerdotum restrorum Collegium*, "a College of Presbyters:" such the Bishops of those first times had; as we have still the Dean and Chapter, to consult withal, upon any occasion: but those Presbyters were no other than professed Divines; neither were ever otherwise construed.

If we look a little lower, who can but turn over any two leaves of the first tome of the Councils, and not fall upon some passage, that may settle his assurance this way?

Those ancient Canons, which carry the name of the Apostles, are exceedingly frequent in the distinction. They speak of the Bishop's or Presbyter's offering on the altar of God ‖; which no Layman might do. They make an act against a Bishop's or Presbyter's rejection of his wife, under pretence of religion ¶; which, in a Layman, was never questioned. They forbid a Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon to meddle with any secular cares or employments **: a Laick person had no reason to be so restrained. Shortly, for we might here easily weary our reader, the Ninth of their Canons is punctual, which plainly reckons up the Bishop, Presbyter, Deacon, as ἐκ τῆ καταλόγου τῆ Ἱερατικοῦ, "of the Priestly list;" and, in the Fourteenth ††, "If any Presbyter or Deacon, ἢ ὅλως ἐκ τῆ καταλόγου τῶν Κληρικῶν; or whosoever else of the Clergy."

Dionysius, the mis-named Areopagite, hath ἱεράρχοις and ἱερέας, for Bishops and Presbyters: and the holy Martyr Cyprian, *Cum Episcopo Presbyteri Sacerdotali honore conjuncti;* "The Presbyters joined with the Bishop in Priestly honour ‡‡."

What shall I need to urge, how often, in the Ancient Councils, they are styled by the name of ἱερεῖς, "Priests?" and how, by those venerable Synods, they have the offices and employments of only Priests and Clergymen put upon them? Our two learned Bishops, D. Bilson, and D. Downame, have so cleared this point, that my labour herein would be but superfluous. I refer my reader to their unquestionable instances.

One thing let me add, not unworthy of observation. I shall de-

* Clem. Epist. ad Corinth. suprà. † Ignat. Epist. ad Magn.
‡ On this quotation from Ignatius, see p. 575. Note ¶ of this vol. EDITOR.
§ Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes. ‖ Can. Apost. Can. 3, 4, 5. ¶ Can. 6.
** Can. 7.
†† This occurs in the Fifteenth, according to the enumeration which our author follows. EDITOR.
‡‡ Cypr. l. iii. Ep. 1.

sire no other author to confute this opinion of the Lay-Presbytery, than Ærius himself; the only ancient enemy of Episcopacy. "What is a Bishop," saith he, "other than a Presbyter? &c. There is but one order, one honour of both. Doth the Bishop impose hands? so doth the Presbyter. Doth the Bishop administer Baptism? so doth the Presbyter. The Bishop dispenseth God's service: so doth the Presbyter, &c." Thus he. Lo, there is but one professed enemy to Bishops, in all the history of the Church; and he, in the very act of his opposition to Episcopacy, mars the fashion of a Lay-Presbytery! He could not *in terminis* directly oppose it, indeed: how should he oppose that, which never was? But he attributes such acts and offices to a Presbyter, as never any Laic durst usurp: such, as never were, never could be ascribed to any, that was not consecrated to God, by a holy Ordination. Had this man, then, but dreamed of a Lay-Presbytery, either to supply or affront Episcopacy, it might have been some countenance, at least, to the age of this invention: but now, the device hath not so much patrocination (pardon an harsh word) as of an old stigmatic: yea, it is quashed by the sole and only Marprelate of the Ancient Church.

SECT. 4.

St. Ambrose's Testimony, urged commonly for Lay-Elders, fully answered.

YET, let me eat my word betimes, while it is hot.

There is a holy and ancient Bishop, they say, that pleads for a Lay-Presbytery. And who should that be, but the godly and renowned Archbishop and Metropolitan of Milan, St. Ambrose? a man noted, as for singular sanctimony, so for the height of his spirit, and zeal of maintaining the right of his function.

And what will he say? *Unde et Synagoga, et postea etiam Ecclesia, seniores habuit, &c* *: "Whereupon," saith he, "both the Synagogue, and afterwards the Church also, had certain elders or ancient men, without whose counsel nothing was done in the Church: which by what negligence it is now out of use, I know not; except perhaps it were by the sloth of the teachers, or rather by their pride, for that they would seem to be of some reckoning alone." Here is all.

And now, let me beseech my reader, to rouse up himself a little; and, with some more than ordinary attention, to listen to this evidence, on which alone, for any likely pretence of Antiquity, so great a cause wholly dependeth.

And, first, let him hear, that this is no Ambrose; but a counter-

* Amb. in 1 Tim. v. 1.

feit: even by the confession of the greatest favourers of the Lay-Presbytery *; who, that they would thus easily turn off the chief, if not the only, countenance of their cause, it is to me a wonder: but they well saw, if they had not done it, it would have been done for them. Possevine thinks he finds Pelagianism in this commentary upon the Epistles. Both Whitakers and Bellarmin † disclaim it for Ambrose's: the latter pitches it upon a heretic; even the same, which was the author of the book of the Questions of the Old and New Testament; Hilary, the Deacon: and the former doth little other; while he cites and seems to allow the censors of Louvaine to this purpose. Maldonate casts it upon Remigius Lugdunensis ‡, who lived anno 870, far from any authentic antiquity; and confidently says, no man, that ever read Ambrose's writings, can think these to be his.

It is then, first, no great matter what this witness saith: but, yet, let us hear him.

Unde Synagoga, saith he: "Whereupon the Synagogue, and after the Church also, had Elders." And whereupon was this spoken, I beseech you? Let my reader but take the foregoing words with him, and see if he can forbear to smile at the conceit. The words run thus; upon occasion of St. Paul's charge, *Rebuke not an Elder, but entreat him, as a father, &c. Propter honorificentiam ætatis, majorem natu cum mansuetudine ad bonum opus provocandum, &c:* "For the honour of age, the elder in years is by meekness to be provoked to a good work, &c." *Nam apud omnes ubique gentes, honorabilis est senectus:* "For," saith he, "amongst all nations every where, old age is honourable:" and so infers, "Whereupon, both the Synagogue, and afterwards the Church, had certain elder or ancient men, without whose counsel nothing was done in the Church." Plainly the words are spoken of an elder in age, not any elder in office. And so St. Paul's words import too: for it follows, *the elder women as mothers;* and I suppose no man will think St. Paul meant to ordain Elderesses in the Church. Thus, in the supposed Ambrose, all runs upon this strain: for there is *honorificentia ætatis*, "the honorificence of age;" *majores natu; honorabilis senectus;* no intimation of any office in the Church.

But, you will say, here is mention of the Elders, that the Synagogue had. True: but not as judges; but only as aged persons, whose experience might get them skill, and gravity procure them reverence. And such the Church had too; and made use of their counsel: and therefore it follows, *quorum sine consilio*, "without whose counsel," nothing was done in the Church: he saith not, without whose authority. These, then, for ought this place implieth, were not incorporated in any Consistory; but, for their prudence, advised with, upon occasion: and what is this, to a fixed bench of Lay-Presbyters?

Or, if there were such a settled College of Presbyters, in ancient

* Park. Polit. Eccl. † Bellar. Tom. 4. de Amiss. Grat. c. 5. and l. iv. de Justif. c. 8. ‡ Maldon. in Mat. xix.

use, as Ignatius implies; yet where are the Lay? They were certain ancient, experienced Divines; who, upon all difficult occasions, were ready to give their advice and aid to their Bishop.

How little the true Ambrose dreamed of any other, let him be consulted in his noble, humble, and yet stout Epistle, to the Emperor Valentinian *: where that worthy pattern of Prelates well shews, how ill it could be brooked, that persons, merely laic or secular, should have any hand in judging and ordering of matters spiritual.

Yea, for this very pretended Ambrose, how far he was from thinking of a Lay-Presbytery, let himself speak; who, in the very same chapter, upon those words *Let the Elders, that rule well, be counted worthy of double honour*, construes those Elders, for *boni dispensatores, ac fideles.* And, because you may think this may well enough fit Laic Presbyters, he adds, *Evangelizantes regnum Dei*, "those that preach the kingdom of God." And, again, *Adversus Presbyterum &c: against a Presbyter receive not an accusation, &c:* "Because," saith he, *Ordinis hujus sublimis est honor*, "the honour of this Order is high: for they are the Vicars of Christ; and, therefore, an accusation of this person is not easily to be admitted: for it ought to seem incredible to us, that this man, who is God's Priest, should live criminously." Thus he. So as this Ambrose's Presbyters are no other, in his sense, than God's Priests and Christ's Vicars. If our Lay-Presbyters, then, have a mind to be or to be called Priests and Vicars, their Ambrose is for them: else, he is not worthy of his fee, for what he hath said.

If all Antiquity have yielded any other witness, worth the producing, how gladly should we hear him out, and return him a satisfactory answer: but, the truth is, never any man thought of such a project; and, therefore, if any author have let fall some favourable word, that might seem to bolster it, it must be against his will. Neither did any living man, before some burgesses of Geneva in our age took it upon them, ever claim or manage such an office, since Christ was upon the earth.

SECT. 5.

The utter Disagreement and Irresolution of the Pretenders to the New Discipline, concerning the particular State of their Desired Government.

All this considered, I cannot but wonder and grieve, to hear a man of such worth as Beza was, so transported, as to say, that this Presbytery, of their device, is the tribunal of Christ: a tribunal, erected above fifteen hundred years after his departure from us! an invisi-

* Amb. l. ii. Epist. 13.

ble tribunal to all the rest of God's Church, besides! a tribunal, not known, nor resolved of by those, that call it so!

Surely, our Blessed Saviour was never ashamed to own his ordinance: neither was he ever so reserved, as not to shew his own crown and sceptre to all his good subjects. He never cared for an outward, glorious magnificence; but that spiritual port, which he would have kept in his government, he was far from concealing and smothering in a suspicious secrecy.

If this, then, be or were Christ's tribunal, where, when, how, in whom, wherefore was it set up? Who sees not that the wood, whereof it is framed, is so green, that it warps every way? Plainly, the sworn men to this exotical government are not agreed of their verdict. An exquisite form they would fain have; but what it was, or what it should be, they accord not.

Even amongst our own, in the Admonition to the Parliament, anno 1572, a perfect platform is tendered: not so perfect yet, but two years after it is altered: nine years after that, anno 1583, a new draught, fit for the English Meridian, is published; yet that, not so exact, but that Travers must have a new essay to it, 29 Eliz. And, after all this, a world of doubts yet arise, which were, in 1588, debated at Coventry, Cambridge, elsewhere. And, yet still, when all is done, the fraternity is as far to seek in very many points for resolution, as at the first day.

Yea, at this very hour, fain would I know whether they can ring this peal without jars. It is not long ago, I am sure, that they found every parcel of their government litigious. Cartwright is for a Presbytery in every parish, wheresoever a Pastor is; and his late clients make every village a Church, absolute and independent. The Genevan fashion is otherwise: neither doth Danæus think it to be Christ's institution, to have every parish thus furnished and governed. Our late humorists give power of excommunication and other censures to every Parish-Presbytery: the Belgic Churches allow it not to every particular congregation, without the counsel and assent of the General Consistory. There are, that hold the Elders should be perpetual: there are others, for a triennial; others, for a biennial Eldership: others hold them fit to be changed, so oft as their liveries, once a year. "The Elders," says T. C., "are jointly to execute, with their Pastor, the election and abdication of all their Ecclesiastical Officers:" not so, saith J. C. *Soli Pastores*, "only the Pastors must do it *. And good reason! what a monster of opinions it is, that Laymen should lay on hands to the Ordination of Ministers! I wonder these men fear not Uzzah's death, or Uzziah's leprosy.

There are, that doubt whether there should be Doctors in every Church: and I am deceived, if, in Scotland, you do not hold your Consistories perfect without them. There are, that hold them so necessary a member of this body of Christ's ordinance, that it is

* Jo. Calv. l. iv. Inst. c. 3.

utterly maimed and unperfect without them. And, indeed, what to make of their Doctors, neither themselves know, nor any for them. To make them a distinct office from Pastors, as it is an uncouth conceit, and quite besides the text; which tells of *some Evangelists, some Prophets, some Pastors and Doctors;* and not, some Pastors, and some Doctors: so it is guilty of much error, and wildness of consequence. For, how is it possible, that spiritual food and teaching should be severed? Who can feed the soul, and not instruct it? Or, who can teach wholesome doctrine, and not feed the soul? This is, as if every child should have two nurses; one to give it the bib, another the breast; one to hold the dish, and the other to put in the spoon. Now, if Doctors must be, whether in every parish one; whether admitted to sit, and vote in the Presbytery, and to have their hand in censures or not; or whether they be Laymen, or of the Clergy; whether as Academical Readers, or as Rural Catechists; are things so utterly undetermined, that they are indeed altogether undecidable.

As for Deacons, there is, if it may be, yet more uncertainty amongst them, whether they be necessary in the constitution of the Church, or whether members of the Consistory or not: whether they should be only employed in matter of the purse, or in the matters of God: or, if so, how far interested; whether fixed or moveable; and, if so, in what circle.

And, lest there should be any passage of this admired government free from doubt, even the very Widows have their brawls. These, to some, are as essential as the best: to others, like to some ceremonies: of which Junius's judgment was, *Si adsint, non recuso; si absint, non desidero:* "not to be refused where they are, and not to be missed where they are not." However, I see not why the good women should not put in for a share; and chide with the Elders, to be shut out.

These, which I have abstracted from our judicious surveyor, and a hundred other doubts concerning the extent and managing of the new Consistory, are enough to let an ingenuous reader see, on what shelves of sand this late allobrogical device is erected.

Shortly, then, let the abettors of the Discipline pretended lay their heads together, and agree what it is that we may trust to for Christ's Ordinance; and, that once done, let them expect our condescent. Till then, and we shall desire no longer, let them forbear to gild thair own fancies with the glorious name of Christ's Kingdom.

SECT. 6.

The Imperfections and Defects, which must needs be yielded to follow upon the Discipline Pretended; and the Necessary Inconveniences, that must attend it, in a Kingdom otherwise settled.

THIS uncertainty of opinion cannot choose but produce an answerable imperfection in the practice; while some Churches, which

hold themselves, in a parochial absoluteness, necessarily furnished with all the equipage of discipline, must needs find those defective, which want it: so as the Genevan and French Churches, and those of their Correspondence, which go all by divisions of Presbyteries, must needs, by our late reformers, be found to come short of that perfection of Christ's kingdom, which themselves have attained. Those Churches, which have no Doctors; those, which have no Deacons; those, which have no Widows; what case are they in? And how few have all these!

Neither is the imperfection more palpable and fatal, where these ordinances are missing; than is the absurdity, and inconvenience of entertaining them, where they are wished to be: for, howsoever, where some new state is to be erected, especially in a popular form, or a new city to be contrived, with power of making their own laws; there might, perhaps, be some possibility of complying, in way of policy, with some of the rules of this pretended Church-Government: yet, certainly, in a monarchical state fully settled, and a kingdom divided into several townships and villages, some whereof are small and far distant from the rest, no human wit can comprehend, how it were possible, without an utter subversion, to reduce it to these terms.

I shall take leave to instance in some particulars: the strong inexpediences and difficulties whereof will arise to little less, than either gross absurdity, or utter impossibility.

Can it, therefore, be possible, in such a kingdom as our happy England is, where there are thousands of small village-parishes, (I speak according to the plots of our own latest reformers) for every parish to furnish an Ecclesiastical Consistory, consisting of one or more Pastors, a Doctor, Elders, Deacons? Perhaps, there are not so many houses, as offices are required. And whom shall they then be judges of? And some of these so far remote from neighbours, that they cannot participate of their, either teaching or censure: and if this were feasible, what stuff would there be! Perhaps, a young, indiscreet, giddy Pastor: and, for a Doctor, who, and where, and what? John a Nokes, and John a Stiles, the Elders! Smug, the Smith, a Deacon! and whom or what should these rule, but themselves and their ploughshares? And what censures, trow we, would this grave Consistory inflict? What decisions would they make of the doubts and controversies of their parish? What orders of government? For, even this Parochial Church hath the sovereignty of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction! If any of the fautors of the desired Discipline dares deny this, let him look to argue the case with his best friends; who all are for this, or nothing: else, what means Cartwright to say, that, in such cases, God pours out his gifts upon men, called to these functions, and makes them all new men? Here are no miracles to be expected, no enthusiasms: an honest thatcher will know how to hand his straw no whit better, after his election, than he did before; and was as deeply politic before, as now; and equally wise and devout, though perhaps he may take upon him some more state and gravity, than he formerly

did. And what a mad world would it be, that the Ecclesiastical Laws of such a company should be, like those of the Medes and Persians, irrevocable! that there should be no appeal from them! for, as for Classes and Synods, they may advise, in cases of doubt, but overrule they may not. And if a King should, by occasion of his Court fixed in some such obscure parish, fall into the censure, even of such a Consistory or Presbytery, where is he? Excommunicable he is, with them: and what then may follow, let a Buchanan speak.

Now were it possible that a Hockley in the Hole, or, as Cartwright pleases to instance, a Hitchin or Newington, could yield us choice of such a worthy senate: yet, whence shall the maintenance arise? Surely, as the host said, upon occasion of a guest with too many titles, we have not meat for so many: it is well, if a poor and painful incumbent can but live. But *whence*, as the Disciples said, *should we have bread for all these?*

And what do you think of this lawless Polycoyrany: that every Parish-Minister and his Eldership should be a Bishop and his Consistory; yea, a Pope and his Conclave of Cardinals within his own parish, not subject to controlment, not liable to a superior censure? What do you think of the power of Laymen to bind and loose? what, of the equal power of votes in spiritual causes, with their grave and learned Pastor? What, that those, which are no Ministers, should meddle with the Sacraments; or should meddle with the Word, and not with Sacraments? to see a velvet cloak, a gilt rapier, and gingling spurs, attending God's Table? to see a Ruling Elder a better man than his Pastor? Who knows not, that it is the project of Beza *, and the present practice of Scotland, that noblemen or great senators should be Elders; and, perhaps, at Geneva, Deacons too? and, then, how well will it become the house, that great Lords should yield their Chaplains to be the better men! For, as honest Danæus †, who knew the fashion well, *Longè est dissimile et inferius &c:* "The place of the Elders is utterly unlike and below the Order of Pastors:" neither, methinks, should it work any contenting peace to their great spirits, to hear, that, upon their Consistorial Bench, their peasantly-tenant is as good as the best of them ‡; and that, if they look awry to be so matched (which T. C. suggests) they disdain not men, but Christ.

These are but a handful of those strange incongruities, which will necessarily attend this mis-affected Discipline; which, certainly, if they were not countervailed with other (no less unjust) contentments, could never find entertainment in any corner of the world: but each man would rule: and to be a king, though of a mole-hill, is happiness enough. Had men learned to inure their hearts to a peaceable and godly humility, these quarrels had never been.

* Epist. before Helvet. Confes. † Danæus de Eccles. Disc. c. 10.
‡ Artic. Genev. 7.

SECT. 7.

The known Newness of this Invention, and the Quality of the late Authors of it.

But that, which is above all other exceptions most undeniable and not least convictive, and which I beseech the reader in the bowels of Christ to lay most seriously to heart, is the most manifestly-spick-and-span-Newness of this devised Discipline: for all wise and staid Christians have learned to suspect, if not to hate novelty, in those things, which are pretended to be the matters of God.

In matter of evidence, they are old records that will carry it. As the Ancient of Days is immutable and eternal, so his truths are like him; not changeable by time, not decayable by age.

Who was the father of this child, I profess I know not; otherwise than I have specified, in my premonition to the reader.

I am sure Calvin disclaims it, who, in his Epistle to Cardinal Sadolet *, hath thus: "I, for my part, profess to be one of them, whom you do so hostilely inveigh against: for, although I was called thither," i. e. to Geneva, "after the religion was settled, and the form of the Church corrected; yet, because those things which were done by Farell and Viret, I did not only by my suffrage allow, but, what in me lay, laboured to conserve and ratify, I cannot hold my cause any whit different from theirs †." Thus he. So as he professeth only to be the nurse-father of that issue, which was begot by a meaner parent.

It is true, those other were men of note too; but, for ought I know, as much for their exuberance of zeal, as for any extraordinary worth of parts.

Farell, indeed, was called *Flagellum Sacrificulorum*, "the scourge of Mass-Priests:" and what he did for the reformation of religion, I am as apt to acknowledge and applaud as the forwardest: but, that he preached somewhere in the very streets, and even *Quamvis renitente magistratu* ‡ in St. Peter's Church, was not to be bragged of by himself or his friends. And, in his violent carriage in the animating of the people to the outing of their Bishop, Pet. Palma §, though perhaps faulty enough; and the introducing of this new form of government; I wish he had lived and died in his Vapincum ‖.

His coadjutor in this work was, I perceive, one Antho. Frumentius, a vehement young man, who was set up by the people to

* Calvin. Epist. ad Sadoletum Cardin. *Ego, autem, Sadolete, &c.*

† *Tametsi, enim, constitutâ jam religione, ac correctâ Ecclesiæ formâ, illuc vocatus fui: quia, tamen, quæ à Farello ac Vireto gesta erant, non modò suffragio meo comprobavi, sed etiam, quantum in me fuit, conservare studui ac confirmare, separatam ab illis causam habere nequeo, &c.*

‡ Spanhem. Geneva Restituta.

§ *Fremente, interim, ac muginante plebe.* Ibid.

‖ *Natus Vapinci, noto Delphinatus oppido.* Idem.

preach upon a fish-stall; and, no doubt, equally heartened his auditors to this tumultuous way of proceeding.

But then, when Viret came once into the file, here was, at the least, fervour enough. The spirit of that man is well seen, in his "Dialogue of White Devils."

These were the founders of that Discipline: men of eminence, we must believe, but far inferior to Calvin; who came into Geneva, first as a Lecturer or Preacher, and then became their Pastor: insomuch as Zanchy reports *, when Calvin preached at St. Peter's, and Viret at St. Gervase's, concurrent sermons, a Frenchman, asked why he did not come sometimes and hear Viret, answered, *Si veniret Sanctus Paulus, qui eâdem horâ concionaretur quâ et Calvinus, ego, relicto Paulo, audirem Calvinum:* "If St. Paul should come and preach in the same hour with Calvin, I would leave Paul, and hear Calvin:" which was spoken like a good blasphemous zealot: but it is not to be wondered at, in men of such spirits. I told you before what Calvin himself writes to Farell †. There was one at Basil, who professed to attribute *non minus Farello quàm Paulo*, "Not less to Farell, than to St. Paul." O God, whither doth mad zeal hurry men?

It appears then, that Farell and Viret rough-hewed this statue, which Calvin, after, polished. We now know, *Consulem ac Diem;* and I doubt not, but some do yet live, who might know the man.

For me, although I have not age enough to have known the Father of this Discipline; yet one of the Godfathers of it, I did know: who, after his peregrination in Germany and Geneva, undertook for this new-born infant at our English Font; under whose Ministry my younger years were spent: the author of that bitter Dialogue betwixt Miles Monopodius and Bernard Blinkard, one of the hottest and busiest sticklers in these quarrels at Frankfort ‡. So young is this form of government; being, until that day, unheard of in the Christian world! In which name, Peter Ramus, though a man censured for affecting innovations in logic and philosophy, is, if we may credit his old friend Carpentarius, said to dislike it; and to frump it by the name of *Talmud Subaudicum.*

I cannot be ignorant of the common plea of the pretenders, that, so far is this form from novelty, as that it was the most ancient and first model of Church-Government under the Apostles. Thus they say; and they alone say it. All they have to say, more, in colour of reason, for it, is, That the twelve Apostles themselves were all equal. What then? If their pretended form were bred from thence, where hath it lain hid, all this while, till now? That, they can tell you too: under the tyranny and usurpation of Antichrist.

Dear Christians, I hope you now believe it, that the very Apostles themselves, who lived to see and act the establishment of Episcopacy, would betray the Church, at their parting, to that *Man of Sin!* that all the holy Fathers and Martyrs of the Primitive Church,

* Zanch. Epist. ad Misc. Citat. in Surv. Disc. † Calvin. Farello.
‡ Troubles of the English Church at Frankfort. in marg. The zeal of A. G.

were, either through ignorance or will, guilty of this sacrilegious treachery! that all the eyes of the whole world were blind, till this city, which was once indeed dedicated to the sun and bears it still for her emblem, enlightened them! and, if ye can believe these strange suggesters, wonder ye at them, while I do no less wonder at you.

But, withal, give me leave to put you in mind, that this is a stale plea, for more unholy opinions than one. The Anabaptists, when they are urged with the Church's ancient practice of baptizing of infants, straight pretend, that this ill guise was brought in by Popery, and is a parcel of the *Mystery of Iniquity**. The New-Arians of our times, hellish heretics, when they are pressed with the distinction of Three Persons in the Deity, and One Infinite Essence, straight cry out of Antichrist; and clamour, that this doctrine was hatched under that secret *Mystery of Iniquity* †. The father of the Familists, H. N. a worse devil, if possible, than they, in his *Evangelium Regni*, sings the very same note, for his damnable plot of doctrine and government: sadly complaining of Antichrist, and that the light of life hath lain hid under the mask of Popery, until this day of love; and now he comes to erect his *Seniores sanctæ intelligentiæ*, "Elders of the holy understanding," and his other rabble.

Beware, therefore, I advise you, how you take up this challenge, but upon better grounds. Disgrace not God's truth with the odious name of Antichristianism. Honour not Antichrist with the claim and title of a holy truth. Confess the device new, and make your best of it.

But, if any man will pretend this government hath been in the world before, though no footsteps remain of it in any history or record, he may as well tell me, there hath been of old a passage from the Teneriff to the moon, though never any but a Gonzaga discovered it.

* Prolæus, Fasciculo, &c. † Ibid.

CONCLUSION.

SECT. 1.

A Recapitulation of the several Heads: and a vehement Exhortation to all Readers: and, first, to our Northern Brethren.

Now, then, I beseech, and adjure you, my dear brethren, by that love you profess to bear to the truth of God, by that tender respect you bear to the peace of his Sion, by your zeal to the Gospel of Christ, by your main care of your happy account one day before the tribunal of the most righteous Judge of the Quick and Dead; lay every of these things seriously together, and lay all to heart.

And, if you find, that the government of Episcopacy established in the Church, is the very same, which, upon the foundation of Christ's institution, was erected by his inspired Apostles; and, ever since, continued unto this day, without interruption, without alteration: if you find, that, not in this part of the Western Church alone, into which the Church of Rome had diffused her errors; but in all the Christian World, far and wide, in Churches of as large extent as the Roman ever was, and never in any submission to her, no other form of government was ever dreamed of from the beginning: if you find, that all the Saints of God ever since, the holy Martyrs and Confessors, the Fathers and Doctors, both of the primitive and ensuing Church, have not only admitted, but honoured and magnified this only government, as Apostolical; if all Synods and Councils, that have been in the Church of God, since the Apostles' time, have received and acknowledged none but this alone: if you find, that no one man, from the days of the Apostles till this age, ever opened his mouth against it; save only one, who was, for this cause amongst others, branded and discarded for a heretic: if you find, that the ancient Episcopacy, even from Mark Bishop of Alexandria, Timothy Bishop of Ephesus, and Titus of Crete, were altogether in substance the same with ours; in the same altitude of fixed superiority, in the same latitude of spiritual jurisdiction: if you find the Laic-Presbytery an utter stranger to the Scriptures of God; a thing altogether unheard of in the ancient times, yea, in all the following ages of the Church: if you find that invention full of indeterminable uncertainties: if you find the practice of it necessarily obnoxious to unavoidable imperfections, and to gross absurdities and impossibilities: lastly, if you find the device so new, that the first authors and abettors of it are easily traced to their very form, as those

that lived in the days of thousands yet living: if you find all these, as you cannot choose but find them, and many weighty considerations more, being so clearly laid before you; I beseech you, suffer not yourselves to be led by the nose, with an unjust prejudice, or an over-weening opinion of some persons, whom you think you have cause to honour: but, without all respects to flesh and blood, weigh the cause itself impartially, in the balance of God's Sanctuary, and judge of it accordingly.

Upon my soul, except the Holy Scripture, Apostolical acts, the practice of the ancient Church of God, the judgment of all sacred Synods, of all the holy Fathers and Doctors of the Church, all grounds of faith, reason, policy, may fail us; we are safe, and our cause victorious.

Why, then, Oh why will you suffer yourselves to be thus impetuously carried away, with the false suggestions of some mis-zealous teachers; who have, as I charitably judge of some of them whatsoever grounds the rest might have, overrun the truth in a detestation of error; and have utterly lost peace, in an inconsiderate chace of a feigned perfection.

For you, my Northern Brethren (for such you shall be, when you have done your worst) if there were any foul personal faults found in any of our Church-Governors, as there never wanted aspersions where an extermination is intended, alas! why should not your wisdom and charity have taught you to distinguish, betwixt the calling and the crime? Were the person vicious, yet the function is holy. Why should God and his cause be stricken, because man hath offended; and yet, to this day, no offence proved?

Your Church hath been anciently famous for a holy and memorable Prelacy: and, though it did more lately fall upon the division of Dioceses, so as every Bishop did in every place, as opportunity offered, execute Episcopal offices (which kind of administration continued in your Church till the times of Malcolm the Third); yet this government over the whole Clergy, was no less acknowledged than their sanctimony *.

After the settling of those your Episcopal Sees, it is worth your note and our wonder, which your Hector Boetius writes; *Sacer Pontificatus Sancti Andreæ tantâ reverentiâ &c:* "The Bishopric of St. Andrews was, with so great reverence and innocence of life, from the first institution of it, in a long line of Episcopal succession continued to the very time, wherein we wrote this, that six and thirty, and more, of the Bishops of that See were accounted for Saints." Good Lord! How are either the times altered, or we! There may be differences of carriage: and those, that are orthodox in judgment, may be faulty in demeanor: but, I grieve and fear to speak it, there is now so little danger of a calendar, that no holiness of life could excuse the best Bishop from being ejected, like an evil spirit, out of the bosom of that Church. *Deus omen &c.*

In the name of God, what is it, what can it be, that is thus stood

* D. Henr. Spelman ex Hectore Boetio. Anno 840.

upon? Is it the very name of Episcopacy, which, like that of Tarquin in Rome, is condemned to a perpetual disuse? What hath the innocent word offended? Your own Church, after the Reformation, could well be contented to admit of Superintendents: and what difference is here, as Zanchius well, but that good Greek is turned into ill Latin *? Their power, by your own allowance and enacting, is the same with your Bishops'; their Dioceses accordingly divided; their residence fixed: viz. The Superintendent of Orkney: his Diocese shall be the isles of Orkney, Caithness, and Strathnever: his residence, in the town of Kirkwall. The Superintendent of Ross: his Diocese shall comprehend Ross, Sutherland, Murray; and the North Isles, called the Sky and Lewis, with their adjacents: his residence shall be the Canonry of Ross. The Superintendent of Argyle: his Diocese shall be Argyle, Cantire, Lorne; the South Isles, Arran and Bute, with their adjacents: his residence is at Argyle. The like of the Superintendent of Aberdeen; the Superintendent of Brechin; the Superintendent of Fife; the Superintendent of Edinburgh; the Superintendent of Jedburgh; the Superintendent of Glasgow; the Superintendent of Dumfries: all of them bounded with their several jurisdictions; which who desires to know particularly, may have recourse to the learned discourse of D. Lindsey, then Bishop of Brechin, concerning the proceedings of the Synod of Perth: where he shall also find the particularities of the function and power of these Superintendents: amongst the rest, these: That they have power to plant and erect Churches; to set, order, and appoint Ministers in their countries: that, after they have remained in their chief towns three or four months, they shall enter into their Visitation; in which they shall not only preach, but examine the life, diligence, and behaviour of the Ministers; as also they shall try the estate of their Churches, and manners of the people: they must consider how the poor are provided, and the youth instructed: they must admonish, where admonitions need; and redress such things, as they are able to appease: they must note such crimes, as are heinous; that, by the censures of the Church, the same may be corrected.

And now, what main difference, I beseech you, can you find, betwixt the office of these Superintendents, and the present Bishops?

How comes it then about, that the wind is thus changed? that those Church-Governors, which your own Reformers, with full consent allowed, and set down an Order for their election in your Constitutions before the Book of Psalms in Metre, should now be cashiered? There, and then, M. Knox himself, whose name you profess to honour, by the public authority of the Church, conceives public prayer for M. John Spotteswood then admitted Superintendent of Lothian, in these words: "O Lord, send upon this our Brother, unto whom we do in thy name commit the chief charge of the Churches of the Division of Lothian, such a portion of thy Holy Spirit, as that &c." And, in the name of the Church, blesseth his

* Ἐπίσκοπος. *Superintendens.*

new Superintendent, thus: "God, that hath called thee to the office of a watchman over his people, multiply the gifts of his grace in thee, &c." Now, I beseech you, how is this Superintendency lost? That, which was then both lawful and useful, and confessed for no other than a calling from God, is it now become sinful and odious? Are we become so much wiser, and more zealous than our first Reformers, as there is distance betwixt a Superintendent and no Bishop?

But what! is it the stroke, the Bishops have in government, and their seat in Parliament, which is so great an eye-sore? Let me put you in mind, that your greatest patrons of your desired Discipline have strongly motioned an Ecclesiastical Commission, for the overlooking and over-ruling your Consistories: and, even when they would have Bishops excluded both out of those Comitial Sessions and out of the Church; yet have moved (such was Beza's device long since for Scotland *) that, in the place of Bishops, there might be present in the Parliament-House some wise and grave Ministers of special gifts and learning, sorted out of all the land, to yield their counsel according to God's heavenly law, even as the Civil Judges are ready to give their advice according to the temporal law; and for matters of greater difficulty. What a world is this! Grave and wise Ministers, and yet no Bishops! Doth our Episcopacy either abolish our Ministry, or detract ought from wisdom and gravity? Away with this absurd partiality. But these must be to advise; not to vote: in any case, beware of that:—Where then is the third estate? Beza's counsel, we see, is yet alive; but it comes not home to the purpose. Well fare that bold supplicator to Queen Elizabeth, which moved, that four and twenty Doctors of Divinity, to be called by such names as it should please her Highness, might be admitted into the Parliament-House, and have their voices there, instead of the Bishops!

O impotent envy of poor humorists! Doctors, but no Bishops: any men, any names; but theirs. The old word is, "Love creeps, where it cannot go." How much are we beholden to these kind friends, who are so desirous to ease us of these unproper secularities! Even ours at home can nibble at these, as they think, ill-placed honours and services: yours go, alas! too roundly to work: striking at the root of their Episcopacy; not pruning off some superfluous twigs of privilege: and, rather than not strike home, not caring whom they hit in the way: would God I might not say, even the Lord's Anointed, whom they verbally profess to honour; at whose sacred crown and sceptre, if any of the sons of Belial amongst you do secretly aim, while they stalk under the pretence of opposition to Episcopacy, the God of Heaven find them out, and pour upon them deserved confusion!

But, for you, alas! Brethren, what hopes can I conceive, that these prejudged papers can have any access to your eyes, much less to your hearts? My very title is bar, too much. But, if any of you

* Moved also to the Lords of the Council in Q. Eliz. time by the Humble Mot.

will have so much patience, as to admit these lines to your perusal, I shall beseech him, for God's sake and for his own, to be so far indifferent also, as not, upon groundless suggestion, to abandon God's truth and ordinance; and, out of mere opinion of the worth of some late author, to adore an idol made of the ear-rings of the people, and fashioned out with the graving tool of a supposed skilful Aaron.

Shortly, after these poor, well-meant (howsoever, I doubt, ineffectual) endeavours, my prayers shall not be wanting for your comfortable peace, loyal obedience, perfect happiness. Oh, that the God of Heaven would open your eyes, that you may see the truth; and compare what you have done, with what you should do! How soon would you find cause to retract your own decrees; and to re-establish that true ordinance of the living God, which you have been mis-induced to abandon!

SECT. 2.

An Exhortatory Conclusion to our Brethren at Home.

And, for you, my dearly beloved Brethren, at home; for Christ's sake, for the Church's sake, for your souls' sake, be exhorted to hold fast to this Holy Institution of your Blessed Saviour and his unerring Apostles; and bless God for Episcopacy.

Do but cast your eyes a little back, and see what noble instruments of God's glory he hath been pleased to raise up in this very Church of ours, out of this sacred vocation: what famous servants of God; what strong champions of truth, and renowned antagonists of Rome and her superstitions; what admirable preachers; what incomparable writers; yea, what constant and undaunted Martyrs and Confessors: men, that gave their blood for the Gospel; and embraced their faggots, flaming, which many gregary professors held enough to carry cold and painless: to the wonder and gratulation of all foreign Churches, and to the unparallelable glory of this Church and Nation. I could fill this page with such a catalogue of them, who are now in their heaven, that come for the present to my thoughts, (besides those worthies yet living, both here and in Ireland, who would be unwilling from my pen to blush at their own just praises) as might justly shame and silence any gainsayer.

After that a malicious libeller hath spit out all his poison against Episcopacy; and raked together, out of all histories, all the insolencies and ill offices, which have, in former ages, been done by professedly Popish Prelates (which do almost as much concern us, as all the treasons and murders of formerly mal-contented persons can concern him), fain would I have him shew me, what Christian Church under heaven hath, in so short a time, yielded so many glorious lights of the Gospel, so many able and prevalent adversaries of schism and antichristianism, so many eminent authors of learned works which shall out-bid time itself. Let envy grind her teeth, and

eat her heart: the memory of these worthy Prelates shall be ever sweet and blessed.

Neither doubt I, but that it will please God, out of the same rod of Aaron still to raise such blossoms and fruit, as shall win him glory to all eternity. Go you on, to honour these your reverend Pastors; to hate all factious withdrawings from that government, which comes the nearest of any Church upon earth, to the Apostolical.

And, that I may draw to conclusion, for the farther confirmation of your good opinion of the Bishops of your Great Britain, hear what Jacobus Lectius, the learned Civilian of Geneva, in his "Theological Prescriptions," dedicated to the Consuls and Senate of Geneva, saith of them: *De Episcoporum autem vestrorum vocatione, &c:* "As for the calling of your Bishops," saith he *, speaking to his Popish adversaries, "others have accurately written thereof; and we shortly say, that they have a shew of an Ordinary Ministry, but not the thing itself; and that those only are to be held for true and legitimate, which Paul describes to us in his Epistles to Timothy and Titus: *Cujusmodi olim in magno illo Britanniarum regno extitisse, atque etiammum superesse, subindéque eligi Episcopos non diffitemur;* Such kind of Bishops as we do not deny, but yield, to have been of old, and to be still at this day, successively elected in the great kingdom of Britain." Thus he. When Geneva itself pleads for us, why should we be our own adversaries?

Let me, therefore, confidently shut up all, with that resolute word of that blessed Martyr and Saint, Ignatius †: Πάντα εἰς τιμὴν Θεοῦ γινέσθω. Τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε, ἵνα καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῖν. Ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσομένων Ἐπισκόπῳ, Πρεσβυτερίῳ, Διακόνοις. μετ' αὐτῶν μοι τὸ μέρος γένοιτο ἔχειν παρὰ Θεῷ: "Let all things be done to the honour of God. Give respect to your Bishop, as you would God should respect you. My soul for theirs, which obey their Bishop, Presbyters, Deacons. God grant that my portion may be the same with theirs." And let my soul have the same share with that blessed Martyr, that said so!

AMEN.

* Jacob. Lectius. Præscriptionum Theologicarum l. ii. Nota 2. Adversus codicem Fabrianum.

† See p. 576, note ‡, of this volume. EDITOR.

AN

HUMBLE REMONSTRANCE

TO THE

HIGH COURT

OF

PARLIAMENT,

BY

A DUTIFUL SON OF THE CHURCH.

AN

HUMBLE REMONSTRANCE

TO THE

HIGH COURT OF PARLIAMENT.

MOST HONOURABLE LORDS; AND YE, THE KNIGHTS, CITIZENS, AND BURGESSES, OF THE HONOURABLE HOUSE OF COMMONS:

LEST the world should think the press had of late forgot to speak any language other than libellous, this honest paper hath broken through the throng, and prostrates itself before you. How meanly soever, and unattended, it presents itself to your view; yet it comes to you on a great errand, as the faithful messenger of all the peaceable and right-affected sons of the Church of England; and, in their names, humbly craves a gracious admittance. Had it regarded the pomp and ostentation of names, it might have gloried in a train past number. It is but a poor stock, that may be counted. Millions of hands, if that tumultuary and underhand way of procured subscriptions could have reason to hope for favour in your eyes, shall, at your least command, give attestation to that, which this scroll doth, in their names, humbly tender unto you.

Ye are now happily, through God's blessing, met in a much-longed-for Parliament. It were but a narrow word, to say that the eyes of all us, the good subjects of the whole realm, are fixed upon your success. Certainly, there are not more eyes in these three interested Kingdoms, than are now bent upon you: yea, all the neighbour Churches and Kingdoms, if I may not say the whole Christian World, and no small part beyond it, look wishly upon your faces; and, with stretched-out necks, gaze at the issue of your great meeting. Neither doubt we, but since Sovereign Authority hath, for this purpose, both summoned and actuated you, you will not fail to produce something worthy of so high an expectation.

Ye are the sanctuary, whereto now every man flees, whether really or pretendedly distressed. Even a Joab or Adonijah will be also taking hold of the horns of the altar. Your noble Wisdoms know how to distinguish of men and actions; and your inviolable justice knows to award each his own.

Many things there are, doubtless, which you find worthy of a

seasonable reformation, both in Church and State. Neither can it be otherwise, but that, in a pampered full body, diseases will grow through rest. Ponds, that are seldom scoured, will easily gather mud; metals, rust: and those patients, that have inured themselves to a set course of medicinal evacuations, if they intermit their springs and falls, fall into feverous distempers.

Not, that supreme, and immediately-subordinate Authority hath, in the mean time, been wanting to its charge. Surely, unless we would suppose Princes to be Gods, we cannot think they can know all things. Of necessity, they must look with others' eyes, and hear with others' ears, and be informed by others' tongues, and act by others' hands; and, when all is done, even the most regular and carefully-inquisitive State is not like the sun, from whose light and heat nothing is hid.

It cannot be expected, that those constellations, which attend the Southern Pole, should take view of our Hemisphere, or intermix their influences with those above our heads. Every agent is required and allowed, to work within the compass of its own activity. Ye, therefore, who, by the benefit of your dispersed habitations, enjoy the advantage of having the whole kingdom and all the corners of it within your eyes, may both clearly see all those enormities, wherewith any part is infested, unknown to remoter intelligence; and can best judge to apply meet remedies thereunto. Neither can it be, but that those eyes of yours, which have been privately vigilant within the places of your several abodes, must needs, not without much regret, in this your public meeting, take notice of the miserable disorders of so many vicious and mis-affected persons, as have thrust themselves upon your cognizance.

While the orthodox part in this whole realm hath, to the praise of their patience, been quietly silent, as securely conscious of their own right and innocence; how many furious and malignant spirits every where have burst forth into slanderous libels, bitter pasquins, railing pamphlets! under which more presses than one have groaned: wherein they have endeavoured, through the sides of some misliked persons, to wound that sacred government, which, by the joint confession of all Reformed Divines, derives itself from the times of the blessed Apostles, without any interruption, without the contradiction of any one congregation in the Christian World, unto this present age.

Wherein, as no doubt their lewd boldness hath been extremely offensive to your wisdoms and piety: so may it please you to check this daring and mis-grounded insolence of these libellers; and, by some speedy Declaration, to let the world know, how much you detest this their malicious or ignorant presumption; and, by some needful Act, to put a present restraint upon the wild and lawless courses of all their factious combinations abroad, and enterprises of this kind.

And, if you find it pass for one of the main accusations against some great persons, now questioned before you, that they endeavoured to alter the form of the established government of the com-

monwealth; how can these pamphleteers seem worthy of but an easy censure, which combine their counsels and practices, for the changing of the settled form of the government of the Church? Since, if Antiquity may be the rule, the civil polity hath sometimes varied; the sacred, never. And, if original Authority may carry it, that came from arbitrary imposers; this, from men inspired, and from them in an unquestionable clearness derived to us. And, if those be branded for incendiaries, which are taxed of attempting to introduce new forms of administration, and rules of divine worship into our neighbour Church; how shall those *boute-feux* of ours escape, that offer to do these offices to our own? The several and daily variable projects whereof, are not worthy of your knowledge, or our confutation.

Let me have leave to instance in two, the prime subjects of their quarrel and contradiction: Liturgy, and Episcopacy.

The LITURGY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND hath been hitherto esteemed sacred, reverently used by holy Martyrs, daily frequented by devout Protestants; as that, which, more than once, hath been allowed and confirmed by the edicts of religious princes, and by your own Parliamentary Acts: and, but lately, being translated into other languages, hath been entertained abroad, with the great applause of foreign Divines and Churches; yet, now, begins to complain of scorn at home.

The matter is quarrelled by some; the form, by others; the use of it, by both.

That, which was never before heard of in the Church of God, whether Jewish or Christian, the very prescription of the most holy devotion offendeth. Surely, our Blessed Saviour and his gracious forerunner were so far from this new divinity, as that they plainly taught that, which these men gainsay; a direct form of prayer: and such, as that part of the frame prescribed by our Saviour was composed of those forms of devotion, which have been since usual with the Jews. And, indeed, God's people, ever since Moses's days, constantly practised a set form, and put it over unto the times of the Gospel: under which, while it is said that Peter and John went up to the Temple at the ninth hour of prayer, we know the prayer wherewith they joined was not of an extemporary and sudden conception, but of a regular prescription; and such, as those, or the like forms whereof, are yet extant, and ready to be produced. And the Evangelical Church, ever since, thought it could never better improve her peace and happiness, than in composing those religious models of invocation and thanksgiving, which they have traduced unto us.

And can ye then with patience think, that any ingenuous Christian should be so far mis-transported, as to condemn a good prayer; because, as it is in his heart, so it is in his book too?

Far be it from me, to dishearten any good Christian from the use of conceived prayer, in his private devotions; and, upon occasion also, in the public. I would hate to be guilty of pouring so much water upon the Spirit; to which I shall gladly add oil, rather. No:

let the full soul freely pour out itself in gracious expressions of its holy thoughts, into the bosom of the Almighty. Let both the sudden flashes of our quick ejaculations, and the constant flames of our more fixed conceptions, mount up from the altar of a zealous heart, unto the Throne of Grace: and, if there be some stops or solecisms in the fervent utterance of our private wants, these are so far from being offensive, that they are the most pleasing music to the ears of that God, unto whom our prayers come. Let them be broken off with sobs, and sighs, and incongruities of our delivery, our Good God is no otherwise affected to this imperfect elocution, than an indulgent parent is to the clipped and broken language of his dear child; which is more delightful to him, than any other's smooth oratory. This is not to be opposed in another, by any man, that hath found the true operation of this grace in himself.

But, in the mean time, let the Public Forms of the Sacred Church-Liturgy have its due honour. Let this, by the power of your authority, be re-inforced; as that, which, being selected out of ancient models (not Roman, but Christian) and contrived by the holy Martyrs and Confessors of the blessed Reformation of Religion, hath received abundant supply of strength, both from the zealous recommendation of four most religious princes, and your own most firm and peremptory establishment.

Amongst which powerful inducements, that is worthy of no slight consideration, which I humbly tender unto you, from the judgment of the learnedest King, that ever sat upon this throne; or, as I verily think, since Solomon's time, upon any other: King James, of blessed memory; who, however mis-alleged by some as letting fall disgraceful speeches concerning this subject, after a solemn hearing of those exceptions which were taken by some against this open form of Common-Prayer, (as it is called in Queen Elizabeth's Act for Uniformity) shuts up in his Proclamation given at Westminster, the fifth of March, in the first year of his reign, with these words: "And, last of all, We admonish all men, that, hereafter, they shall not expect or attempt any farther alteration in the Common and Public Form of God's Service, from this, which is now established: for that, neither will We give way to any, to presume, that, Our own judgment having determined in a matter of this weight, shall be swayed to alteration by the frivolous suggestion of any light spirit; neither are We ignorant, of the inconveniences that do arise in government, by admitting innovation in things once settled by mature deliberation: and how necessary it is to use constancy, in the upholding of the public determinations of States; for, that such is the unquietness and unsteadfastness of some dispositions, affecting every year new forms of things, as, if they should be followed in their inconstancy, would make all actions of State ridiculous and contemptible; whereas the steadfast maintaining of things, by good advise established, is the weal of all commonwealths."

Thus that great oracle of wisdom and learning; whom, I beseech you, suppose, that you still hear directing this prudent and religious advice to your present ears; and consider how requisite it is for

you, out of the reason, both of state and piety, to rest in that his sound and exquisite judgment.

As for those particularities of exceptions, which have been taken by some at certain passages of that book, they have more than once received full satisfaction, by other pens. Let me only say thus much, that, were the readers but as charitable as the contrivers were religiously devout, those quarrels had either never been raised, or had soon died, alone.

Oh, suffer not then, I beseech you, this Holy Form of God's Service to be exposed to the proud contempt of ignorant and ill-affected persons. Maintain and bear up the pious acts of your godly predecessors; yea, make good your own. And, if our holy Martyrs heretofore went to heaven with a Litany in their mouth, let not an ill-advised new-fangledness be suffered to put scorn upon that, wherein they thought themselves happy.

As for that form of EPISCOPAL GOVERNMENT, which hath hitherto obtained in the Church of God, I confess I am confounded in myself, to hear with what unjust clamours it is cried down abroad, by either weak or factious persons: of either or both which, I may well take up that word of our Saviour, *Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.* Surely, could those look with my eyes, they would see cause to be thoroughly ashamed of this their injurious mis-conceit: and should be forced to confess, that never any good cause had more reason to complain of a wrongful prosecution.

Were this ordinance merely human and ecclesiastical, if there could no more be said for it, but that it is exceeding ancient, of more than 1500 years standing; and that it hath continued in this island, since the first plantation of the Gospel, to this present day, without contradiction; a man would think this were enough plea to challenge a reverent aspect, and an immunity from all thoughts of alteration: for, even nature itself teaches us to rise up before the hoar-head; and hath wrought in us a secret honour, even to the very outward gravity of age: and just policy teaches us, not easily to give way to the change of those things, which long use and many laws have firmly established, as necessary, or beneficial.

Yea, the wisdom of the ancient Grecians went so far, as to forbid the removal of a well-settled evil. But, if religion teach us better things; and tell us, that nothing morally evil can be settled well; and being, however, settled, had the more need to be, after too long delay, removed: yet, right reason and sound experience inform us, that things indifferent or good, having been by continuance and general approbation well rooted in Church or State, may not, upon light grounds, be pulled up.

But, this holy calling fetches its pedigree higher; even from no less, than Apostolical, (and therefore, in that right, Divine) institution. For, although those things, which the founders and prime governors of the Evangelical Church did, as men, went no further than their own persons; yet what they did as Apostles, is of a higher and more sacred consideration: and if, as Apostolic men, they did,

upon occasion, enact some temporary things, which were to die with or before them; yet, those things, which they ordained for the succeeding administration of the Church which they should leave behind them, in all essential matters, can be no otherwise construed, than as exemplary and perpetual.

Now if, to this text, we shall add the undoubted commentary of the Apostles' own practices; and, to this commentary, we shall super-add the unquestionable gloss of the clear practice of their immediate successors, in this administration, continued in Christ's Church to this very day; what scruple can remain in any ingenuous heart?

But, if any one resolve to continue unsatisfied, in spite of reason and all evidence of history; and will wilfully shut his eyes, with a purpose not to see the light; that man is past my cure, and almost my pity. The Good God of Heaven be merciful to such a mis-zealous obstinacy!

Certainly, except all histories, all authors fail us, nothing can be more plain than this truth. Out of them, we can and do shew, on whom the Apostles of Christ laid their hands, with an acknowledgment and conveyance of Imparity and Jurisdiction: we shew what Bishops, so ordained, lived in the times of the Apostles; and succeeded each other, in their several charges, under the eyes and hands of the then living Apostles: we shew who immediately succeeded those immediate successors, in their several Sees, throughout all the regions of the Christian Church; and deduce their uninterrupted line, through all the following ages, to this present day. And, if there can be better evidence under heaven, for any matter of fact (and in this cause, matter of fact so derived, evinceth matter of right) let Episcopacy be for ever abandoned out of God's Church. But, if these be, as they are, certain and irrefragable, alas! what strange fury possesseth the minds of ignorant, unstable men, that they should thus headily desire and sue to shake off so sacred and well-grounded an institution!

But, I hear what they say. It is not the Office of Episcopacy that displeases, but the Quality. The Apostles' Bishops, and ours, were two. Theirs was no other than a parochial Pastor; a preaching Presbyter, without inequality, without any rule over his brethren: ours claims an eminent superiority, whether in a distinct order or degree; and a power of Ordination, Jurisdiction, unknown to the Primitive Times:—

Alas, alas! how good people may be abused by mis-information! Hear, I beseech you, the words of truth and confidence. If our Bishops challenge any other spiritual power, than was, by Apostolic Authority, delegated unto and required of Timothy and Titus, and the Angels of the Seven Asian Churches, (some whereof are known to us by name); let them be disclaimed as usurpers: and, if we do not shew, out of the genuine and undeniable writings of those holy men, which lived both in the times of the Apostles and some years after them, and conversed with them as their blessed fellow-labourers, a clear and received distinction, both of the names and of-

fices of the Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons as three distinct subordinate callings in God's Church, with an evident specification of the duty and charge belonging to each of them, let this claimed Hierarchy be for ever hooted out of the Church. And, if the bounty of religious princes have thought meet to grace this sacred function, with some accession of titles and maintenance; far be it from us, to think, that the substance and essential parts of that calling is ought impaired or altered, by such gracious munificence. And, although, as the world goes, these honours cannot balance the contempt of those eminent places; and that portion, which is now made hereditary to the Church, cannot, in the most of these dignities, after all deductions, boast of any superfluity; yet, such as they are, if any man have so little grace and power of self-government, as to be puffed up with pride or transported to an immoderation in the use of these adventitious favours, the sin is personal, the calling free; which may be and is managed by others, with all humble sociableness, hospital frugality, conscionable improvement of all means and opportunities to the good of God's Church.

I may not yet dissemble, that, while we plead the Divine Right of Episcopacy, a double scandal is taken, by men, otherwise not injudicious; and cast upon us, from the usual suggestions of some late pamphleteers.

The one, that we have deserted our former tenet; not without the great prejudice of sovereignty: for, whereas we were wont to acknowledge the deriving of our tenure, as in fee, from the beneficent hand of kings and princes; now, as either proudly or ungratefully casting off that just dependance and beholdingness, we stand upon the claim of our Episcopacy, from a divine original.

The other, that, while we labour to defend the Divine Right of our Episcopacy, we seem to cast a dangerous imputation upon those Reformed Churches, which want that government.

Both which must be shortly cleared.

The former had never been found worth objecting, if men had wisely learned to consider, how little incompatibleness there is, in this case, of God's act and the King's. Both of them have their proper object and extent. The office is from God: the place, and station, and power, wherein that office is exercised, is from the King. It is the King, that gives the Bishopric: it is God, that makes the Bishop. Where was it ever heard of, that a Sovereign Prince claimed the power of Ordaining a Pastor in the Church? This is derived from none, but spiritual hands. On the other side, who, but Princes, can take upon them, to have power to erect and dispose of Episcopal Sees, within their own dominions? It is with a King and a Bishop, as with the patron and the incumbent: the patron gives the benefice to his Clerk, but pretends not to give him Orders: that this man is a Minister, he hath from his diocesan; that he is beneficed, he hath from his patron: while he acknowledgeth his Orders from the reverend hands of his Bishop, doth he derogate ought from the bounty of a patron's free presentation? No otherwise is it with Episcopacy; which thankfully professes to hold, at

once, from God and the King: its calling, of God; its place and exercise of Jurisdiction, of the King. And, if it be objected, that both the former and the modern Divines, both abroad and at home, borrowing St. Jerome's phrase, have held the superiority of Bishops over Presbyters to be grounded rather upon the custom of the Church than any appointment of Christ; I must answer, first, that we cannot prescribe to other men's thoughts: when all is said, men will take liberty, (and who can hinder it?) to abound in their own sense: but, secondly, if they shall grant, as they shall be forced, that this custom was of the Church Apostolical; and had its rise, with the knowledge, approbation, practice of those inspired Legates of Christ; and was, from their very hands, recommended to the then present and subsequent Church, for continuance; there is no such great dissonance in the opinions, as may be worthy of a quarrel.

The second is intended to raise envy against us, as the uncharitable censurers and condemners of those Reformed Churches abroad, which differ from our Government. Wherein, we do justly complain of a slanderous aspersion cast upon us. We love and honour those Sister-Churches, as the dear Spouse of Christ. We bless God for them: and we do heartily wish unto them that happiness, in the partnership of our administration, which, I doubt not, but they do no less heartily wish unto themselves.

Good words! you will perhaps say; but what is all this fair compliment, if our act condemn them, if our very tenet exclude them? For, if Episcopacy stand by Divine Right, what becomes of those Churches that want it?—

Malice and ignorance are met together, in this unjust aggravation.

First, our position is only affirmative; implying the justifiableness and holiness of an Episcopal calling, without any further implication.

Next, when we speak of Divine Right, we mean not an express law of God, requiring it upon the absolute necessity of the being of a Church, what hindrances soever may interpose; but a Divine institution, warranting it where it is, and requiring it where it may be had.

Every Church, therefore, which is capable of this form of government, both may and ought to affect it; as that, which is, with so much authority, derived from the Apostles, to the whole body of the Church upon earth. but those particular Churches, to whom this power and faculty is denied, lose nothing of the true essence of a Church, though they miss something of their glory and perfection, whereof they are barred, by the necessity of their condition; neither are liable to any more imputation, in their credit and esteem, than an honest, frugal, officious tenant, who, notwithstanding the proffer of all obsequious services, is tied to the limitations and terms of a hard landlord.

But, so much we have reason to know of the judgment of the neighbour Churches and their famous Divines, that, if they might hope to live so long, as to see a full freedom of option tendered

unto them by Sovereign Authority with all suitable conditions, they would most gladly embrace this our form of government; which differs little from their own, save, in the perpetuity of their προεδρία, or Moderatorship; and the exclusion of that Lay-Presbytery, which never, till this age, had footing in the Christian Church.

Neither would we desire to choose any other judges of our calling, and the glorious eminence of our Church so governed, than the famous Professors of Geneva itself: learned Lectius, for a Civillian *; and, for a Divine, Fredericus Spanhemius, the now renowned Pastor, and Reader of Divinity in Geneva. Who, in his Dedicatory Epistle before the third part of his *Dubia Evangelica*, to the incomparable Lord Primate of Ireland, doth zealously applaud and congratulate unto us the happy, and, as he conceiveth, flourishing estate of our Church, under this government; magnifying the graces of God in the Bishops thereof; and shuts up with fervent prayers to God, for the continuance of the authority of the Prelates of these Churches †. Oh, then, while Geneva itself praiseth our Government, and God for it, and prays for the happy perpetuation of it, let it not be suffered, that any ignorant or spiteful sectaries should openly, in their libels, curse it; and maliciously brand it, with the terms of Unlawful and Antichristian.

Your Wisdoms cannot but have found abundant reason, to hate and scorn this base and unreasonable suggestion; which would necessarily infer, that not Christ, but Antichrist, hath had the full sway of all God's Church upon earth, for these whole sixteen hundred years: a blasphemy, which any Christian heart must needs abhor.

And who, that hath ever looked into either books or men, knows not, that the religious Bishops of all times are and have been they, which have strongly held up the Kingdom of Christ and the sincere truth of the Gospel, against all the wicked machinations of Satan and his Antichrist? And, even amongst our own, how many of the reverend and learned Fathers of the Church, now living, have spent their spirits and worn out their lives, in the powerful opposition of that *Man of Sin!* Consider, then, I beseech you, what a shameful injustice it is, in these bold slanderers, to cast upon these zealously-religious Prelates, famous for their works (against Rome) in foreign parts, the guilt of that, which they have so meritoriously and convincingly opposed. If this most just defence may satisfy them, I shall, for their sakes, rejoice: but, if they shall either with the wilfully-deaf adder stop their ears; or, against the light of their own

* Jacobus Lectius. Præsc. Theol. l. ii. Vidè "Episc. by Divine Right." fol. ult.

† *Obversatur mihi crebrò grata ista Ecclesiarum vestrarum facies, ista in publicis pietatis exercitiis reverentia, &c.—Et, quamvis omnia illa regna abundent Præsulibus eruditissimis, et Theologis summis, &c.—Sive prolixi nostri erga Ecclesias omnes Britannicas affectus, quarum Præsules amplissimos, Pastores fidos, greges florentes in Domino suspicimus et amplexamur, &c.—Quò Deo sua semper apud vos constet gloria, Serenissimo Regi vestro suum jus, Præsulibus sua authoritas, Pastoribus suus honor, Ecclesiis vestris omnibus sua sanctitas, sua tranquillitas, &c.* Epist. Dedic. 3. Partis Dub. Evang. Anno 1638.

consciences, out of private respects, bear up a known error of unchari ableness; this very paper shall, one day, be an evidence against them, before the dreadful tribunal of the Almighty.

What should I urge, in some others, the careful, peaceable, painful, conscionable managing of their charges; to the great glory of God, and comfort of his faithful people? And if, while these challenge a due respect from all well-minded Christians, some others bear ill, (how deservedly, God knows, and will in due time manifest) yet, why should a holy calling suffer? why should the faults, if such be, of some, diffuse their blame to all? Far, far we know is this, from the approved integrity of your noble justice: while, in the mean time, unless your just check do seasonably remedy it, the impetuous and undistinguishing vulgar are ready so to involve all, as to make innocence itself a sin; and, which I am amazed to think of, dare say and write, "The better man, the worse Bishop."

And now, since I am fallen upon this sad subject, give me leave, I beseech you, to profess, with how bleeding a heart I hear of the manifold scandals of some of the inferior Clergy, presented to your view, from all parts. It is the misery and shame of this Church, if they be so foul as they are suggested: but, if I durst presume so far, I should, in the bowels of Christ, beseech you, upon the finding of so hateful enormities, to give me leave to put you in mind of the charitable example of our religious Constantine, in the like case. You cannot dislike so gracious a pattern. I plead not for their impunity: let them, within the sphere of their offence, bear their own sin. But, oh, forbid to have it told in Gath, or published in the streets of Askelon. Your Wisdoms well see, under what malignant eyes we are, of opposite spectators. What a death it is, to think of the sport and advantage these watchful enemies will be sure to make of our sins and shame *! What exprobrations, what triumphs of theirs, will hence ensue! These, and all other our cares, are now securely cast upon your exquisite prudence and goodness. The very mention of our fears, while ye sit, had need to crave pardon of presumption. But, withal, to take down the insolence of those envious insulters, it may please you to give me leave to tell them, that, however, in so numerous a multitude, there be found some foully vicious; as there is no pomegranate wherein some grains are not rotten, and even in twelve there is one Judas: yet, upon a just survey, it will be found, that no one Clergy in the whole Christian World yields so many eminent scholars, learned preachers, grave, holy, and accomplished Divines, as this Church of England doth at this day. And long, and ever, may it thus flourish! as it surely shall, through God's blessing, while the bountiful encouragements of learning and ingenuous education are happily continued to it. And the more, when those luxuriant boughs of disorder and debauchedness are, through just censures, seasonably lopped off.

But, stay. Where are we, or what is this we speak of, or to

* *Et nostris pinguescunt monstra ruinis.* Jos. Isc.

whom? While I mention the Church of England, as thinking it your honour and my own to be the professed sons of such a mother, I am now taught a new divinity; and bidden to ask, which Church we mean. My simplicity never thought of any more Churches of England, but one. Now, this very day's wiser discovery tells us of more. There is a Prelatical Church, they say, for one: and, which is the other? Surely it is so young, that, as yet, it hath no name: except we shall call it indefinitely, as the Jews were wont to style the creature they could not abide to mention, "That other thing." And what thing shall that be, think we? Let it be called, if you please, the Church Antiprelatical; but leave England out of the style. Let it take a larger denomination, and extend to our friends at Amsterdam and elsewhere, and not be confined to our England. Withal, let them be put in mind, that they must yet think of another subdivision of this division: some there are, they know, which can be content to admit of an orderly subordination of several parishes to Presbyteries, and those again to Synods: others are all for a Parochial absoluteness and independence. Yea, and, of these, there will be a division, in *semper divisibilia;* till they come to very atoms: for, to which of those scores of separated congregations, known to be within and about these walls, will they be joined? and how long, without a further scissure? O God; where do men stay, when they are once past the true bounds?

But, if it be so, that the Prelatical part must needs make up one divident member of this English Church, tell me, Brethren, I beseech you, what are the bounders of this Church? what the distinction of the Professors and Religion? and, if the clients of the Prelacy and their adherents, whose several thousands are punctually calculated, be they, who make up this Prelatical Church, what grounds of faith, what new Creed do they hold, different from their neighbours? what Scriptures, what Baptism, what Eucharist, what Christ, what heaven, what means of salvation other than the rest?

Alas, my Brethren, while we do fully agree in all these, and all other doctrinal and practical points of religion, why will ye be so uncharitable, as, by these frivolous and causeless divisions, to rend the seamless coat of Christ? Is it a title, or a retinue, or a ceremony, a garment, or a colour, or an organ-pipe, that can make us a different Church, while we preach and profess the same saving truth? while we desire, as you profess to do, to walk conscionably with our God, according to that one rule of the royal law of our Maker? while we oppose one and the same common enemy? while we unfeignedly endeavour to *hold the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace?* Oh, consider, I beseech you in the fear of God, consider, whether these be the thoughts of the sons of peace; and such, as are suitable to the charge and legacy of our Dear Saviour; and think seriously from what spirit they proceed.

For us, we make no difference at all, in the right and interest of the Church, betwixt Clergy and Laity; betwixt the Clergy and Laity of one part, and another. We are all your true brethren.

We are one with you, both in heart and brain; and hope to meet you in the same heaven: but, if ye will needs be otherwise minded, we can but bewail the Church's misery, and your sin; and shall beseech God to be merciful to your willing and uncharitable separation. Howsoever, I have freed my soul before my God, in the conscience of this just expostulation and faithful advice.

What remains, but that I pour out my heart, in my fervent and daily prayers to the Father of all Mercies, that it would please him to inspire this Great Council, with all wisdom from above; and crown this great meeting, with the blessing of all happy success: so as it may produce much glory to his own name; much complacency and contentment to his dear anointed, comfort to all good hearts, terror to his enemies, seasonable restraint to all insolence and faction, prevention of all innovations; and, lastly, a firm peace and settlement to this Church and Commonwealth, and to all other his Majesty's Dominions? Which God grant, for the sake of the Son of his Love, Jesus Christ the Righteous. Amen. Amen.

A

DEFENCE

OF THE

HUMBLE REMONSTRANCE,

AGAINST THE FRIVOLOUS AND FALSE EXCEPTIONS

OF

SMECTYMNUUS.

WHEREIN THE

RIGHT OF LITURGY AND EPISCOPACY

IS CLEARLY VINDICATED FROM THE VAIN CAVILS AND CHALLENGES OF THE ANSWERERS.

BY

THE AUTHOR OF THE SAID HUMBLE REMONSTRANCE.

SECONDED, IN WAY OF APPENDANCE, WITH THE JUDGMENT OF THE FAMOUS DIVINE OF THE PALATINATE,

D. ABRAHAMUS SCULTETUS,

LATE PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HEIDELBERG:

CONCERNING THE DIVINE RIGHT OF EPISCOPACY, AND THE NO-RIGHT OF LAY-ELDERSHIP.

FAITHFULLY TRANSLATED OUT OF HIS LATIN

TO THE

KING'S MOST SACRED MAJESTY

MOST DREAD SOVEREIGN:

YOUR Majesty was pleased to cast a gracious eye upon a late 'Humble Remonstrance,' made to the High Court of Parliament; bemoaning the lawless frequence of scandalous libels, and modestly asserting the true right of Liturgy and Episcopacy.

I little thought, that so meek and gall-less a discourse could have irritated any, the least opposition: but now, I find, to my grief, that even to move for peace, is quarrel enough; and feel many fists about my ears, ere I could imagine to have offended.

Occasion is taken from those quiet lines, to combine forces against the cause I maintained. The quarrel is insolently managed, by many unknown hands. Yet, the riot of these impotent assailants should not easily have drawn me forth, had I not perceived that their confident ostentation and proud carriage in this affray, hath won them some, how undeserved soever, opinion of skill, with their credulous abettors; and, thereby, some disadvantage to my just cause.*

As one, therefore, that hates to betray the truth by an unfaithful silence, I do cheerfully enter these lists; rejoicing to hope, that Your Majesty's eye may be the judge and witness of my success.

Neither shall it be displeasing to Your Majesty, that Your most honourable Peers and most faithful Commons, now assembled, shall see the injustice and ungroundedness of that bold Appeal, which was made to them, by my daring Answerers: whose abilities I tax not;

* The Dissenting Ministers, who wrote against our Author under the assumed name of SMECTYMNVVS, were Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow: the initials of their names forming the word SMECTYMNVVS. See Neal's Hist. of the Puritans. Vol. 1. 4to. p. 666. EDITOR.

but their fidelity, I must; as those, who have sought foully to abuse their implored judges with false shews of mis-alleged Antiquity, and merely colourable pretences of proofs.

Which if I do not make good, to them and the world, in this ensuing Discourse, let the blemish of reputation lead way to the sharpest censure upon the person of

Your Majesty's

zealously loyal Subject,

The Most Humble Remonstrant.

A DEFENCE

OF THE

HUMBLE REMONSTRANCE.

SECT. 1.

My single 'Remonstrance' is encountered with a plural adversary, that talks in the style of "We," and "Us." Their names, persons, qualities, numbers, I care not to know: but, could they say, *My name is Legion, for we are many;* or, were they as many Legions as men; my cause, yea God's, would bid me to meet them undismayed, and to say, with holy David, *Though a host should encamp against me, my heart shall not fear;* Ps. xxvii. 3. The truth of God, which I maintain, shall bear me up against the discouragements of my confessed weakness. In which just confidence, I do gladly fly to the Bar of this High and Honourable Court, craving no favour but justice.

Besides number, these men think, perhaps, to carry it by bulk: for those, that spare not to condemn the multitude of my few words, lash out into so tedious an Answer, that, if I should return them a Reply in the same proportion, the reader's eye would be tired with the very prospect, and his tongue could not but say, *Quis leget hæc?* But, though they have had so little mercy on him, as to put him to the penance of their longsome volume, I dare not abuse his leisure, in following them in every step of their loose and superfluous discourse; but shall so contract their lavish sheets, as that, while I save time, I shall not lose ought of truth.

And, first, these brief men complain of the length of my Preface*;

* I have compared, throughout, our Author's "Defence of the Humble Remonstrance," and his "Short Answer to the Tedious Vindication of Smectymnuus," with the two Tracts of Smectymnuus, to which they are replies; and, in order to render the Bishop's pieces more intelligible, have marked most of the expressions which he quotes from himself with single, and those of his opponents with double, inverted commas: so far as the inaccurate method of quotation, common in that age, would allow. EDITOR.

and fetch their grounds afar off, from the "admired sons of justice, the Areopagi*:"—

The Areopagi? who were those? Truly, my masters, I had thought this had been the name of the place, not of the men. It is an ill sign, they say, to stumble at the threshold. And what say the admired Areopagi, the grave judges of Athens? They condemn prefaces and passion; neither of which can be justly charged upon the 'Remonstrance:' for the Passion, let any reader judge, whether ought can be more calmly, more mildly written: and for the Preface, Brethren, your censure is palpably mistaken; for that, which you mis-call the Preface, is one of the main pieces of the substance of that intended discourse, which was a too just complaint of the shameful number of libels, lately dropped from our lawless presses; a point, no less considerable, nor less essential to that proposed 'Remonstrance,' than those, which your peremptory analysis makes the only subject thereof. I beseech you, Brethren, spend your logic upon your own works: let mine be such as I contrive them.

Those trifling cavils, which you are pleased to make at some phrases † of this mis-named Preface, are not worth notice. It is not for us, to run after the spending of every mouth. Belike, it angers you, to hear of the honesty of my moderate paper, out of the conscience of your own guiltiness. Fain would you excuse that, which the world cries shame on; the multitude of the late seditious pamphlets: whereat you might well blush in silence; when an honourable person, in open parliament, could reckon up no less than seven score, that had passed the press since the beginning of this session.

Those other verbal exceptions ‡ are but light froth, and will sink alone. That scum may be worth taking off, which follows: wherein I shall desire all indifferent eyes to judge, whether these men do not endeavour to cast unjust envy upon me, against the clear verdict of any knowing man's conscience.

In comparing of governments of Churches and States, I had said, that, 'if Antiquity may be the rule, the Civil Polity,' as in general notion, 'hath sometimes varied,' as that of the State of Rome had done to seven several forms; 'the Sacred, never:' the Civil 'came from arbitrary imposers;' the Sacred, 'from men inspired.' These gracious interpreters would needs draw my words to the present and particular government of our own monarchy; as if I implied that, to be variable and arbitrary: and are not ashamed to mention that deadly name of Treason. Whereas, no man, that is not wilfully blind, but sees that I speak of the common forms of government, that are in the several states and dominions in the world: whereof some are ruled by an Aristocracy; others, by a Democracy; others, by a Monarchy, whether limited or ab-

* Acts xvii. 22. Areopagus, Mars-hill, or The Court of Areopagites.
† 'Branded,' and 'misliked,' &c. ‡ Page 4.

solute ; others, by a mixed form of all these ; which were, in their first beginnings, in the free arbitrement of their founders : not aiming at the settled government of any one kingdom ; much less, of our own.

Brethren, while you desire to seem godly, learn to be less malicious. In the mean time, God bless all good men from such charity, and our sacred monarchy from such friends. The form of the Episcopal Government of the Church hath, contrarily, been ever one and the same, without any considerable variation : and, if it have anywhere "invaded the civil" administration and "yoked monarchy," it is the insolence of the persons, not the fault of the calling : and, if "William Rufus," a prince noted for grossly irreligious, "oppressed by" tyrannical Popish "Prelates," did let fall this choleric word, that he would have "the Jews confute them ;" and that, rather than fail, England should turn Jewish, on this condition ; is this an argument for any Christian to use, for the confuting of godly and loyal Protestant Bishops ; which are ready to be censured rather, for too great observance of Sovereignty? Let any but a Jew judge, whether this be a fit instance for a Christian. Any thing serves against Episcopacy.

The testimony of a Pope, (whom these men honour highly) Pius IV. is also brought in, as irrefragable, against the Divine Right of Bishops. And what says Antichrist? He tells the Spanish Ambassador, that his master, suing for the Council's declaration of this truth, knew not what he demanded ; "for Bishops, so declared, would be exempted from his regal power, and as independent as the Pope himself." Tell me, Brethren, do ye like or believe this assertion, because a Pope said it? Or, can ye blame him, who would have all Episcopal Jurisdiction derived merely from himself, to be unwilling, that their right should be yielded to have the same grounds, which he pretends for his own? And, if there might be this danger in those kingdoms, where the Clergy challengeth an exemption from the power of all Secularity ; why is this enviously upbraided to those of ours, who do gladly profess, notwithstanding the Apostolical, that is, Divine Right of their calling, to hold their places and exercise of their jurisdiction wholly from His Majesty?

Not less spiteful, nor more true, is your observation of the comparison made between the endeavours of alteration in our neighbour Church, by our "Episcopal faction ;" and that, which "is now justly desired by the humble petitioners to the Honourable House." It is a foul slander, to charge the name of Episcopacy with a faction, for the fact imputed to some few. Fie, Brethren! are ye Presbyters of the Church of England, and dare challenge Episcopacy of faction? Had you spoken but such a word in the time of holy Cyprian, whom you frequently cite, as a pattern of good discipline, what had become of you?

Neither is the wrong less, to make application of that, which was most justly charged upon the practices and combinations of libelling Separatists, to humble and peaceable Petitioners : the one, raising downright upon an established and holy government, whom I de-

servedly censured; the other, modestly suing for a reformation of the abuses of government. Surely, while the worst are thus patronized by our indulgent Answerers, it is a hard question, Whether the libellers themselves, or these their mis-zealous advocates, are more justly to be 'branded for Incendiaries.'

SECT. 2.

After this overflowing of your gall, you descend to the two main subjects of this quarrel, Liturgy and Episcopacy.

I had truly said, that our Liturgy 'hath been hitherto esteemed sacred, reverently used by holy Martyrs, frequented by devout Protestants; as that, which hath been confirmed by edicts of religious Princes, and our own Parliamentary Acts.'

"And hath it so?" say you: "Whence then proceed so many additions and alterations, that have changed the face and fabric" thereof? Additions and Alterations? What! in the present Liturgy? Where, or what? Tell me, I beseech you, Brethren, are they visible, or are they not? If not, how come ye to see them? if so, why cannot we? Perhaps, somewhere, instead of Priest, there is Minister: perhaps, Absolution is interpreted by a Remission: perhaps, in private baptism, there is mention of a Lawful Minister: perhaps, instead of Purification of Women, there is Thanksgiving. And can ye know the book, when ye see it again, after these "Alterations," these "Additions?" Is it not now, with this mis-altered Liturgy, as with the disguised dames mentioned of old by Dr. Hall (whom you name, I dare say, for honour's sake!) so mishapen by their monstrous fashions, that their redivived grandsires could not now know them? Can ye but blush, at this envious and groundless suggestion?

And why should not I speak of Martyrs, as the authors and users of this holy Liturgy? Why should not we glory in their name and authority? Slight you them, as you please: we bless God for such patrons of our good cause. What a poor return is this! While I tell you what our holy Martyrs did, you tell me what one of our Bishops said: as if we were bound to make good every word, that falls from the mouth of every Bishop. Even of the best man, we may say, as the Psalmist doth of Moses, *effutiit labiis; He spake unadvisedly with his lips.* As for the words themselves, if a Bishop have said, that our Liturgy hath been so wisely and charitably framed, as that the devotion of it yieldeth no cause of offence to a very Pope's ear, as only aiming at an uncontroversory piety; I see not what heinous fault can herein be imputed to the speech, or the author. Would you think it requisite, that we should chide and quarrel, when we speak to the God of Peace?

It is no little advantage, therefore, both to our cause and piety, that our Liturgy is taught to speak several languages, both for use

and example; and, thereby, our Church hath gained much justification and honour.

As for that sharp censure of learned Mr. Calvin's, *Tolerabiles ineptiæ*, however it might well have been forborne by him, *in alienâ republicâ;* and, by you, to press it upon our own; we honour the name of that noble instrument of God's glory in his Church: yet, withal, we fear not to say, without any disparagement to his worth, that our Liturgy, both in the frame and survey of it, passed the judgment of no less reverend heads than his own. Neither would you think it could become any of our greatest Divines, to meddle with the wafers, or Lord's Day markets of his charge: let every Church take care of their own affairs.

As for that "unparalleled discourse" of mine, concerning the Antiquity of Liturgies; "unparalleled," you say, "because no man, that" you "have seen, ever drew the line of Liturgy so high" as I have done: I must tell you, that, perhaps, there may be some things in the world, that may have escaped your not-omniscient eyes; and, perhaps, this may be one. I cannot help your wonder; but I shall justify my own assertion.

In the mean while, ye do almost yield the question, ere ye argue it. "If, by Liturgy," you say, "this Remonstrant understand an Order observed in Church assemblies, of praying, reading, and expounding the Scriptures, administration of Sacraments, &c: such a Liturgy we know and acknowledge, both Jews and Christians have used." This yielded, what stick you at?

That there were "prescribed and stinted forms, composed by particular men in the Church, and imposed upon the rest," this will not down with you. Wherein I cannot see, how ye will avoid your own contradiction: for, I demand, is this order of praying and administration set, or no? If it be not set, how is it an order? and if it be a set order, both for matter and form (for you cannot, I suppose, under the name of an Order, intend a mere Table, or Rubric) how can it be other, than prescribed? If the forms were merely arbitrary, to what use was the prescription of an order? and, if they were not arbitrary, certainly they were in some sort stinted and imposed.

But what a poor exception is this, that they were "composed by some particular men!" Was it ever heard, that a whole Church together framed a Form of Prayer? Can one uniform expression be the original act of many thousand brains and tongues? Certainly, some one, or few, must mould that, which all shall both own and use.

It is a silly ostentation of Antiquity, that these men bring against these prescribed forms of Liturgy.

Tertullian, in his Apol. chap 30. says, The Christians of those times did, in their assemblies, pray for the Emperor*, *sine moni-*

* If we may not rather take it to allude to the manner of the Heathens, who, because their gods were *multinomines*, according to their several powers and virtues, had certain monitors to put the suppliants in mind of the appellations of their

tore, quia de pectore, that is, "not being urged by any superior injunction, but freely out of the loyal inclination of their own hearts:" (you mis-English it, "Without any prompter, but their own hearts.") What is this, to a prescribed form? Or, if they will needs so take it, why do they not as well argue, That, because our Ministers do ordinarily in their pulpits pray for the King in their own expressions, therefore there is no form of Liturgy enjoined?

As for their other testimony, it is less to the purpose. Who ever denied, that some things are to be asked, "according to every man's occasion?" Do we abridge this liberty, by ordaining a Public Form? And, if the Lord's Prayer be yielded for an ordinary and stinted form, why not others? since the opposers of stinted forms do, upon the same grounds, decry that also.

St. Austin says *, "It is free to ask the same things, that are desired in the Lord's Prayer, *aliis atque aliis verbis*, in other ways of expression:" who ever doubted of it? Yet themselves will not dare to hold, that, in St. Austin's time, there was no Public Liturgy †. This is but to mock the reader.

If Justin Martyr said, that ὁ προεςὼς (whom they somewhat guiltily translate "The instructor of the people") prayed, as they falsely turn it, "according to his ability ‡," it is true: so do ours; and yet, God be thanked, we have a Liturgy, and so had they. Neither is this liberty of pouring out ourselves in our prayers ever the more impeached by a Public Form; since both those may and do well stand together.

It is somewhat magisterially said by these men, that "Set and imposed forms were not introduced, till the Arian and Pelagian Heresies did invade the Church:" and, as clerkly, do they immediately confute themselves, by their own testimonies cited out of the Council of Laodicea §, which was before their limited time; as being before the Nicene, and betwixt that and the Neocesarean. Nothing can be more full than the Canon of that ancient Synod, that "the same Liturgy of Prayers should be always used, both in morning and evening ‖." Yet, to mend the matter, "This," say they, "was a form of a man's own prescribing:" were it so, wherein is that the better? But how appears it? By another Canon in a

deities; as Desiderius Heraldus thinks: and to this purpose, brings that of St. Augustin, cited out of Seneca; as he reads it, *Alius numina Dei subjicit*; or, as Lipsius, *nomina*: however, it cannot give the least colour to the sense intended by the Answerers.

* Aug. Ep. 121.

† Aug. de Bon. Persever. c. 22. *Utinam tardi corde sic audirent disputationes nostras, ut magis intuerentur orationes nostras; quas semper habuit et habebit Ecclesia, ab exordiis suis usque dum finiatur seculum.*

‡ Just. Mart. Apol. 2. The words are ὅση δύναμις: that is, "with all intention;" and implied in that of the same Justin Martyr, ανιςάμεθα κοινὰ πάντες, καὶ ἐυχας πέμπομεν.

§ Conc. Laod. c. 19. First, the prayers of the *Catechumeni* preceded: then, those of the Penitents followed: then, those of the Faithful concluded.

‖ Περὶ τὴν ἀυτὴν Λειτουργίαν τῶν εὐχῶν, πάντοτε καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑσπέραις, καὶ ταῖς ενναταις, ὀφελεῖν γίνεσθαι. Conc. Laod. c. 8.

following Council, which was the Third Council of Carthage, c. 23: as if Carthage meant to tell what was before done at Laodicea! And what say the Fathers at Carthage? That, "in assisting at the altar," so are their words, "the prayer should be directed to the Father:" *et quicunque sibi preces aliunde describit:* that is, "whosoever shall offer to make use of any other form than is prescribed, should first confer with his more learned brethren:" plainly implying the contrary to that, for which the Answerers allege it, That the usual and allowed form was not of his own composing; and his own must not be at his own choice.

That of the Milevitan Council * is shuffled up by the Answerers; not with too much fidelity: for, where they pretend the only drift of the Council to be, that none should use set prayers, but such as were approved of in the Synod, the words of the Council are full and affirmative, *Placuit ut preces*, "It is ordered that the prayers or orisons, which are allowed in the Synod, &c. shall be used or celebrated by all men;" *nec aliæ omnino dicantur*, "and that no other shall be used in the Church, than those, &c. approved in a Synod;" adding a sound reason, *ne fortè aliquid &c:* "lest, perhaps, something may be composed by them, through ignorance or want of care, contrary to the faith."

Nothing can be more plain, than that our Saviour prescribed to his disciples, besides the rules, a direct Form of Prayer; while he saith, *Pray thus.* Much of which form I find cited, as of ancient use, out of the *Seder Tephilloth* of the Jews of Portugal; the antiquity whereof, as not knowing how I might avow, I expressed myself, within three days of the first impression, in the safe terms of the immediate edition: which these men will not be pleased to take notice of, lest they should find their mouths to be stopped beforehand, and so they should have lost their dear quarrel. Howsoever, that it may not seem too strange, that our Saviour should take up the forms and usages, that had formerly obtained; surely, that he was pleased to make use, in the celebration of his last and heavenly banquet, of both the fashions and words, which were usual in the Jewish Feasts, Cassander hath well shewed in his *Liturgica* †.

The set Forms of Prayer, that were used at the Mincha, and other the several occasions of the Jewish sacrifices, I find specified

* Concil. Milev. ii. cont. Celest. et Pelag.

† Our author's opponents say, "We have read that the Rabbins, since the days of our Saviour, have borrowed some expressions from that Prayer, and from other Evangelical Passages; but we never read till now, that the Lord Christ, the Wisdom of the Father, borrowed from the Wisdom of the Rabbins expressions to use in prayer." See Smectymnuus's Ans. to the Humble Rem. p. 8. The English reader may see the various passages of the ancient Jewish Prayers, which correspond with the Lord's Prayer, collected together in Mendham's Exposition of the Lord's Prayer. Lond. 1803. Introd. p. xvii. It was surely consistent with our Lord's general conduct towards his countrymen, to avoid unnecessary offence and to render his Prayer more intelligible, by adopting expressions already known.

EDITOR.

by learned Cappellus, in his Spicilegium; to whom I refer the reader.

In the mean while, since they make such "wonder" of a set form, used by God's people, ever since Moses's time, I shall give them such a hint thereof, as perhaps they have not heard of before. In the Samaritan Chronicle, now in the hands of the incomparable Primate of Ireland, the Lord Archbishop of Armagh, by him procured out of the library of the famously learned Jos. Scaliger, thus they shall find: "After relation of the death of Adrian the emperor * (whom these Jews curse with a *Deus conterat ejus ossa*) which, in their computation, falls upon the year 4513 from Adam; *Quo tempore abstulit &c.* At which time †, say they, he took away that most excellent book which was in their hands, ever since the calm and peaceable times of the Israelites, which contained those songs and prayers, which were ever used before their sacrifices. For before every of their several sacrifices, they had their several songs, still used in those times of peace: all which, accurately written, were transmitted to the subsequent generations, from the time of Moses, the Legate, unto this day, by the ministery of the High Priest. This book, did that High Priest embezzle: wherein was contained their genealogies, to the days of Phineas; together with a historical enarration of the years of their generation and life: than which book, there is no history, besides the Books of Moses, found more ancient." Thus that ancient record.

That there were such forms in the Jewish Church, we doubt not; but, that they should be deduced to the use of the Church Evangelical, to save the labour of their devotions, is but a poor and groundless requisition ‡.

Those forms, which we have under the names of St. James, (who was, as Hegesippus tells us, the first Bishop and *Leiturgus* of Jerusalem) of Basil, and Chrysostom; though they have some intersertions which are plainly spurious, yet the substance of them cannot be taxed for other than holy and ancient. And the implication of the ancient Council of Ancyra is worthy of observation, which forbids those Presbyters, that had once sacrificed, προσφέρειν, ὁμιλεῖν, ἢ λειτουργεῖν τὰ τῶν ἱερατικῶν λειτουργιῶν: "To offer, or to preach, or to serve in the holy Liturgies, or administrations." Howsoever, I persuade myself every ingenuous reader finds reason and authority enough, in this undeniable practice of Antiquity, to outface an upstart conceit, of some giddy heads, that condemn all Forms of Prayer, be they never so holy, because such.

Now what should a man do with such sullen and crabbed pieces as these? If he cross them in plain terms, he is false: if he comply

* *Posteà mortuus est Adrianus* (*cujus Deus non misereatur*) *obiitque cum luctu magno, &c.*

† Viz. the High Priest then living.

‡ Buxtorfius tells us, that the Creed of R. Ben Maimon was taken out of the Jews' Liturgy.

with them in good words, he rhetoricates! What have I professed concerning conceived prayers, but that, which I ever allowed, ever practised, both in private and public? God is a free Spirit; and so should ours be, in pouring out our voluntary devotions, upon all occasions. Nothing hinders, but that this liberty and a Public Liturgy should be good friends, and may go hand in hand together; and, whosoever would forcibly sever them, let them bear their own blame.

I perceive, this is it, which these techy men quarrel and dislike, that I make the applause of conceived prayer, "but a vantage-ground to lift up the public form of" our "sacred Church-Liturgy the higher:" which they are indeed loth should stand upon even terms; yea, above ground: professedly wrangling, first, at the Original, than the Confirmation of it.

For the First, I had said our Liturgy was 'selected out of ancient models:' including, in a parenthesis, 'not Roman, but Christian;' and thereby signifying, as any ingenuous reader would construe it, that our said Liturgy had no relation either to the place or religion of Rome, but only to the Christian and holy matter of those godly prayers. Now these charitable men fly out into high terms, and "beseech your honours to consider, how ye may trust these men, who, sometimes speaking and writing of the Roman Church, proclaim it a true Church of Christ; and yet here, Roman and Christian stand in opposition." Ignorantly, or maliciously? when any man may see here is not an opposition meant, but a different modification: as when the Prophet says, *I am a worm, and no man*; or the Apostle, *It is no more I, but sin*; or, *I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.* Neither is any phrase more common in our usual speech. In what sense we hold the Roman a True Church, is so cleared by the unanimous suffrages of unquestionable Divines, that this iron is too hot for their fingers. Being then thus qualified, our Liturgy needs not be either ashamed of its original; published in King Edward's Proclamation: or blanked with their unjust aggravation. The composers of it we still glory to say, were 'holy Martyrs and Confessors of the blessed Reformation of religion;' and, if any rude hand have dared to cast a foul aspersion on any of them, he is none of the "tribe" I "plead for:" I leave him to the reward of his own merits.

Thus composed, and thus Confirmed by the 'recommendation of four most religious princes,' and our own Parliamentary Acts, they dare not absolutely discharge it; but they do, as they may, nibble at it in a double exception: the one, of the over-rigorous pressing of it, "to the justling out of preaching, and conceived prayer;" which was never intended, either by the law-makers, or moderate governors of the Church: the other, that neither our own laws, nor King James's Proclamation are so "unalterable as the laws of the Medes and Persians." Which bold flout, how well it becomes their gravity, and pretended obedience, we leave at either Bar.

After an over-comprehensive recapitulation of their exploits in this mighty section, they descend to Two main Queries.

Whereof the FIRST is, "Whether it be not fit to consider of the alteration of the present Liturgy:" intimating, herein, not an alteration in some few expressions, excepted against; but a total alteration in the very frame of it; as their reasons import.

Yes, doubtless, Sirs, ye may consider of it: it is none of the laws of the Medes and Persians. What if the weak judgment of King James, upon some pretended reasons, decreed all forbearance of any farther change! What if that silly and ignorant Martyr, Dr. Taylor, could magnify it to Bishop Gardiner and others, as complete! What if great Eulogies and Apologies have been cast away upon it, by learned men, since that time! What if innovations in religion be cried out of, as not to be endured! yet, consider of the alteration. Neither need ye to doubt, but that this will be considered by wiser heads than your own: and, whatsoever shall be found in the manner of the expressions fit to be changed, will doubtless be altered accordingly; but the main fabric of it, which your reasons drive at, my hope is we shall never see to undergo an alteration.

Yet, still, do you consider of this your projected alteration; while I consider shortly of the great reasons of your consideration.

1. "It symbolizeth much with the Popish Mass." Surely, neither as Mass, nor as Popish. If a holy prayer be found in a Roman Portuise, shall I hate it for the place? If I find gold in the channel, shall I throw it away because it was ill laid? If the devils confessed Christ the Son of God, shall I disclaim that truth, because it passed through a damned mouth? Why should we not rather allow those good prayers, which symbolize with all Christian piety; than reject those, which dwell amongst some superstitious neighbours?

2. "It was composed," you say, "into this frame, on purpose to bring Papists to our Churches." Well, had it been so, the project had been charitable and gracious. What can be more thankworthy, than to reclaim erring souls? But it failed in the success: —Pardon me, Brethren: if it had done so, it was neither the fault of the matter, or of the men. But it did not: Sir Edward Coke can tell you *, that, till the eleventh year of Queen Elizabeth, all came to Church. Those times knew no Recusant, then. At last, the Jesuitish Casuists, finding their great disadvantage by the inoffensive use of our Liturgy, determined it utterly unlawful to join in Church-Service with Heretics. Hence came this alienation; hence, this distraction. That we have not won more, it is not the fault of our public devotion: why do you not impute it to the want, or weakness in preaching, rather? But, that our Liturgy "hath lost" any to the Popish part, it is not more paradox, than slander.

3. Those "stumbling-blocks," which, you say, our Liturgy lays "before the feet of many," are, by many, removed: and, amongst

* In his Speech at Norwich Assizes, published.

the rest, by a blind man *; whose eyeless head directed how to avoid those blocks, which these quick-sights will needs see how to stumble at. But, if there be found ought that may endanger a scandal, it is under careful hands to remove it.

4. "It is idolized," they say, "in England:" they mean, at Amsterdam. Some Separatists have made it such; never any just Protestant. Others say, rather, that too many do injuriously make an idol of preaching: shall we, therefore, consider of abandoning it? and, if some one have passed a hyperbolical praise of it, must it therefore be marred in mending?

5. "Multitudes of people," they say, "distaste" it. More shame for those, that have so mistaught them! Would God, too much multitude did not, through ill teaching, distaste the truth of wholesome doctrine, and abhor communion with the true Church of Christ! Shall we, to humour them, abandon both?

6. "There is a vast difference," they say, "between it and the Liturgies of all other Reformed Churches:" A difference? wherein? not in the essential points; but in some accidents, and outward formalities. Whose fault is that? ours was before theirs: why did not they conform to us, rather than we come back to them? I may boldly say, ours was and is the more noble Church; and, therefore, more fit to lead, than to follow. But, indeed, since our languages and regions are different, what need is there our Liturgies should be one? and why should we be more tied to their forms, than those of all other Christians; Grecians, Armenians, Cophts, Abassine, Arabian, Egyptian? all which differ in no less from each other, than we from them.

Consider now, Brethren, whether these reasons of a change be worthy of any consideration.

The SECOND Query is so weak, that I wonder it could fall from the pens of wise men: "Whether the first Reformers of religion did ever intend the use of a Liturgy, further, than to be a help, in the want and to the weakness of the Minister."

Brethren, can ye think that our Reformers had any other intentions, than all other the founders of Liturgies, through the whole Christian, yea and Jewish Church? the least part of whose care, was the help of the Minister's weakness; and their main drift, the help of the people's devotion: that they, knowing beforehand the matter that should be sued for, and the words wherewith it should be clothed, might be the more prepared to join their hearts to the Minister's tongue; and be so much more intent upon their devotion, as they had less need to be distracted with the doubtful expectation of the matter or words to be delivered.

It is no less boldly than untruly said, that 1. "All other Churches Reformed, though they use Liturgies, do not bind their Ministers to the use of them †." Binding, is an ambiguous word. I am sure,

* M. Fisher.

† I beseech you tell me, Brethren, how you construe those words of Calvin, which he wrote to the Protector of England. Anno 1548. Oct. 22. *Quod ad for-*

both the French and Dutch Churches, in both which I have been present, require their prescribed forms, to be used, both in baptism, and in celebration of the Lord's Supper, and in solemnization of Matrimony. And in what rank will they place the Lutheran Churches? And, if the Reformed Churches use this liberty, what a poor handful are they to that world of Christian Churches abroad, which do both use and enjoin their Liturgy, in that first form we have seen urged in the Milevitan Council!

2. The "Rubric in King Edward's book" is mis-construed; which, only out of respect to the people's ease, and their more willing addiction to the hearing of sermons, which were then so much more long as they were more rare; gave that liberty to Ministers in the use of the Liturgy, which divers Ordinaries at this day, upon my certain knowledge, have often yielded unto. That Rubric imports no more than our practice: neither of them disparages our Liturgy.

3. "The Homilies are left free," they say, "to be read or not, by preaching Ministers: why not then the Liturgy? And, if it can be thought no less than sacrilege, to rob the people of the Minister's gift in preaching, and to tie him to Homilies, it can be no less to deprive them of their gift in prayer." Did we utterly abridge all Ministers of the public use of any conceived prayer, on what occasion soever, the argument might hold force against us; but, that being yielded, our Liturgy is untouched. Neither were it a lesser sacrilege, to rob the people of a set form, by the liberty of a free expression. And how doth this argument more strike us, than all the Churches of the Christian World, whose preaching is out of their conception, while their Liturgy is enjoined?

4. It is a false ground, that the imposing of the book ties "godly men from exercising their gift in prayer." An enjoined Liturgy may well stand with the freedom of a prayer conceived. The Desk is no hindrance to the Pulpit. He is wanting to his duty, that slackeneth either service.

5. Much less can this be any reason to keep men from their presence at our Church-Service, that a Liturgy is imposed:—Tell me, is this Liturgy good or evil? If it be evil, it is unlawful to be used: if good, it is not unlawful to be imposed. And, were the imposition amiss, what is that to the people? It is imposed upon the Minister; that, whether act or passion rests in him, the people are no

mulam precum et rituum ecclesiasticorum, valde probo ut certa illa extet, à quâ Pastoribus discedere non liceat, in functione suâ: tam, ut consulatur quorumdam simplicitati et imperitiæ: quàm, ut certiùs ita constet omnium inter se Ecclesiarum consensus; postremò, etiam, &c. That is: "As for a form of prayers and of rites ecclesiastical, I do greatly approve that there be a certain one extant, from which it should not be lawful for the Ministers, in their function, to depart: both, that by this means provision may be made for the simplicity and unskilfulness of some; and the consent of all Churches among themselves may more certainly appear; lastly, that thus there may be a remedy for the desultory levity of some men, that affect still certain innovations; as I have shewed that the Catechism itself serves for this purpose. So, therefore, there ought to be a set form of Catechism; a set form of administration of Sacraments, and of Public Prayers."

more concerned in it, than if a Minister should tie himself to the use of a prayer of his own making; as I have known some of the most famous Divines of this kingdom constantly do. If, then, there be "no way" left "to recover the people to a stinted prayer, but by leaving it free to use or not to use," O miserably misled people, whom nothing, belike, can reclaim, after such doctrine instilled, but a professed confusion!

Well may they object to themselves, in this way, "divisions and disturbances," following upon a perfect deformity; and, sooner may they object, than avoid them.

But why more here, they say, than "in other Reformed Churches?" The difference is evident. Our Churches have never been but used to a settled Liturgy, which the ears and hearts of our people look for: theirs, perhaps, began without it: yet so, as I doubt not, but if any man should now refuse to conform to their established forms, he should soon feel the dint of their censures.

The like answer serves for their objected Homilies. Surely, were they enjoined to all by lawful authority, and made so familiar to the ears of every congregation as the Liturgy is, some few could not forbear them without offence; while, withal, they should be allowed the helps of preaching: as in this case it is done; the use of the set Liturgy being seconded by prayers conceived.

But the project is singular: that, if "any Minister should prove insufficient to discharge the duty of prayer in a conceived way, it may be imposed upon him as a punishment, to use set forms, and no other." Never Confessor enjoined such a penance. Never Law-maker imposed such a mulct. Certainly, it were a more just and needful motion, that many, who take upon them to preach, with no small abuse of God's Sacred Word, might, as in way of correction, be enjoined only to read Homilies. But, who sees not, in this overture, an utter cassation of that Liturgy, which is pretended to be left free? For, if the freedom of a sole conceived prayer shall depend upon the supposed sufficiency of the Minister, shew me the man, amongst five hundred of the forward artizans, that will confess or think himself insufficient for the act, or unfurnished with the gifts of prayer. Away, then, with the book, while it may be supplied with a more profitable nonsense! Surely, where God hath bestowed gifts, it is fit they should be employed and improved to the best advantage of his people: but where there is nothing but an empty over-weening and proud ignorance, there is great reason for a just restraint.

SECT. 3.

THUS their cavils concerning the Liturgy are vanished. We descend to the longer quarrel of Episcopacy.

Where it is their ill hap, to stumble again at the entering into these lists: beginning their answer (pardon, good reader) with a

manifest leasing; while they dare say, that "whatsoever hath been either spoken or written by any, either learned Divines or well-reformed Churches, is taxed by" me, "as no other than the unjust clamours of weak or factious persons." Certainly, had I done so, I had been no less worthy to be spit upon for my saucy uncharitableness, than they are now for their uncharitable falsehood. After my complaints, of the many railing invectives and scandalous libels published of late, I came now to bemoan myself to that High Court of Justice, in these words: 'As for that form of Episcopal Government, which hath hitherto obtained in the Church of God, I confess I am confounded in myself, to hear with what unjust clamours it is cried down abroad, by either weak or factious persons.' 'Abroad,' I say, in relation to both Houses; lest any malicious person should have traduced my words, as reflecting upon any free speech, made in either of them, against some of that calling: alluding to that impious licentiousness of our frequent libellers, both in the city and country, which shamefully revile Episcopacy, as wicked and antichristian. Now come these brotherly slanderers (sure the terms can be no better) and would needs wire-draw my words as far as France, Germany, or Geneva itself; and cry out of my "arrogancy," as condemning all Divines, all Churches; which the God of Heaven knows never came within the verge of my thoughts. Yea, if I could have been so abominably presumptuous, as to enlarge my 'abroad' to other nations; yet, I beseech you, Readers, see how well this follows: Episcopal government is, with unjust clamours, cried down abroad, by either weak or factious persons; therefore, whosoever speaks or writes against Episcopacy, is either weak or factious! Brethren, if you have any remainders of modesty or truth left in you, cry God mercy for this egregious and palpable calumny.

Of the same strain is their witty descant upon my 'confoundedness.' I made use of the phrase, as that which is taken up by the most elegant Greek and Latin * authors, to express extreme sorrow. These deep philologers, as not seeming to know other sense, take it of a confoundedness through distraction. Sure the man is not in his right wits! Μῶροι, *μαινόμενον ἀγόμεθα*. And how so, trow we? Hear how he raves! He talks of 'all peaceable and right-affected sons of the Church,' and 'craves an admittance in all their names;' whereas all could not take notice of his book: doubtless, a deep frenzy! Brethren, I am still and shall ever be thus self-confounded, as confidently to say, that he is no peaceable and right-affected son of the Church of England, that doth not both hate libels, and wish well to Liturgy and Episcopacy: both which sum up my 'Humble Remonstrance.'

But this "slip," they confess, is "small." That other is worthy of a large dose of hellebore; that I say, "Episcopal Government, that is, government by Diocesan Bishops, derives itself from the Apostles' times." This, they say, they cannot but rank amongst

* *Quanquam descessu veteris confusus amici.* Juvenal.

my notorious———." Speak out, Masters. I would not have that word stick in your teeth, or in your throat. And why is this truth so notorious? because there "were no Diocesans, of above a hundred years after Christ." Now, Readers, I beseech you, cast back your eyes upon those lines of mine; and see, whether I make any mention at all of Diocesans; but only of the sacred Government by Episcopacy. Wanton wits must have leave to play with their own stern. Brethren, what needs this importunity? Even "self-confounded" men do not always speak false.

What 'the joint-confession of all Reformed Divines' is, concerning the derivation of Episcopacy from the Apostolic Times, I have elsewhere shewed, from some, in the name of all; and shall do again, in the due place: to what purpose were this unseasonable anticipation? Indeed, no true Divine did ever hold otherwise. The question never was, whether Bishops were derived from the Apostles; but, what kind of Bishops they were. For us, if we deduce not ours from them, in respect of all the essentials of our calling, let the shame be ours.

Whereas I say the government hath continued 'without any interruption,' they ask jeeringly, "what, at Rome?" and tell me of "some places of the world," as Scotland for example, wherein "this government was never known, for many years together." Brethren, what means this, whether simplicity or scorn? Could ye imagine me to mean, that every place, through the whole world, hath had a continued line of Bishops, ever since the Apostles? Sure, you cannot so wrong your own judgments. Alas! we could tell you of China, Japan, Peru, Brasil, New-England, Virginia, and a thousand others, that never had any Bishops to this day: yet, it is, nevertheless, safe to say, that the form of government by Bishops in the Christian World, derives itself, without interruption, from the Apostles' times; forasmuch as there hath been no time or age since them, wherein there hath not been this form of Episcopal Government continued. You tell me, that "In ancient times, the Scots were instructed by Priests and Monks, and were without Bishops two hundred and ninety years." I acknowledge the words of Johannes Major. I wish they had not been without, either before or since: but what is this to my assertion? There could be no interruption of that, which had as yet no being: neither did I ever say, that Bishops were every where. You come to England: there you think to have me sure. You desire to know of the Remonstrant, "Whether God had a Church in England, in Queen Mary's days, or no: and, if so, who were then Bishops." Sure, Brethren, you cannot be so ignorant, as you make yourselves. Have you not seen Mr. Fox's "Acts and Monuments?" Have ye not seen Mr. Fr. Mason's "Vindication" of our succession? Or, do ye make no difference, betwixt an intermission and an interruption? Do ye not know, that even the See of Rome, which would fain boast of a known succession, hath yet been without a Bishop longer than the whole reign of Queen Mary? if we may believe Damasus him-

self, after Marcellinus, for seven years, six months, and twenty-five days. And if, after the martyrdom of our orthodox Bishops, revolted or Popish Governors held those Sees, they were corrupt in their places, judgment, and practice: there was not an utter abolition of their calling, which their repentance restored to its first vigour.

Where I justly aver this continuance to have been 'without the contradiction of any one congregation in the Christian World,' you vainly think to choke me with a story from our "own darling, Heylin:" which tells us of the furious violence of the people of Biscay against the Bishop of Pampelona, reported also by the Spanish history: to which you refer us; concealing yet, that, which the same history relates, that this was done upon some attempts and wrong conceived to be offered them by the Clergy. A goodly instance, and fit for the gall of your ink! and as good a consequence! The Biscainers, upon a private quarrel, are enraged against the person of their Bishop; and, for his sake, for the time, against his fellows: therefore, some Christian congregation denies the succession of Episcopal Government, from the times of the Apostles *!

Of the like validity and judgment, is your instance of French, Scottish, and Belgic Churches. Who doubts of either their Christianity, or their contradiction to Episcopacy? But, if you did not wilfully, both shut your own eyes, and endeavour to blind the eyes of your reader, you could not but see, that I limit the time 'until this present age.' Good Brethren, while you object bold falsehood to me, learn to make some conscience of truths.

To let pass your untrue suggestions, concerning my assertion, of one and the same Form of Prayer continued from Moses to the Apostles, and by the Apostles, &c. I cannot but wonder, with what face you can reckon it amongst my untruths, that Episcopal Government 'hath continued in this island, ever since the first plantation of the Gospel.' I challenge you before that awful bar, to which you have appealed. Name but one year, ever since Christianity had footing in England, which was under the British or Roman Government, wherein there were no Bishops in this land: if you can name neither year nor author, be ashamed to say this truth hath had any contradiction; or else, I hope, the readers will be ashamed of you. What a poor shift is it, to tell me of the contradiction that Episcopacy hath had "since the Reformation!" I can tell the world, that yourselves oppose it: what of that? You mislike the government: you cannot deny that it hath so long continued. So as my assertion continues inviolable, that the form of this government hath, 'without contradiction, continued' here, ever 'since the first plantation of the Gospel.'

"The man runs on still," you say: and, as "thinking to get credit to his untruths by their multiplication," dares boldly say, that

* You might as well have told us, out of the same author, of the strange conditions that are in use amongst them, which they impose upon their King, if ever he come into their coast; of his riding with one leg bare, and their mocking of him with their Maravedis.

"except all histories, all authors fail them, nothing can be more certain than this truth." And here you cry out, "*Os durum!*" and aggravate the matter enviously, by the instance of divine truths, concerning the main points of our holy Creed. But, good Sirs, do ye bethink whom you speak to? Could you suppose to meet with so mean readers, as should not know that no phrase is more ordinary in our hourly discourse, than this; when we would confidently affirm any truth, to say, "It is so true as nothing can be truer*?" Not to enter into any metaphysical discourse concerning the being or degrees of truth, (wherein some, that would be wise, may perhaps have lost themselves) would any man think it reasonable, that, upon such an ordinary and familiar assertion, he should be called to account for the articles of his Creed, and be urged to compare his truth with God's? Away with this witless and malicious intimation.

Pardon me, Readers, that I have spent so much time and paper, in following these triflers so close. Their uncharitable suggestions drew me on. Judge ye, now, whether of us have more just cause of "indignation."

SECT. 4.

HITHERTO they have flourished: now, I hope, they will strike. Against the libellers' importune projects of innovations, I urged, that, 'were this ordinance merely human or ecclesiastical, if there could be no more said for it, but that it is exceeding ancient, of more than 1500 years' standing,' and in this island of the same age with the Gospel itself; this might be a just reason, to make men tender of admitting a change: an argument, which I seconded with so rational enforcement, as will, I doubt not, prevail with all unpartial judgments. Now, my witty Answerers tell me, this is an *Argumentum Galeatum;* and, that the reader may know they have seen a Father, cite Jerome, who gave that title to a prologue, but never to an argument: and, as if arguments were almanacs, tell us, it was "calculated for the meridian of Episcopacy, and may indifferently serve for all religions." Truly, Brethren, you have not well taken the height of the pole, nor observed a just zenith: for, could you say so much for the Presbyterial Government, had it continued here so long, I should never yield my vote to alter it: an uninterrupted course of so many years should settle it still. So as you are plainly deceived: the argument is not calculated for the meridian of Episcopacy; but for whatsoever government, if so long time have given it peaceable possession: there had need to be strong reasons of law, for an ejection. But, that it may serve for all religions, it is but an envious suggestion; unless you add this, withal, save where the ground of the change is fully convictive and irrefragable: in which cause, both the mouths of Jews, and Heathens, and Papists, and your own may be justly stopped.

As for that overworn observation of Cyprian, that our Saviour

* Yet the words of the Remonstrance are not, "nothing can be a more certain truth;" but, 'nothing can be more plain than this truth.'

says, *I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life;* but doth not say, "I am Custom;" it is no less plausible, than useful: but, if we regard soundness of ratiocination, it is an illustration merely negative. So we may say, he saith not, "I am reason, I am experience, I am authority;" and yet authority, experience, reason are worthy to sway with us, in all matters of question: and, withal, he, that said, *I am the Way*, said, that the old way was the good way. And, if "Custom without truth," as that Father said well, be nothing but "a grey-hair'd error;" or, as Sir Francis Bacon wittily, "Antiquity without truth is a cypher without a figure:" yet, where custom and antiquity are backed with truth, there they are figures multiplied with many cyphers.

As for the "time," wherein their "Learned Ancients" affirm the Church not to have been "governed by Bishops, but by Presbyters;" and for the difference pretended to be, betwixt the Primitive Bishops and ours; we shall meet with it in such due time and place, as shall be justly occasioned.

What needs this frivolous waste of unseasonable words? wherewith unless these men desired to swell up this their windy bulk, why do they tell us yet again, of that already answered and groundless exception, against both their own eyes and conscience; where I say, that this government 'hath continued in this island, ever since the plantation of the Gospel, without contradiction?' when as they cannot name any man in this nation, that ever contradicted Episcopacy, 'till this present age;' or that ever contradicted this truth, that Episcopacy hath so long continued in this island; which is the only drift of my words. For, alas! could I be so simple, as not to know, that this age hath bred opposition enough to the present government? could I doubt, whether these very men oppose it? Yet, let the boldest forehead of them all deny, that it hath continued thus long in this our island, or that any till this age contradicted it: so as that my assertion is just; their exception, false and vain.

As for that "supply of accessory strength," which I did not "beg" but raise and evince from the light of 'nature' and rules of 'just policy,' for the continuance of those things, 'which long use and many laws have firmly established, as necessary and beneficial;' it will stand long enough, against the battery of their paper-pellets. If some statute laws, which seemed once necessary and beneficial, proving afterwards, in process of time, noxious and burdensome, have been justly and wisely repealed: let them tell me, whether the fundamental laws of the kingdom, upon any man's abuse, may be subject to alteration; or whether, rather, their Wisdoms would not think fit to determine, that the laws must stand, and the abuses be removed. Such is the cause we have now in hand, and if we shall go less *. I speak not against an impossibility, but an easiness of change; the question being so stated, which their guiltiness would willingly overlook, 'that things indifferent or good, having been, by continuance and general approbation, well-rooted in Church or State, may not, upon light grounds, be pulled up.'

* I can affix no meaning to this sentence: nor do the editions furnish any variation in the reading. EDITOR.

SECT. 5.

I JUSTLY fetch the 'pedigree' of our 'holy calling, from no less than Apostolical (and, in that right, Divine) institution;' and prove it, from 'the clear practice of their immediate successors,' and justly triumph in that confidence.

They tell me of "one scruple yet remaining." It is well, if there be no more. And what may that be? That, in original authority of Scripture, Bishops and Presbyters went originally for the same. Alas, Brethren, what needed this to be a scruple in your thoughts, or your words; when it is, in express terms, granted by us, that there was, at first, a plain identity in their denomination? Here is one page, and that not without some labour of proofs, idly lost.

It is true, that the Remonstrant undertakes to shew 'a clear and received distinction of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, (out of the undeniable writings of those holy men, which lived in the times of the Apostles, and after them) with an evident specification of their several duties.'

And what say my Answerers to this? "Yet," say they, "let us tell him, that we never find in Scripture these three Orders, Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons." Brethren, ye might have spared to tell me that, which I had told you before. I speak of the monuments of immediate succession to the Apostolic Times: ye, of the writings of the Apostles themselves: how then do you either answer or oppose my assertion? Although, I must also tell you, that, though in the Apostolic Epistles there be no nominal distinction of the titles, yet there is a real distinction and specification of the duties: as we shall see in due place.

That ye may seem not to say nothing, and may make your readers believe you are not quite forsaken of Antiquity, ye call Jerome, Chrysostom, Theophylact, Irenæus, and Cyprian, to the book. And what evidence will they give for you? That the names of Bishops and Presbyters were not, at first, distinguished; but used ἀδιακρίτως, "in a promiscuous sense:" and that some succeeding Bishops of Rome were styled Presbyters. This is all: but, that your trifling may appear to all the world, name but any one of our writers, who have hitherto stood up in the cause of Episcopacy, that hath not granted and proclaimed this, which you contend for. Although, withal, let me tell you, that you could not have brought a stronger argument against yourselves; for, hence the world shall see how little force can be drawn from the name to the thing, since the mentioned "Anicetus, Pius, Hyginus, Telesphorus," Bishops of Rome, are so famously known to have been in a height of elevation above Presbyters: and since Cyprian, "who is styled by his Presbyters, *Frater*," is never found to style his Presbyters, Bishops; and, being a holy Bishop himself, in many Epistles, stiffly maintains the eminence of his superiority; and is some-while honoured

with the title of *Beatissimus Papa Cyprianus*, which I suppose was never given to a mere Presbyter.

But what do I here follow them, who confess themselves out of the way? at last acknowledging, that their adversaries confess that, which they would needs spend time to prove.

Let the Names pass. All the question is, of the distinction of their Offices; which they will follow as tediously as loosely.

And, first, they would fain "know, what" we "make the distinct office of a Bishop."

Wherein they fall, somewhat unhappily, upon the very words of that branded Ærius. "Is it," say they, "to edify the Church by Word and Sacraments? Is it to ordain others to that work? Is it to rule, to govern by admonition, and by other censures? Any, or all of these belong unto the Presbytery." Compare, now, the words of Ærius, as they are related by Epiphanius: whom that Father brings in, speaking thus concerning Episcopacy and Presbytery: "There is one order of both, one honour, one dignity. The Bishop imposeth hands: so doth the Presbyter. The Bishop doth administer God's worship or service: so doth the Presbyter. The Bishop sitteth on the throne: so doth also the Presbyter." See, Reader, and acknowledge the very phrases of that man, whom holy Antiquity censured, even in this point, both for a frantic man * and a heretic. Brethren, God speed you well, with your question!

As for the first, which is "edifying the Church by Word and Sacraments," we make no difference: your distance may. We both hold it our work, and make it so; and, if any one have been slack herein, the fault is personal: we neither defend, nor excuse it.

The main quarrel you grant to be in the second, which is "the power of Ordination:" "impropriated," as you enviously and untruly speak, to ourselves. This, you say, "was, in former times, in the hands of the Presbyters;" and undertake to prove it from 1 Tim. iv. 14, *Neglect not the gift, which was given thee by prophecy, and by laying on the hands of the Presbytery*; a place, that hath received answer μυριομυριάκις: which I wonder ye can so press, when Calvin himself, as you well know, in his learned "Institutions," even in his last and ripest judgment, construes it quite otherwise; taking it of the office, and not of the men (however, elsewhere, otherwise): wherein, also, he follows the judgment of Jerome, Primasius, Anselm, Haymo, Liranus, Erasmus, and others, as our learned Bishop Downame hath largely shewed. To countenance this sense of yours, you tell us, you find πρεσβυτέριον so taken in Scripture; and cite Luke xxii. 66, and Acts xxii. 5: wherein you do merely delude the reader: you find, indeed, the Elders of the People so called; but, the Elders of the Church, never. To make good your own construction, therefore, you must maintain that Laymen did and must lay on hands in Ordination, which Calvin himself utterly abominates. Neither need we to give any other satisfaction to the point, than that, which we have from St. Paul himself, 2 Tim. i. 6.

* Ἐμβροντήθεις τὴν διανοίαν. Epiph.

Stir up the gift of God, which is in thee by the imposition of my hands; mine, not others'. I ask, then, was Timothy ordained more than once? once, surely, St. Paul's hands were laid upon him: when, therefore, the Presbyters'? Yes, you say, this "was a joint act" of both; else "the harmony of Scripture" is not maintained. Pardon me, Brethren, if I think Mr. Calvin was more skilled in the harmony of Scripture than ourselves: yet, in his ear, it sounded well, that πρεσβυτέριον should be the office to which Timothy was ordained by Paul, and not a company of men that ordained him. Yet, give me leave to marvel, how you can have the boldness to say, this power is communicated to Presbyters; when you know, that, not only other Antiquity, but even Jerome himself, and that Council of Aquisgrane which you cite, do still except Ordination; which, yet, we do not so appropriate, as to lay our hands alone upon the head of any Presbyter.

The third part of our office consists in Ruling: "which though our Bishops," you say, "assume to themselves," you will "discover to have been committed to and exercised by Presbyterial hands." For evidence whereof you cite Heb. xiii. 17. *Obey them, that have the Rule over you, for they watch for your souls.* Brethren, what an injurious imputation is this! Do we not give you the title of *Rectores Ecclesiarum?* Do we not, in your Institution, commit to you *regimen animarum?* Why will ye, therefore, bear your readers in hand, that we herein rob you of your right? It is true, that here is a just distinction to be made, betwixt the government of souls, in several congregations; and the government of the Church, consisting of many congregations. That task is yours: this is the Bishops'; wherein their rule yet, is not lordly, but brotherly or paternal. Your argument reacheth not home to this; and yet you strain that place of 1 Thes. v. 12. beyond the due breadth, while you tenter it out to either a parity or community of censure.

Enjoy, now, what you have so victoriously purchased: but, give me leave to "sum up" my reckonings, also. Since, then, however, the Name was at first promiscuously used, yet, the Office of Bishops and Presbyters differed, even by Apostolic institution: and the Acts pertaining thereto, of Ordination and power of ordinary government and censures, were, in that very first age of the Church, manifestly differenced: therefore, Bishops and Presbyters were not one.

SECT. 6.

THE practice of the Apostles is so far from "contradicting their rules," which your brotherly charity would fasten upon my assertion, as that it is a most clear proof and illustration of it. Their practice is irrefragable, in the charge, which they gave to Timothy and Titus; as we shall prove in due place: now, if, to this, we shall add, 'the unquestionable gloss of the' more 'clear practice of their immediate successors,' I know not what more light can be desired for

the manifestation of this truth. Whereto ye boldly answer, if this gloss "corrupt not the text, we shall admit it:" implying, therein, too presumptuously, that the universal practice of the whole Primitive Church succeeding the Apostles, may prove a Bourdeaux-gloss, to mar the text.

Brethren, go you your own way: let me err, with such guides.

But, ye are disposed to be liberal. Somewhat ye will grant us, besides that, which we grant you.

It is agreed, that the name of Bishops and Presbyters were, at first, promiscuously used: it is yielded by you, "that, in process of time, some one was honoured with the name of Bishop, and the rest were called Presbyters." But what, I beseech you, was this "process of time"? Here lies, your either error or fraud. We do justly and confidently defend, that this time had no process at all. It was in the τῷ νῦν of the living Apostles: which we shall plainly make good, in the sequel.

It is also yielded, "that this was not, *nomen inane*;" but seconded with "some kind of imparity." What, then, is the difference? All the question, you say, is "of Divine Right, and Apostolical Institution" of this imparity.

Let me beseech the reader to consider seriously of the state of this difference; in the mistaking whereof I have, not a little, unjustly suffered: and to remember, how I have expressed it in my 'Remonstrance,' fetching pedigree of Episcopacy from 'Apostolical (and therefore, in that right, Divine) institution;' and interpreting myself, not to understand by 'Divine Right' any 'express law of God requiring it, upon the absolute necessity of the being of a Church,' but an institution of Apostles, inspired by the Holy Ghost, 'warranting it where it is, and requiring it where it may be had.'

Now, whether it may be thus Apostolical, or a merely human and ecclesiastical invention, is the question in hand.

On your part, you say, stand Jerome and Ambrose. Two stiff champions, indeed! And, surely, I must needs confess, this is the only countenance of your cause: which yet hath been blanked, more than once.

"Jerome tells us," you say, right down, "in Tit. i. *Idem est ergo Presbyter, &c.*"

Out of whose testimony you, in sum, collect: that, A Presbyter and a Bishop were originally one: that, The imparity was grounded upon ecclesiastical custom: that, Before this priority, the Church was governed by the common counsel of Presbyters; and, that, Bishops ought still so to govern: and, lastly, that, The occasion of this imparity was the division, which, through the Devil's instinct, fell among Christians.

You look now, that I should tell you, that the book is of uncertain credit; or, that Jerome was a Presbyter, and not without some touch of envy to that higher dignity he missed; or, that wiser men than yourselves have censured him in this point, for Ærianism. I plead none of these; but while you expect that I should answer to Jerome, I shall set Jerome to answer for himself.

For the first, I cannot but put you in mind, that the same Father, citing the words of the Bishop of Jerusalem, That there is no difference betwixt a Bishop and a Presbyter, passeth a *satis imperitè* upon it: but let it be so.

At first, he says, Bishops and Presbyters had but one title. So say we too. But when began the distinction? Ye need not learn it of "Saravia:" he himself tells you, when "divisions" began. And when that? when they "began to say, I am Paul's, I am Apollos's, I am Cephas's:" which was, I think, well and high in the Apostles' time.

But this you would cleanly put off, as "spoken" by Jerome "in the Apostle's phrase, not of the time of the Apostle." This is but a general intimation of contentions arisen, though later, in the Church:—Excuse me, Brethren: this shift will not serve your turn. Then, belike, there should have been no distinct Bishops till after-ages, upon this ground, that till then there were no divisions: or, if so, why should the remedy be so late after the disease? or, how comes he elsewhere to name Bishops made by the Apostles; and to confess, that, before his time, there had been many successions? Besides, he instanceth in the peculiar mis-challenging of Baptism, which only St Paul specifieth in his own time. And Clemens seconds him, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, in taxing the continuance of those distractions: so as, by Jerome's own confession, Episcopacy was ordained early within the Apostles' times.

But then, say you, "It was not of Apostolical intention, but of Diabolical occasion:" Weakly and absurdly! As if the occasion might not be devilish, and the institution divine: as if the best laws did not rise from the worst manners. Were not the quarrels betwixt the Grecians and Hebrews for the maintenance of their widows, an evil occurrence? yet, from the occasion thereof, was raised the Ordination of Deacons in the Church.

Yea, but Jerome saith, this was rather by the "custom" of the Church, "than by the truth of the Lord's disposition." True, it was by the custom of the Church, but that Church was Apostolical: not by the Lord's disposition, immediately; for Christ gave no express rule for it: but mediately it was from Christ, as from his inspired Apostles. Let Jerome himself interpret himself; who tells us expressly, in his Epistle to Evagrius, this superiority of Bishops above Presbyters is by Apostolical tradition: which is as much as we affirm. And, while he saith, *toto orbe decretum est*, that, in the time of those first divisions, it was decreed, all the world over, that Bishops should be set up; I would fain know, by what power, besides Apostolical, such a decree could be so soon and so universally enacted.

But Jerome saith, "the Presbyters governed the Church by their common counsel." So they did, doubtless, altogether, till Episcopacy was settled: who dares deny it?

Yea, but he saith, they ought to do still. So say we also; and so, in some cases, we do. Church-government is aristocratical. Neither is any Bishop so absolute, as not to be subject to the judgment of a Synod: yea, in many matters, it is determined by our

laws, that he must take the advice and assistance of his Ecclesiastical Presbytery.

So, then, St. Jerome is, in his judgment, no back-friend of ours; but, in his history, he is our patron. With what forehead can they persuade their reader, the original of Episcopacy was not, in Jerome's opinion, so early; when they cannot but confess, that the same Father hath, in flat terms, told us, that James was Bishop of Jerusalem, Timothy of Ephesus, Titus of Crete? that, ever since the time of Mark the Evangelist, (who died five or six years before Peter and Paul, and almost forty years before St. John) at Alexandria, till the days of Heraclas and Dionysius, the Presbyters have always chosen one to be their Bishop?

As for those poor negative arguments which follow, palpably begging the question, they are scarce worthy of a pass; were it not, that by them they go about to confute their own author, affirming, That, upon occasion of divisions, Episcopacy was constituted: but he stands so close to his own grounds, as that, contrary to their misallegation of Dr. Whitakers, he plainly tells them, Episcopacy is so proper a remedy for this evil, that, unless the Bishop have a peerless power, there will be as many Schisms as Priests; the woeful experience whereof we find in the miserable varieties of Separatism, at this day. Go on, Brethren, since you are so resolved, to strike that friend, whom you bring in to speak for you. Teach your advocate, St. Jerome, how unlikely it is, that the Apostles should give way, as he professes they did, to such "a remedy" as might prove both "ineffectual" and dangerous; and that their holiness should make "a stirrup for Antichrist."

We looked for Ambrose to come in next; and, behold, you bring in a foisted commentor: a man, by the convictions of Whitakers, Spalatensis, Cocus, Rinetus, Bellarmin, Possevine, Maldonate, as hath been elsewhere shewed *, of not a suspected only, but a cracked credit. If it mattered much what he said, I could, out of his testimony, pick more advantage, than you prejudice to my cause. But, if you will hear the true Ambrose speak, he tells you †; "There is one thing, which God requireth of a Bishop; another, of a Presbyter; another, of a Deacon."

As for the Persons, who brought in this imparity, you tell us, out of the same authors, "the Presbyters themselves brought it in. Witness Jerome ad Evagrium. 'The Presbyters of Alexandria did call him their Bishop, whom they had chosen from among themselves, and placed in a higher degree.'"

But, Brethren, what means this faithless and halved citation? Had you said all, the place would have answered for itself. The words are, *Nam et Alexandriæ, à Marco Evangelista &c* ‡: "For at Alex-

* See "Episcopacy by Divine Right:" Part iii. Sect. 4. p. 610 of this vol. EDITOR.

† Ambr. de Dignit. Sacerd. c. 3.

‡ *Nam et Alexandriæ, à Marco Evangelista, usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium, Episcopos, Presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, Episcopum nominabant; quomodo si exercitus Imperatorem faciat, &c.*

andria, ever since Mark the Evangelist, until the times of Heraclas and Dionysius, Bishops, the Presbyters have always called one, chosen out of themselves and placed in a higher degree, Bishop; as if an army should choose their general." Why did you avoid the name of Mark, the Evangelist; but that your hearts told you, that, he dying many years within the time of the Apostles, this election, and appellation, and distinction of degrees of Bishops and Presbyters must needs have been in the lifetime of the Apostles, and not without their knowledge and approbation.

The Presbyters then chose their Bishops: who doubts it? But, upon whose order and institution, save that, which St. Paul to the Superintendents met at Miletus: Acts xx. 28: *Spiritus Sanctus vos constituit Episcopos:* "The Holy Ghost made you Bishops, or Overseers."

I marvel, Brethren, with what face you can make Jerome say that the Presbyters themselves were the authors of this imparity, when as himself hath plainly ascribed this to God's own work; when reading that, Isaiah, lx. 17. *I will make thy officers peace;* according to the Septuagint, δώσω τὰς ἀρχοντάς σου, &c. *I will give thy Princes in peace, and thy Bishops in righteousness;* he applies this to the governors of the Evangelical Church?

And the blessed Martyr and Bishop, St. Cyprian, to the same purpose: "The Deacons," saith he, "must remember, that the Lord himself chose Apostles, that is, Bishops; but Deacons were chosen by the Apostles themselves."

And, when ye cannot but know, that the Apostles themselves were the immediate actors in this business; if, at least, ye will believe the Histories and Fathers of the Church: Irenæus tells you plainly, that the Apostles Peter and Paul delivered the Episcopacy of that Church to Linus; and, that Polycarpus was, by the Apostles, made Bishop, in Asia, of the Church of Smyrna: and Tertullian, particularly, that Polycarpus was there placed by St. John.

And St. Chrysostom clearly says, that Ignatius was not only trained up with the Apostles; but that he received his Bishopric from them *: and, emphatically, that the hands of the blessed Apostles touched his holy head †.

And, lastly, the true Ambrose, to the shaming of that counterfeit, whom you bring forth under that name, tells you, that Paul saw James at Jerusalem; because he was made Bishop of that place, by the Apostles. Your slip may talk of "a Council," wherein this was done: but this is as false, as himself. It is well known there never was any such Council in the Christian World; since the first general Synod was the Nicene. And Jerome's *toto orbe decretum*, as we have shewed, could import no other, than an Apostolical act.

As for St. Augustin ‡, is it not a just wonder, Reader, that these

* Τὸν ἐνδιαφέροντα ἐκείνοις, καὶ πανταχοῦ συγγενόμενον.

† Παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκείνων τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ἐνεχαρίσθη καὶ αἱ τῶν μακαρίων Ἀποστόλων χεῖρες τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐκείνης ἥψαντο κεφαλῆς. Chrysost. Tom. 5. Edition. Savil. p. 499.

‡ Aug. Ep. 19.

men dare cite him for their opinion, upon occasion of a modest word concerning the honourable title of Episcopacy; when as they cannot but know and grant, that he hath blazoned Ærius for a heretic, merely for holding the same tenet which they defend?

Lastly, if Gregory Nazianzen, "in a pathetic manner, have wished the abolition" of Episcopacy, (as he never did) what more dislike had he shewn to it, than he did to Synods, when he said μηδεμίας συνόδου ἔξοδον, κ.τ.α. that he "never knew good come of them?" But, Reader, it will be worth the while, to enquire into the fidelity of those men's allegations. Do but consult the place of Nazianzen, and thou shalt find, that he speaks not particularly of Episcopacy, but of all πρωεδρίαι, or precedency *; and of all quarrelsome challenges of place, and all tyrannical carriage of one man towards another: wishing that there were no standing upon points of precedency, but every man might be respected according to his virtue; and adding, at last, *Nunc autem dextrum hoc, et sinistrum, et medium latus, &c:* "But now," saith he, "the right-hand, and the left, and the middle place, and the higher and lower degree, and going before, and going cheek by jole, what a world of troubles have they brought upon us!" Thus he. See then, Reader, what a testimony here is, for the utter abolition of Episcopacy, from a man who was so interested in the calling, that he was wont to be styled by his adversaries Τριεπίσκοπος, "The Bishop of three Sees!" By this judge, Reader, of the rest.

So, then, after all the clamours and colourable pretences of these men, this 'imparity and jurisdiction' was conveyed from the Apostles' hands; and deduced, in an 'uninterrupted line, through all following ages to this present day.'

How can this be, say they, "unless our Bishops will draw the line of their pedigree, through the loins of Antichrist, and join issue, and mingle blood with Rome?" For shame, Brethren, eat this word. What! are there no Bishops, but at Rome? Is the whole Church, all the world over, Antichristian; even those, which are no less angry at Rome than yourselves? Hath not Episcopal Imparity continued in them, all this while? Is there no distinction to be had, betwixt the calling and the abuse? If the Antichristian Church have had Bishops; so it hath had Churches, Scriptures, Baptism, Learning, Creeds. Because we have all these with them, will ye say we deduce them from the loins of Antichrist? Away with this impotent spite and uncharitableness; and learn to be more modest and true in your assertions, and less confident in your appeals.

SECT. 7.

LET me balk your idle words. The question is, of the difference betwixt our present Bishops and the ancient.

* Greg. Naz. Orat. 28. ὄφελον γὰρ κ.τ.α. μηδὲ κ.τ.α.

This you will spread forth, in three particulars.

The first is the Manner of Election to these places of eminence; which was, of old, "ordered by the privity, consent, and approbation of the people:" which you eagerly seek to prove out of Cyprian.

Neither can it be denied, that he is full and punctual in this point. Holy Athanasius seconds it. And the old rule was: *Electio Clericorum, consensus Principis, petitio Plebis;* that a Bishop came in, "by the suit of the People, the election of the Clergy, the consent of the Prince." Ye might well have, in this case, spared the fetching in of the good Emperor Constantine.

Doubtless, this was the manner of old: what variations followed afterward in these proceedings, our learned Dr. Field hath well shewed.

But, sure, this interest of the people continued so long, even in the Roman Church, that Platina can tell us *, Gregory the Seventh was elected by Cardinals, Clerks, Acoluthites, Subdeacons, Priests, Abbots, Bishops, Clergy, and Laity.

The inconveniences, that were found in those tumultuary elections, and the seditious issue of them, which Nazianzen and Eusebius have laid before us in some particulars, were, I suppose, the cause why they were, in a sort, laid down.

But an imitation of this practice, we have still continuing in our Church: wherein, upon the vacancy of every See, there is a *Congé-d'elire*, that is, "a leave to elect," sent down from the King to the Presbyters (viz. the Dean and Chapter of that Church) for an ensuing election of their Bishop: and, if this were yet more free, we should not like it the less.

But, in the mean time, Brethren, how are you quite beside the cushion! Where the objection was, that the Apostles' Bishops and ours were two, in respect of managing their function; and my defence is, that our Bishops challenge not any other spiritual power, than the Apostles delegated to Timothy and Titus; you now tell us, of the different manner of our elections. What is this *ad rhombum?* We speak of their actions, and exercise of power: you talk of others' actions to them.

Were it so pleasing to his Majesty and the State, to decree it, we should be well content to submit to this ancient form of election; the forbearance whereof, is neither our fault, nor our prejudice: so as you might well have bestowed this breath to a better purpose; and rather conclude, that, notwithstanding this form of different choice, our Bishops and those of former times are not two.

* Platina in Vitâ Greg. vii.

SECT. 3.

We follow you into the Execution of our Episcopal Office: wherein you will shew ours and the Apostles' to be two; so clearly, that "he, who will not wilfully shut his eyes, may see a latitude of differences;" and that, in three points.

The first, in "Sole Jurisdiction," which, you say, "was a stranger," yea "a monster to former times;" and will make it good by the power of (that, which, in all wise writers, was wont to be contra-distinguished) Ordination.

For this main point, let my Answerers know, that the Ordination is the Bishop's; but the "sole," in their sense, is their own: neither did our Bishops ever challenge it, as theirs alone, without the Presbyters; but as principally theirs, with them: so as, if the power be in the Bishop, the assistance is from them; the practice, in both. So is it in the Bishops, that, ordinarily and regularly, it may not be done without them; and yet, ordinately, it may not be done without them * by the Bishop: which hath been so constantly, and carefully ever observed, that I challenge them to shew any one instance in the Church of England to the contrary. Say, Brethren, I beseech you, after all this noise, what Bishop ever took upon him to ordain a Presbyter, alone, or without the concurrent imposition of many hands. They, no less than Cyprian, can say †, *Ego et collegæ:* although, I must tell you, this was in the case of Aurelius, made a Lector. And, in that other testimony, which you cite out of his Epistle 58, he speaks only of the fraternity's consent and approbation; not of their concurrence in their act. This is small game with you.

Neither is it less the order of the Church of England, than of the Council of Carthage, *Cùm ordinatur Presbyter, &c:* "When a Presbyter is ordained, the Bishop blessing him and holding his hand upon his head, all the Presbyters, that are present, shall likewise lay their hands upon his head, with the hands of the Bishop." With what conscience can ye allege this, as to choke us in our contrary practice; when you know this is perpetually and unfailably done by us? But, now, that the readers may see how you shuffle, shew us but one instance of a Presbyter's regular and practised ordaining, without a Bishop; and carry the cause: else, you do but abuse the reader, with an ostentation of proving what was never denied.

But here, by the way, Brethren, you must give me leave to pull you by the sleeve; and to tell you of two or three foul scapes, which will try whether you can blush.

First, that you abuse Firmilianus ‡, in casting upon him an opinion of Presbyters' ordaining, which he never held. He, in his

* Viz. the Presbyters. EDITOR.
† Cypr. Ep. 33.
‡ Firmil. Cyprian. Ep. 75.

Epistle to Stephen, Bishop of Rome, speaking of the True Church in opposition to heresies, describes it thus: *Ubi præsident majores natu, qui et baptizandi, et manum imponendi, et ordinandi possident potestatem:* under this name expressing those Bishops, who, presiding in the Church, possess the power of Baptizing, Confirming, Ordaining. You injuriously wiredraw him to Presbyters; and foist in *Seniores et præpositos*, which are far from the clause and matter. Be convinced with the more clear words of the same Epistle: *Apostolis, et Episcopis, qui illis vicariâ Ordinatione successerunt.*

Secondly, that you bewray gross ignorance, in translating Ambrose's *Presbyteri consignant*, by "Presbyters' ordaining." Who, that ever knew what belonged to Antiquity, would have been guilty of such a solecism; when every novice knows, that, consigning, signifies confirmation, and not ordaining?

Thirdly, you discover not too much skill, in not distinguishing of the Chorepiscopi: some whereof had both the nature and power of Episcopacy to all purposes, and therefore might well, by the Bishop's licence, in his own charge impose hands, others not. And less fidelity, in citing the Council of Antioch, Can. 10. and the 13th of the Council of Ancyra; if it were not out of our way, to fetch them into trial.

Lastly, I cannot but tell you, that you have merely cast away all this labour, and fought with your own shadow. For, however it were not hard to prove, that, in the first times of the Church, it was appropriated to the Bishop to Ordain; which you cannot but confess out of Jerome and Chrysostom: yet, since we, speaking of our own time and Church, do both profess and practise an association of Presbyters with us in the act of Ordination, whom have you all this while opposed? It is enough, that you have seemed to say something; and have shewn some little reading, to no purpose.

SECT. 9.

YET, still, you will needs beat the air very furiously, and fight pitifully with yourselves. Alas, Brethren, why will ye take so much pains to go wilfully out of your way, and to mislead the reader with you? Who ever challenged, in that sense which you feign to yourselves, a "sole jurisdiction?" Why will you, with some show of learning, confute that, which you yield us to "confess?"

We confess this "sole" cried down by store of Antiquity. We do willingly grant, that Presbyters have, and ought to have, and exercise a jurisdiction within their own charge, *in foro conscientiæ* *. We grant, that, in all the great affairs of the Church, the Presbyters, whether in Synods or otherwise, ought to be consulted with. We grant, that the Bishops had, of old, their Ecclesiastical Council

* To this purpose is that, which you cite out of Clemens Alex. Strom. l. v.

of Presbyters *; with whose advice they were wont to manage the greatest matters: and we still have so; for, to that purpose serve the Deans and Chapters: and the laws of our Church frequently make that use of them. We grant, that Presbyters have their votes in Provincial Synods.

But, we justly say, that the Superiority of Jurisdiction is so in the Bishop, as that Presbyters neither did nor may exercise it, without him; and that the exercise of external jurisdiction is derived, from, by, under him to those, which execute it within his diocese. Thus, it is to Timothy, that St. Paul gives the charge concerning the rebuke of an Elder, or not receiving an accusation against him. It is to Titus, that St. Paul leaves the *ἐπιδιόρθωσιν, correction*, of his Cretians. Thus, the Canons of the Apostles; Ἄνευ γνώμης κ. τ. α. Thus, the blessed Martyr, Ignatius, in his undoubted Epistle to those of Smyrna, Μηδεὶς χωρὶς κ. τ. α: "Let no man do any thing, in matters belonging to the Church, without the Bishop †." Thus, the Council of Antioch orders, that whatsoever belongs to the Church is to be governed, managed, and disposed, by the judgment and authority of the Bishop, who hath τῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας πραγμάτων ἐξουσίαν; "the power of those things, which belong to the Church ‡."

It were easy to surfeit the reader's eyes, with the clear testimonies of Fathers and Councils, to this purpose. Our learned Bishop Downame § hath given a world of instances, of the several acts of jurisdiction, appropriated to Bishops by Antiquity, exercised upon both Laics and Clergy. To him I remit my reader. So as, you may easily set Antiquity together by the ears, in this point, if you please; but, surely, the advantage will be so far on our side, that, if you have not ten for one against you, I will yield my cause.

There is great difference of times; and, in them, of fashions. In those persecuted times, when the Church was backed with no Christian Magistrate, it was no boot to bid the guides of the Church to combine their counsels, and to give strength to their mutual actions. When a general peace once blessed them, and they had the concurrence both of sovereign and subordinate authority with them, they began so much to remit of this care of conjoining their forces, as they supposed to find less need of it. From hence grew a devolution of all less weighty affairs, to the wielding of single hands.

For my part, I persuade myself, that the more frequent communicating of all the important business of the Church, whether censures or determinations, with those grave assistants, which, in the eye of the law, are designed to this purpose, were a thing not only unprejudicial to the honour of our function, but very behoveful to the happy administration of the Church.

In the mean while, see, Brethren, how you have, with Simon,

* Alluded to in that usual allegation of Ambrose.
† Μηδεὶς χωρὶς Ἐπισκόπου τι πραττέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν.
‡ Concil. Antioch. c. 24, 25.
§ B. Down. Def. l. iii. c. 5.

fished all night, and caught nothing. My word was, that ours were the same with the Apostles' Bishops; in this, that they challenge no other spiritual power, than was, by Apostolic authority, delegated to Timothy and Titus: you run out upon the following times of the Church; and have, with some waste quotations, laboured to prove, that, in after ages, Bishops called in Presbyters to the assistance of their jurisdiction: which is as much to me, as *Baculus stat in angulo.*

SECT. 10.

YOUR next Section runs yet wilder. I speak of the no-difference of our Bishops from the first, in the 'challenge of any spiritual power to themselves, other than delegated to Timothy and Titus:' you tell me of delegating their power to others.

What is this, to the nature of the calling? Doth any man claim this, as essential to his Episcopacy? Doth any man stand upon it, as a piece of his spiritual power? If this be granted to be an accidental error of some particular man, for it cannot be fastened upon all; what difference doth it make, in the substance of the function?

As if some monster suddenly presented itself to you, you ask, "Was ever such a thing heard of in the best primitive times? that men, which never received imposition of hands, should not only be received into assistance, but be wholly entrusted with the power of Spiritual Jurisdiction?" Let me ask you again, Was ever such a thing heard of, either in the primitive or following times, that Laymen should be so far admitted to the managing of Spiritual Jurisdiction, as to lay their hands upon their Ministers in their Ordination? Yet this is both done and challenged, by too many of your good friends *. Why do you object that to us, wherewith the Presbyterian part may be more justly choked?

But, herein, Brethren, you do foully overreach, in that you charge our Bishops, as in a generality, with wholly-entrusting the power of Spiritual Jurisdiction to their Chancellors and Commissaries. The assistance of those, which are learned in the law, we gladly use; neither can well want, in the necessary occasions of our judicature: but, that we do either wilfully or negligently divest ourselves absolutely of that power, and wholly put it into laic hands, it is a mere slander.

For want of better proofs of the illegality of this course, you bring a negative authority from Cyprian: telling us, what that holy Martyr did not; that he did "not send" complainants "to his Chancellor or Commissary." It is very like he did not; nor yet to the bench of a Lay-Presbytery.

But, if he did not commit the hearing of his causes to a Lay-

* Howsoever it is now, in some Reformed Churches, laid down.

man, we find that some others did. Socrates can tell you * of Silvanus, the good Bishop of Troas, κατιδὼν τὰς Κληρικὰς κ. τ. α: "Perceiving that some of his Clergy did corruptly make gain of causes, would no more appoint any of his Clergy, ὁυδένα τῶ Κλήρῳ, to be a judge; but made choice of some faithful man of the Laity, to whom he committed that audience, and was much honoured for it."

What Bishop Downame yields concerning the Ordinaries, Vicars, and Chancellors of former times, till Ambrose's days, that they were only Clergymen; you reject, with scorn: and "challenge any man to produce the names of any Clergyman, that was Vicar to Ambrose, or Chancellor to Augustin, &c." What a poor brave is this! I challenge you to produce the name of any Secretary or Actuary, that Ambrose or Austin had: because you cannot, shall I conclude they had none such? That instance of Silvanus, not long after Ambrose, is evidence enough.

But the antiquity of Chancellors, which were the same with *Ecclesiecdici*, or *Episcoporum Ecdici*, is proveable enough, (if it were for this place) and their necessary use, beyond the power of your confutation. But I would rather refer my reader to S. Thomas Ridley, and others, that have laboured in that argument; and appeal to all men's judgment, how soundly you have, upon this ground, proved that our Bishops and the former were two!

SECT. 11.

How justly may I say, Readers, of these men, as the King of Israel said of the King of Syria: *See, I beseech you, how* they *seek a quarrel against me?* 2 Kings v. 7. My just defence was, that our Bishops are the same, in substance and effect, with those, which were ordained by the Apostles: they come now, and tell me, of an oath *ex officio*, used in the High Commission and in our Consistories; as if every particular manner of proceeding in our courts and judicatures must either be patterned by the Apostolic, or else they are utterly unjustifiable. Why do they not as well challenge us, that we give men the book to touch and kiss, in taking an oath? Why do they not ask, how we can prove that those Apostolical Bishops had Notaries, Registrars, Advocates, Consistories? What frivolous and delusory exceptions are these, to all wise men; and how strangely savouring of a weak judgment and strong malice!

As for your cavil at the oath *ex officio*, since you will needs draw it in by head and shoulders; how little soever it concerns us, I return you this answer: that, if any of our profession have, in the pressing of it, exceeded the lawful bounds, I excuse him not, I defend him not: let him bear away his own load: but, *in thesi*,

* Socrat. l. vii. c. 37.

surely there is more to be said for it, than you will seem to take notice of.

You ask for any "precedent" of it, in "good Antiquity." I give a precedent as ancient as Moses; Exod. xxii. 10, 11: and that other oath and real imprecation, in the cause of jealousy, Num. v. 19. But, perhaps, it will fit you better, that I instance in Mr. Calvin's case: who, together with the Consistory of Elders, appointed the said oath to be given to Camperell, a Minister of Geneva, and to the other parties accused of an offensive dancing in the house of widow Balthasar*: in which corporal oath three interrogatories being put to the deponents, two of them are said to be concerning their purposes and intentions. If yet you call for other precedents, I call your eyes home; and will you to look into our Courts of King's-Bench, Common-Pleas, Exchequer, Star-chamber: wherein the defendant is ordinarily put to answer the bill and interrogatories, upon oath.

As for "that old maxim of *Nemo tenetur prodere seipsum*," you may, if it please you, object it as well to Moses, to Calvin, to our Courts. It is easily thus satisfied: that no man is bound, at the suit of a party, to answer criminous articles; or such, as are *propinqui actus*, as lawyers interpret it. But, as Petrus de Ferrariis well determines it, *Proditus per famam, tenetur seipsum ostendere, et purgare;* "when a fame accuses him, he may clear himself by an oath." It is to be presupposed, that a man is brought into question by some of those lawful means, which open a way to a further enquiry; and then, as Aquinas well †, if there be a *semi-plena probatio*, or a strong fame, or evident tokens, an oath is seasonably imposed.

But, sure, the intention of the oath is quite mistaken: for it is meant to acquit and justify, not to accuse; neither is any man pressed to answer further, than he is bound in law; neither are the compulsions simple and absolute, but only causative, as the learned apologist hath fully declared.

If then a "Dioclesian," or "Maximilian" (as you call him) shall enact, "that the adverse party shall not be required to exhibit such evidences as should create troubles to themselves," it is no other than is every where practised in all Courts of Judicature; and may well stand with the oath *ex officio*, as it is formerly limited.

Be advised, therefore, till you understand the case better, to forbear to talk of "the lamp of nature, in the night of ethnicism:" but know, that the light of the Law of God, and right reason and common practice, give sufficient allowance to that, which your misprision cavils at, in those, whom ye ought to acknowledge "the Fathers of the Church."

You tell us of "the custom of the Church," and proceedings in the time of Athanasius, and the rule of Gratian; as if we disallowed those just courses, where there is a direct and manifest accusation, and evident proofs to be had: but what doth this hinder,

* Calvin. Epist. fol. 421. † Aquin. Quodlib. l. vi. q. 8.

that, in case of a justly-grounded suspicion, and a complaint of a half-proved offence, a man should manifest his innocence by oath?

That ye might seem to have seen the Canon-Law, you tell us, that, "in some cases," it allows "trial without witnesses;" namely, where "the crime may be justly called notorious: and, then, deeply expound *notorium*, by *manifestum*; therein plainly contradicting yourselves: for, if that be manifest, which is lawfully known, by confession, or by probation, or by the evidence of the thing; what probation can there be, besides confession and evidence, without witnesses?

But this error is as trifling, as your accusation; and, after all this waste of words, notwithstanding some personal abuses of officers in undue processes of their Courts, our Bishops and the former are not two.

SECT. 12.

YOUR next Section hath more pomp of reading in it, than the rest; but, to as little purpose. I shall trouble you, with neglecting it. We cannot anger a gay man more, than in passing by him unseen.

My ground was, that our Bishops differ not, in respect of any 'spiritual power,' from that, which was 'delegated from Apostolic authority, to Timothy and Titus:' you spend your time, in proving that they differ in their Employment, in Secular and State affairs.

But, I ask, is this difference or fault universal, or not? Sure, you cannot say they are all thus mis-employed: and, if not, why is this blame cast upon all? why should the calling, and others' innocence suffer?

My cause shall yield you your postulate, herein; and be no whit the worse. It is true, the ordinary managing of secular affairs is not proper for a Bishop. "Chrysostom's" counsel, "Julian's" practice, "Constantine's" bounty, "Cyril's" insolent pomp, the "Roman Bishop's" degenerating into a secular principality, "Cyprian's" grave limitation, the just inhibitions of "many Canons," are of an undoubted truth. And we could easily, if need were, add many more to these: and tell you of those κοσμικαὶ φροντίδες, that must, upon the Apostolic Canons, be avoided by sacred persons; and the rigorous charge of Cyprian *, against Geminius Victor, for ordaining Geminius Faustinus, a Presbyter, but the executor of his last will; with many other, the like instances. But what are these, to the work in hand?

Two exceptions must necessarily be admitted.

The one, of extraordinary occasions and services: as, when a Prince or State, having had good proof of the abilities of an ecclesiastical person, shall think fit, as now it is done in this great

* *Pro dormitione Victoris non fiat oblatio, aut deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in Ecclesiâ frequentetur.* Cypr. Rogatiano Fratri. l. iii. Ep. 9.

northern negotiation, to call for his counsel; or to employ his present agency, for a time, in some main business, that may import the public good and safety of the Church or Commonwealth. So St. Chrysostom once, so St. Ambrose twice, was employed in embassy from the Emperors. The very trade of tent-making did as much take up St. Paul, for the time, as a state-employment might have done. And how many have we known, that have, not unprofitably, professed physic, both for soul and body; and done much good in both!

The other, of a charitable interposition, in matters of difference, for peace and reconciliation; and composing of the unkind quarrels of dissenting neighbours: wherewith St. Ambrose and St. Austin were so extremely taken up, that the latter makes no little complaint * of the importunity of those continual interpellations: such, as both his morning studies were distracted by them, and the afternoon wholly spent in them; and professeth, he could not have the opportunity of opening his estate and heart to Bishop Ambrose, by reason of that continual audience of causes, daily brought before that great Prelate.

Surely, if the charity of more of ours have not rendered them more guilty of secularity, in this kind, than the supposed ambition of others, there will be no cause why our Bishops and the Bishops of former times should be two.

SECT. 13.

It is true, the "Remonstrant soars above these after-times, even as high as the Apostles." As if you knew not this before; when as, all this while, you have endeavoured to shew that the Apostles' Bishops and ours are two.

We do again profess, that, 'if our Bishops challenge any other power, than was delegated to and required of Timothy and Titus,' we shall yield them 'usurpers:' you kindly tell us, so we "deserve to be, if" we "do but challenge the same power."

And why so, I beseech you, Brethren? because "Timothy and Titus," ye say, "were Evangelists, and so moved in a higher sphere." Liberally and boldly spoken! but where is your proof?

"For Timothy," ye say, "the text is clear." But what text, what the least intimation, have you, for Titus? Surely not so much as the least ground of a conjecture: yet, how confidently you avow for both!

And, even for Timothy, your gloss is clear; not your text. St. Paul bids him *do the work of an Evangelist*: what then? that rather intimates that he was none; for he doth not say, do thine own work, but *the work of an Evangelist*. When I tell my friend, that I must desire him to do the office of a Solicitor or a Secretary for

* Aug. Ep. 110.

me, I do herein intimate, that he is neither; but so, for the time, employed: why is it not so here?

And what, I beseech you, is the work of an Evangelist, but to preach the Evangel, or good tidings of peace? So, as St. Paul, herein, gives no other charge to his Timothy, than in 2 Tim. iv. 2; *Preach the word: be instant, in season, and out of season.* And this you say and urge, to be the work of a Bishop too: well, therefore, may Timothy, notwithstanding this charge, be no other than a Bishop. What need these works to be contradistinguished? St. Paul says of himself, *Whereto I am appointed a Preacher, and an Apostle, and a Teacher of the Gentiles;* 2 Tim. i. 11. What! shall we say St. Paul was an Apostle; he was not a Preacher, or not a Doctor, but an Apostle?

You distinguish of Evangelists. The word is taken either for the writers of the Gospel, or for the teachers of it: and why then was not St. Paul an Evangelist, who professed to be a teacher of the Gospel to the Gentiles?

These teaching Evangelists, you dream to be "of two sorts:" the one, those that "had ordinary places and gifts;" the other, "extraordinary." But tell me, Sirs, for my learning, where do you find those ordinary-placed and ordinary-gifted Evangelists? unless you mean to comprise all preachers under this name: and, then, a Bishop may be an Evangelist also; so, as the difference of a Bishop and an Evangelist vanisheth.

The truth is, these ordinary Evangelists are a new fiction: their true employment was to be sent by the Apostles, from place to place, for the preaching of the Gospel, without a settled residence upon any one charge.

Upon this advantage, you raise a slight argument; that "St. Paul besought Timothy to abide at Ephesus; 1 Tim. i. 3. which had been a needless importunity if he had had the episcopal charge of Ephesus:" for then he must have necessarily resided there; whereas you recite several proofs and occasions of his absence: which will appear to be of little force, if a man do duly consider the state of those times; the necessity whereof, in that first plantation of the Gospel, made even the most fixed stars planetary, calling them frequently from the places of their abode, to those services which were of most use for the success of that great work: yet so, as that either after their errands fully-done, or upon all opportune intermissions, they returned to their own chair. The story, therefore, of those journal computations might well have been spared.

Your argument from Paul's calling the Elders of Ephesus to Miletus, however you lean upon it, will prove but a reed. Yourselves confess, I know not upon what certain ground, that Timothy was at the meeting, Acts xx. with St. Paul. Had he been Bishop there, "the Apostle," you say, "instead of giving the Elders a charge to feed the flock of Christ, would have given that charge to Timothy, and not to them." Besides, "the Apostle would not so

have forgotten himself, as to call the Elders Bishops, before their Bishop's face;" and "would have given them some directions, how to carry themselves to their Bishop." In all which, Brethren, you go upon a wrong ground. Will ye grant, that these assembled persons were Presbyters, and not Bishops? under some Bishop, though not under Timothy? otherwise, why do you argue from the want of directions to them, as inferiors? But, if they were indeed Bishops, and not mere Presbyters, as the word itself imports*, your argument is lost: for then, the charge is equally given to Timothy, and all the rest; and it was no forgetfulness, to call them as they were.

You are straight ready to reply, how unpossibl it is, according to us, there should be many Bishops in one city; and here were many Presbyters from Ephesus:—but, let me mind you, that, though these Presbyters were sent for from Ephesus, yet they were not said to be all of Ephesus. Thither they were called to meet St. Paul, in all likelihood, from divers parts: which he seems to imply, when he saith, *Ye all, amongst whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God;* intimating the Superintendents of several places.

So as, notwithstanding these urged probabilities, Timothy might have been, both before this time and at that present, Bishop of Ephesus: after which, if Paul took him along with him to Jerusalem, this is no derogation to his Episcopacy: and if Timothy were yet, after this, prisoner with St. Paul at Rome, as you argue from Heb. xiii. 23., this is no derogation from his Episcopacy at Ephesus.

But, to cut the sinews of all this strong proof of your computation, it is more than probable, that, whereas the whole history of the Acts ends with Paul's first being at Rome, that Apostle survived divers years, and passed many travels, and did many great matters for the plantation and settling of Churches, whereof we can look for no account from Scripture, save by some glances in his following Epistles: into which time, these occurrents concerning Timothy's and Titus's Ordination did fall; as may be justly proved out of the Chronological Table of Jacob Cappellus, compared with Baronius.

Now, then, the reader may take his choice, whether he will believe all Antiquity, that have meddled with this subject, affirming Timothy to have been Bishop of Ephesus; or, whether he will believe a new-hatched contradiction of yesterday, raised out of imaginary probabilities. Shortly, it is far enough from "appearing, that Timothy was no Bishop, but a Minister, an Evangelist, a fellow-labourer of the Apostles, an Apostle, a Messenger of the Church:" it rather appears, that he was all these, in divers senses, and upon several occasions.

The like ye say of Titus: whom you are pleased to create an Evangelist, not being able to shew, that ever God made him so; save in that general sense, that might well stand with Episcopacy.

* Ἐπισκόπους.

You tell us a story of his peregrination, in the attendance of Paul: wherein you shall not expect any contradiction; but you shall give me leave to take you tripping a little in your own tale.

"From Cilicia," you say, Paul "passed to Crete, where he left Titus *for a while, to set in order things that remain.*" This "for a while" you put into a different character, as if it were part of the text: and guiltily translate τὰ λείποντα *things that remain;* whereas ours turn it, in a more full expression of an Episcopal power, *things that are wanting* or *left undone.*

But this is not the matter. You do, yet again, repeat the "for a while;" urging the short time, that Titus could be left at Crete: and yet, in your own marginal computation, there is no less distance of time, betwixt this placing in Crete and sending for him to his next remove, unto Nicopolis, than betwixt the year 46. and 51. the space of five years; which was a large gap of time, in that unsettled condition and manifold distractive-occasions of the Church. If, afterwards, he were, by Apostolical command, called away to attend the more concerning-services of the Church; this could no whit have impeached the truth of his Episcopacy.

But the truth is, he was ordained by St. Paul, after all those journeys mentioned in the Acts, and as Baronius with great consent of Antiquity computes it, a year after Timothy. So, as you may well put up your conclusion, as rather begged than enforced; and cast it upon the reader's courtesy to believe you against all Antiquity, that Titus was an Evangelist and no Bishop; whereas, these two may well agree together: he was an Evangelist, when he travelled abroad: he was a Bishop afterwards, when he stayed and settled at home.

You object to yourself the authority of "some Fathers, that have called Timothy and Titus Bishops." Some? name, if you can, that Father, that hath called them otherwise. Away with these envious diminutions, when ye have a cloud of witnesses of much Antiquity, which aver Timothy and Titus to have both lived and died Bishops: the one, of Ephesus; of Crete, the other. Yea, but so "some Fathers have called them Archbishops and Patriarchs," too. What of that? Therein they have then acknowledged them Bishops, paramount. And, if Titus were 'Bishop of Crete, which was, of old, ἑκατόμπολις, "the hundred-citied" island; and Timothy of Ephesus, the metropolis of Asia; the multitude of the territories under them, while it enlargeth their charge, doth detract nothing from the truth of their office.

Secondly, you tell us, from learned D. Raynolds, that the Fathers, when they called any Apostle Bishop, "they meant it in a general sort and signification: because they did attend that Church for a time; and supply that room in preaching the Gospel, which Bishops did after:" not intending it, as it "is commonly taken, for the Overseer of a particular Church, and Pastor of a several flock." But what is this to Timothy and Titus? You say, "the same may be said of them:" but the Doctor gave you no leave so to apply it; neither do we. Although, to say truth, all this dis-

course of yours is ἐκτὸς ὁδου, needless and extravagant. Whether Timothy or Titus were Evangelists or no, sure we are, that here they stand for persons charged with those offices and cares, which are delivered to the ordinary Church-Governors, in all succeeding generations. And we do most justly take them, as we find them; and, with our first confidence maintain, that we 'challenge no other spiritual power, than was delegated unto them, and to the Angels of the Asian Churches.'

You mean to confute us by questions; and those, so poor and frivolous, as are not worth answer: fastening that upon some particular abuse, which we disclaim from our calling; as if, under this claim, we were bound to justify every act of a Bishop.

To answer you in your own kind: when or where did "our Bishops challenge power to ordain alone? to govern alone?" When (though you ignorantly turn an Elder in age, to an Elder in office) did "our Bishops challenge power" to pass a rough and unbeseeming rebuke upon an Elder? Where did our Bishops give commission to "Chancellors, Commissaries, Officials, to rail upon Presbyters;" or to accuse them without just grounds, and without legal proceedings? As for your last question, I must tell you it is no better raised than upon an ignorant negative: did the Apostle say, reject none but a Heretic? did he not wish, *Would to God they were cut off, that trouble you?* Is it not certainly proved true, that some Schismatic may be worse than some Heretic: which I speak not so, as to traduce any of our unconforming brethren, whose consciences are unsettled in the point of this mean difference, as guilty of that hateful crime; but to convince the absurdity of our questionists: after whose ill raised cavils, thus fully answered, we have no cause to fear, upon their suggestions, to be 'disclaimed as usurpers.'

From Timothy and Titus, you descend to "the Angels of the Seven Asian Churches;" which no "subtlety" at all, but the common interest of their condition, hath "twisted together" in our defence.

In the generality whereof, I must premonish my reader, that this piece of the task fell unhappily upon some dull and tedious hand, that cared not how oft-sod coleworts he dished out to his credulous guests. I shall, what I may, prevent their surfeit.

Your shift is, that the Angel is here taken "collectively, not individually." A conceit, which, if yourselves, certainly no other wise man, can ever believe: for, if the interest be common and equally appertaining to all, why should one be singled out above the rest? If you will yield the person to be such, as had, more than others, a right in the administration of all, it is that we seek for. Surely, it did, in some sort, concern all, that was spoken to him; because he had the charge of all: but the direction is individual; as Beza himself takes it. As, if a letter be indorsed from the Lords of the Council to the Bishop of Durham or Salisbury, concerning some affairs of the whole Clergy of their Diocese; can we say that the name Bishop is there no other, than a

collective, because the business may import many? Verily, I do not believe that the authors of this sense can believe it themselves. To your invincible proofs. In the Epistle to Thyatira you say it is written, ὑμῖν δὲ λέγω, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς; *I say to you, and to the rest;* Rev. ii. 24: where, by *you* must, as you imagine, be signified, "the governors:" by *the rest*, "the people:" but what if the better copies read ὑμῖν δὲ λέγω τοῖς λοιποῖς, *I say to you, the rest in Thyatira*, without the copulative; as is confessed by your good friends; where then is your doughty argument? Here are no divisions of parties, but the Pastor and Flock. And, truly, thus it is; and my own eyes have seen it, in that noble manuscript, written by the hand of Tecla, as is probably supposed, some 1300 years ago, as Cyril, the late renowned Patriarch of Constantinople avoweth: your goodly proof therefore is in the suds. But, to meet you in your own kind, if you will go upon divers readings, what will you say to that verse 20. where the Angel of Thyatira is excharged: *Thou sufferest*, τὴν γυναῖκα σοῦ Ἰεζαβήλ, *thy wife Jezebel*, for so it is in very good copies, *to teach and seduce:* yea, so it is in that memorable copy of Tecla, forementioned, which is to be seen in the Prince's Library, under the custody of the industrious and learned Mr. Patrick Yong, as my own eyes can witness: and thus St. Cyprian reads it of old *. What! shall we think she was wife to the whole company, or to one Bishop alone? I leave you to blush, for the shame this proof alone casts upon your opinion.

Secondly, you tell us, "it is usual with the Holy Ghost," even "in this very book, to express a company under one singular person:" as, the "Beast" is "the Civil State;" "the Whore and the False Prophet, the Ecclesiastical State of Rome." But what if it be thus, in visions or emblematical representations? must it needs be so, in plain narrations, where it is limited by just predicates? Or, because it is so in one phrase of speech, must it be so in all? Why do you not as well say, where *the Lamb* is named, or *the Lion of Judah*, this is a collective of many; not an individual subject? "The Seven Angels," you say, "that blew the seven trumpets, and poured out the seven vials, are not to be taken literally, but synecdochically:" perhaps so; but, then, the synecdoch lies in the *seven*, and not in the *Angels:* so, I grant you, the word *Angel* is here metaphorical; but you are no whit nearer to your imagined synecdoch.

"The very name Angel," you say, "is sufficient proof, that it is not meant of one person alone," as being "a common name to all God's Ministers and Messengers:" as if he did not well know this, that directed these Epistles: and, if he had so meant it, had it not been as easy to have mentioned more, as one? Had he said, "the Angels of the Church of Ephesus" or "Thyatira," the cause had been clear: now he says *the Angel*, ὁ Ἄγγελος, the denoted person must be singular; for, surely, you cannot say, that all the Presbyters at Ephesus were one Angel. The same reason holds

* Cypr. l. iv. ad Antonianum Epist.

for the "*Stars:*" had he said, "To the Star of Ephesus," I suppose no body would have construed it of many, but of one eminent person: now, he speaks of so many Stars, as Angels; to wit, seven, in those Seven Churches.

Your fourth argument, from the text itself, is no better than ridiculous; poorly drawn from what it doth not say. Lo, "he saith, *The Seven Candlesticks, which thou sawest, are the Seven Churches;* Rev. i. 20: but he doth not say, "The Seven Stars are the Seven Angels of the same Churches;" but, *the Angels of the Seven Churches.*" Forbear, if you can, Readers, to smile at this curious subtlety. Because the seven is not twice repeated in mentioning the Angels, there is a deep mystery in the omission. What Cabalism have we here! Had he said, "The Seven Stars are the Seven Angels of the Seven Churches," now, all had been sure: but, he saith not so; but only thus, *The Seven Stars are the Angels of the Seven Churches.* It is plain, that every Church hath his Angel mentioned; and, there being Seven Churches, how many Angels, I beseech you, are there? now, because he doth not say expressly in terms, "Seven Angels of the Seven Churches," we are foiled in our proof. Judge, Reader, what to expect of so deep speculations.

Lastly, "it is evident," you say, "though but one Angel be mentioned in the front, yet the Epistles themselves be dedicated to all the Angels and Ministers, and to the Churches themselves." Who ever doubted it? the foot of every Epistle runs *what the Spirit saith to the Churches:* not to one Church, but to all seven. If, therefore, you argue, that the name *Angel* is collective, say also, that every of these *Seven Angels* is the whole company of all the Seven Churches; which were a foul nonsense. You might have saved the labour, both of Ausbertus and the rest of your authors, and your own. We never thought otherwise, but that the whole Church is spoken to: but so, as that the Governor or Bishop is singled out; as one, that hath the main stroke in ordering the affairs thereof, and is therefore either praised or challenged according to his carriage therein: although also, there are such particularities, both of commendations and exceptions, in the body of the several Epistles, as cannot but have relation to those several Overseers, to whom they were endorsed; as I have elsewhere specified. Had all the Presbyters of Ephesus *lost* their *first love?* had each of them *tried the false Apostles?* Had all those of Sardis *a name to live, and were dead?* Were all the Laodicean Ministers of one temper? These taxations were, no doubt, of individual persons; but such, as in whom the whole Churches were interested.

As for those "conjectural reasons," which you frame to yourselves, why "the whole company of Presbyters" should be written to under the singular name of an Angel, if ye please yourselves with them, it is well: from me they have no cause to expect an answer: they neither can draw my assent, nor merit my confutation.

Take heed of yielding that, which ye cannot but yield to be

granted by Doctor Raynolds, and Master Beza, Doctor Fulke, Pareus, and others, that the *Angel* is here taken individually: but still, if you be wise, hold your own; that our cause is no whit advanced, nor yours impaired by this yieldance. Let him have been an *Angel*, yet what makes this for a "Diocesan Bishop?" Much, every way: for, if the Church of Ephesus, for example, had many Ministers or Presbyters in it, to instruct the people in their several charges, as it is manifest they had; and yet but one prime Overseer, which is singled out by the Spirit of God, and styled, by a title of eminence, *the Angel* of that Church: it must needs follow, that, in St. John's time, there was an acknowledged superiority in the government of the Church: if there were many Angels in each, and yet but one that was *the Angel*, who can make doubt of an inequality?

It is but a pitiful shift, that you make, in pleading that these Angels, if Bishops, yet were not "Diocesan Bishops;" for, "that Parishes were not divided into Dioceses" (I had thought Dioceses should have been divided into Parishes rather) "in St. John's days:" for, by the same reason, I may as well argue, that they were not Parochial Bishops neither, since that then no Parishes were as yet distinguished.

As if you had resolved to speak nothing but bulls and solecisms, you tell me, that "the Seven Stars are said to be fixed in their Seven Candlesticks;" whereas those Stars are said to be in the right-hand of the Son of God.

But, say you still, "not one Star was over divers Candlesticks:"—Truly no: who ever said, that one Angel was over all the Seven Churches? but that each of these famous Churches were under their own Star or Angel.

But those Churches, you say, were not "Diocesan." How doth that appear?

Because, first, "Tindall, and the Old Translation, calls them *Seven Congregations*." For answer, who knows not, that Tindall and the Old Translation are still wont to translate the word *Church*, wheresoever they find it, by *Congregation?* which some Papists have laid in our dish. Learned Doctor Fulke hath well cleared our intentions herein, from their censure. Tindall himself professes to do it out of this reason, because the Popish Clergy had appropriated to themselves the name of the Church: but, however, they rather made use of the word; yet not so, as that hereby they intend only to signify Parishional Meetings. So Eph. iii. 10. *To the intent, that, now to the rulers and powers in heavenly places, might be known by the Congregation, the manifold wisdom of God:* do we think this blessed revelation confined to a Parish, or common to the whole Church of God? So 1 Cor. xv. 9. they turn, *I am not worthy to be called an Apostle, because I persecuted the Congregation of God:* do we think his cruelty was confined to a Parish? So Matt. vi. 16. *Upon this rock, will I build my Congregation:* was this a Parish only? So Acts xii. 1. *Herod the king*

stretched out his hands, to vex certain of the Congregation: was his malice only Parochial? But, secondly, ye tell us, that, in "Ephesus, which was one of those Candlesticks, there was but one flock:" Acts xx. 28. Yea, but can you tell us what kind of flock it was; whether National, or Provincial, or Diocesan? Parochial, I am sure it could not be. You have heard before, that those Elders or Bishops were sent for from Ephesus: but, that they were all of Ephesus, it cannot be proved. When all of them, then, are bidden to *take heed to the flock* of Christ, *whereof* they are *made overseers*, each is herein charged to look to his own; and all are, in the next words, required to *feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.*

So as your second argument is fully answered in the solution of the first, and in the former passages of this Section. The advantage, that you take from Epiphanius, affirming that divers cities of that time might have two Bishops, whereas Alexandria held close to one; can avail you little, when it shall be well weighed:—first, that your tenet supposeth and requireth, that every Presbyter should be a Bishop; and, therefore, if your cause speed, there should be no fewer Bishops than Parishes:—secondly, that the practice of the whole Church, both before and after Epiphanius, is, by such clear testimonies, convinced to be contrary. Famous and irrefragable is that Canon * of the Nicene Council, ἵνα μὴ κ. τ. ἀ. that "in one city there might not be two Bishops." So, before this, Cornelius, writing to the Bishop of Antioch, objects it scornfully to Novatian, that he did not know ἕνα Ἐπίσκοπον δεῖν εἶναι, κ. τ. ἀ. that, "in a Catholic Church, there ought to be but one Bishop." And it is a known word of the Confessors of old, in Cyprian's time, "One God, one Lord, one Bishop." Make much, if you please, of this conceit of yours, that Epiphanius's neighbourhood might acquaint him well "with the condition of the Asian Churches:" but, let me add, that you shall approve yourselves mere strangers to all the rules and practices of Antiquity, if you shall stand upon the general plurality of Bishops in the same City or Diocese. And, last of all, remember, that Epiphanius reckons up Ærius as a heretic, for holding Presbyters equal with Bishops.

Your third argument, that "there is nothing said in these Seven Epistles, that implies a Superiority," is answered by the very superscription of each Letter, which is, τῷ Ἀγγέλῳ *To the Angel:* and, much more, by the matter of the several Epistles. For, what reason were it, for an ordinary Presbyter to be taxed for that, which he hath no power to redress? that the Angel of Pergamos should be blamed for the having of *those which hold the doctrine of Balaam*, or *the Nicolaitans;* when he had no power to proceed against them? or the Angel of the Church of Thyatira, for suffering *the woman Jezebel*, if it must be so read, *to teach and seduce;* when he had no power of public censure to restrain her?

But what need we stand upon conjectural answers, to convince

* Conc. Nic. Can. 8.

you in this plea; as likewise in the supposed decision of the kind of superiority, which you urge in the next paragraph; when we are able to shew, both who the parties were to whom some of these Epistles were directed, and to evince the high degree of their superiority? Ignatius, the blessed Martyr, besides Tertullian, shall be our witness for both; who tells us *, that Onesimus was now the Angel or Bishop of Ephesus, Polycarpus of Smyrna: and, as commenting upon this very subject, oft ingeminates the duty of subjection owing to the Bishop, and the divers degrees of those three several stations in the Church; as we already instanced.

Away, then, with those your unproving illustrations and unregardable testimonies, which you, as destitute of all Antiquity, shut up the scene withal: and let the wise reader judge, whether the "Remonstrant" hath not, from the "evidence" of "Timothy and Titus and the Angels of the Asian Churches," made good that just claim of this sacred Hierarchy, against all your weak and frivolous pretensions.

From the Remonstrant, lest your discourse should not be tedious enough, you fly upon some other defenders of the Hierarchy; and fall upon the two postscripts of St. Paul's Epistles to Timothy and Titus, wherein Timothy and Titus are styled the first Bishops of Ephesus and Crete; which I am no way engaged to defend. You say, they are not of canonical authority: so say I too. But I say they are of great antiquity: and so you must confess also.

Fain would I see, but any pretence of so much age against the matter of those subscriptions, the averred Episcopacy of Timothy and Titus, cited by these confident antiquaries. Surely he were senseless, that would imagine the postscripts as old as the text, or as authentic; but we may boldly say, they are older than any records of the gainsayers.

Where these subscriptions are not seconded by authority of the Ancient Church, there I leave them: but, where they are so well backed, there is no reason to forsake them.

The exception, therefore, which you take at the postscript of the Epistle to Titus, is not more stale than unjust. You say, peremptorily, it was not written from Nicopolis; neither was Paul then there. How appears it? Because he says, in the body of the Epistle, "*come to me to Nicopolis, for I am determined there to winter.* He saith not, "Here *to winter*," but *there:*" as speaking of a third place." But how slight this ground is, will be easily apparent to any man, that shall consider, that St. Paul was in perpetual journeying from place to place: and, therefore, though now, at that instant, at Nicopolis; yet, how soon occasions might call him away, and how long, he knew not: therefore, it was most fit that he should pitch upon a certain place, whither Titus should direct his way toward him. Notwithstanding your guess therefore, since holy Athanasius plainly tells us, that St. Paul wrote this Epistle from

* Ignat. ad Ephes. Ἐν Ὀνησίμῳ, τῷ ἐπ' ἀγάπη ἀδιηγητῳ; ὑμῶν δὲ Ἐπισκόπῳ, κ.τ.λ. AUTHOR. This passage is found in the Medicean copy. EDITOR.

Nicopolis; and is therein followed by Oecumenius and Theophylact; and, in that famous ancient Manuscript sent by the late Patriarch of Constantinople, I find it plainly dated ἀπὸ Νικοπόλεως; it must needs follow, that either this subscription was before Athanasius's and Tecla's time, or else that they went upon some other good ground of their assertion.

Lastly, it may well go for a reason of your own making, that the Postscript styles Titus "Bishop of the Church of the Cretians; whereas it would be said, of the Churches of the Cretians: for the Christian Churches of any nation are called, by Luke and Paul, Churches, and not Church." Who would not yield you this truth, that the Christian Churches are called Churches? what can they be called else, when they are mentioned in their several diversities? but, when they are, upon some entire relation, conjoined and united, as these of Crete, under one government, they may well be called not the Churches, but the Church.

That flash of wit might well have been forborne, wherein you make an envious comparison betwixt the authority of these subscriptions, and Episcopal Authority of urging subscription "to their ceremonies." And why theirs, I beseech you? Have you been urged to subscribe to any other ceremonies, than have been established by the laws of this Realm and Church? Was it Episcopal Power, that enacted them? Had you been but as obedient, these ceremonies had been equally yours: now, out of pure love, you impose that upon us, which you repined that the laws should impose upon you. Go on thus charitably, and prosper.

Because you wanted work from the 'Remonstrance,' you will cut out some for yourselves. An "objection" of your own must be answered; "that is, from the inequality, that was between the Twelve Apostles and the Seventy Disciples." And well may you shape your own "Answer" to your own objection. "It cannot be proved," you say, "that the Twelve had any superiority over the Seventy, either of Ordination or Jurisdiction." What! have you forgotten, Brethren, that the Apostles ordained the Deacons; Acts vi. 6. by prayer and imposition of hands? that the Apostle Paul laid his hands on Timothy? Have you forgotten, how, by virtue of his Apostleship, he charges, commands, controls, censures? What is, if this be not, Ordination and Jurisdiction? "But," say you, "suppose it were so; yet a superiority and inferiority between officers of the same kind." Deeply argued! Surely, hence you may infer, that one Bishop is not superior to another, nor "one Presbyter above another;" but that a Bishop should not be superior to a Presbyter, were an uncouth consequence. If the Twelve Apostles, therefore, were superiors to the Seventy Disciples, and Bishops (as your own Jerome tells you *) succeed those

* So Cyprian. *Episcopis loquens &c. Qui Apostolis vicariâ ordinatione succedunt.* Ep. 69. *Unitas per Apostolos novis successoribus tradita.* Ep. 41. *Meminisse debent Diaconi quoniam Apostolos, i. e. Episcopos et præpositos, Dominus elegit.* Ep. 65.

Apostles, and Presbyters come in the room of the Seventy, where is that identity or sameness of kind, which you pretend? All Antiquity hath acknowledged, τρεῖς βάθμους, "three several ranks," in the Church-Hierarchy; and, if you have a mind to jumble them together, take away the difference betwixt Presbyters and Deacons, as well as that betwixt Bishops and Presbyters: *Jam summus ergo pares.*

And now we appeal to the same bar, how far you have been from disproving the Divine Right or Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy; and whether your reliance upon Jerome's authority in this point hath been grounded upon any other reason, but your own weak presumption.

Yet still, like, as I have heard, some beaten cocks, you dare crow: and tell your reader, that, "though Scriptures fail" us, yet we "support" ourselves by "the indulgence and munificence of Religious Princes." Surely, if God should have withdrawn himself, in vain should we make flesh our arms. Our calling we challenge from God: some accessory titles, dignities, maintenance, we thankfully profess to have received from the bounty of royal benefactors. What of this? herein, you say, "the author acknowledgeth a difference, between our Bishops and the Bishops of old." Yes, verily, so he gladly doth, with all humble thankfulness to God and good Princes. Make your best of this concession.

Suddenly, you fall fair; and profess your well-pleasedness, with the liberal maintenance of the Church: although somewhat yet sticks with you. "When the Ministry came to have *agros, domos, locationes, vehicula,*" as you say from Chrysostom, then "*Religio peperit divitias,* Religion brought forth riches, and the daughter devoured the mother; and a voice was heard from heaven, *Hodie venenum:*" and then you tell us of "wooden Priests," and "golden Chalices." But, Brethren, take no care for this danger: our last age hath begun to take sufficient order for the redress of this evil; and if, in time, you shall see wooden Chalices and wooden Priests, thank yourselves.

However, you grant there is not an "incompossibility," betwixt "large revennes" and "an humble sociableness:" "yet," you say, "it is rare;" and tell us, that the rich provision of Bishops hath "ushered in," both "neglect of their Ministry," and "pompous attendance," and "insultation over their Brethren:" and you instance "in the pride of Paulus Samosatenus," and shut up with the "grave complaint of Sulpitius Severus." It is not to be denied, Brethren, that some such ill use hath been made, by some, of their abundance: but, surely, in this ablative age, the fault is rare, and hardly instanceable. Both the wings and train of many of ours have been so clipped, that there is no great fear of flying high. But, if it be so, the fault is fixed to the person; who, with more grace, might otherwise improve the blessing. Cast your eyes upon others, even your own great patrons, and tell me if you do not espy the same ill use of large means and flattering prosperity: yet you de-

sire not to abridge their store; but to rectify the employment of it: learn to be so charitable to your spiritual superiors.

And now, at last, you "give a Vale to" your "Remonstrant's arguments;" and shut up with a bold recollection: concerning which, let me say thus much; truly, Brethren, had you as good a faculty in strewing, as you have in gathering, there were no dealing with you: but, it is your ill hap to tell the reader, in your recapitulation, of great feats, that you have done in your former discourse; when as he must needs profess, that he sees no such matter. I appeal to his judicious eyes, whether, in all this tedious passage, you have proved any thing, but your own bold ignorance and absurd inconsequences.

SECT. 14.

My "satisfaction to objections," comes next to be scanned: objections, which would to God they were only of my own framing!

In the first, that Episcopacy is no prejudice of Sovereignty, I justly prove, for that there is a compatibleness, 'in this case, of God's act and the King's. It is God, that makes the Bishop; the King, that gives the Bishopric.' What can you say to this? You tell us you "have already proved, that God never made a Bishop, as he stands in superiority over Presbyters." So you told us; and that is enough: we were hard-hearted, if we would not believe you: when as we have made good, by undeniable proofs, that, besides the grounds which our Saviour laid of this imparity, the blessed Apostles, by inspiration from God, made this difference, in a personal ordaining of some above the rest, and giving express charge of Ordination and Jurisdiction to those select persons, in Church-Government, whom the Bishops have ever since succeeded. Tell us not, therefore, that, if we "disclaim the influence of Sovereignty into" our "creation, and assert that the King doth not make" us "Bishops," we "must have no being at all:" for, that the reader may see you stop your own mouth, answer me, I beseech you, where or when ever did the King create a Bishop? name the man; and take the cause. It pleases his Majesty to give his *Conge-d'elire* for a Bishop's election to his See, to signify his royal assent thereunto: upon which the Bishop is solemnly ordained, by the imposition of the hands of the Metropolitan and other his brethren; and these do, as from God, invest him in his holy calling, which he exercises in that place, which is designed and given him by his Majesty. What can be more plain, than this truth? As for that unworthy censure, which you pass upon the just comparison of "Kings in order to Bishops, and Patrons in order to their Clerks," it shall be acknowledged well-deserved, if you shall be able to make good the disparity. "When he shall prove," you say, "that the Patron gives Ministerial power to his Clerk, as the King gives Episcopal

power to the Bishop, it may be of some conducement to his cause:" shortly, Brethren, the same day that you shall shew me that the King ordained a Bishop, the same day will I shew you that a Patron ordained a Presbyter. The Patron gives the Benefice to the one: the King gives the Bishopric to the other: neither of them do give the Office or Calling to either. Go you, therefore, with your "Friar Simon," to your cell; and consult with your convent for more reason and wit, than you shew in this and the next scornful paragraph: wherein, while you flout at my modest concession with an unbeseeming frump, you are content silently to balk that my second answer, which you know was too hot or too heavy for your satisfaction.

In the second, the imputation pretended to be cast by this tenet upon all the Reformed Churches, which want this government: I endeavoured so to satisfy, that I might justly decline the envy, which is intended to be thereby raised against us: for which cause, I professed that we do 'love and honour those our Sister-Churches, as the dear Spouse of Christ;' and give zealous testimonies of my well-wishing to them. Your uncharitableness offers to choke me with those scandalous censures and disgraceful terms, which some of ours have let fall upon those Churches, and their eminent professors: which, I confess, it is more easy to be sorry for, than, on some hands, to excuse. The error of a few may not be imputed to all.

My just defence is, that no such consequent can be drawn from our opinion: forasmuch as the Divine or Apostolical Right, which we hold, goes not so high, as if there were an express command, that, upon an absolute necessity, there must be either Episcopacy or no Church; but so far only, that it both may and ought to be. How fain would you here find me in a contradiction! while I, onewhere, reckon Episcopacy amongst matters essential to the Church; another where, deny it to be of the essence thereof! Wherein you willingly hide your eyes, that you may not see the distinction that I make expressly betwixt the Being and Well-being of a Church: affirming, that 'those Churches, to whom this power and faculty is denied, lose nothing of the true essence of a Church, though they miss something of their glory and perfection.' No, Brethren, it is enough for some of your friends, to hold their Discipline altogether essential to the very being of a Church: we dare not be so zealous.

The question, which you ask concerning the reason of the different entertainment given in our Church, to Priests converted to us from Rome, and to Ministers who in Queen Mary's days had received imposition of hands in Reformed Churches abroad, is merely personal; neither can challenge my decision. Only I give you these two answers. That, what fault soever may be in the easy admittance of those who have received Romish Orders, the sticking at the admission of our brethren returning from Reformed Churches, was not in case of Ordination, but of Institution: they had been acknowledged Ministers of Christ, without any other hands laid upon them; but, according to the laws of our land, they were not, per-

haps, capable of Institution to a Benefice, unless they were so qualified as the statutes of this realm do require. And, secondly, I know those, more than one, that, by virtue only of that Ordination which they have brought with them from other Reformed Churches, have enjoyed Spiritual Promotions and Livings, without any exception against the lawfulness of their calling.

The "confident affirmation" which you alledge of the learned Bishop of Norwich *, is no rule to us. I leave him to his own defence.

You think I have too much work on my hand, to give satisfaction for myself in these two main questions, which arise from my book.

What high points shall we now expect, trow we?

"First, whether that Office, which, by Divine Right, hath sole power of Ordination and Ruling all other Officers of the Church, which he saith Episcopacy hath, belong not to the being, but only to the glory and perfection of a Church:"—Can we tell what these men would have? Have they a mind to go beyond us, in asserting that necessity and essential use of Episcopacy, which we dare not avow? Do they not care to lose their cause, so they may cross an adversary? For your question, you still talk of sole Ordination and sole Jurisdiction: you may, if you please, keep that pair of soles for your next shoes: we contend not for such a height of propriety; neither do we practice it: they are so ours, that they should not be without us; as we have formerly shewed. That, therefore, there should be a power of lawful ordination and government in every settled Church, it is no less than necessary; but that, in what case soever of extremity and irresistible necessity, this should be only done by Episcopal hands, we never meant to affirm: it is enough, that, regularly, it should be their act.

Your second question is: "There being, in this man's thoughts, the same *jus divinum* for Bishops, that there is for Pastors and Elders, whether, if those Reformed Churches wanted Pastors and Elders too, they should want nothing of the essence of a Church, but of the perfection and glory of it:"—The answer is ready. If those Reformed Churches, wanting those whom you call Pastors and Elders, did yet enjoy the government by Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, they should be so far from wanting ought of the essence of a Church, that they should herein attain to much glory and perfection.

And so much for your deep questions.

The presumptuous "Remonstrant would seem to know so much of the mind of those Churches," that he saith, "if they might have their option," he doubts not but "they would gladly embrace Episcopal Government." A foul imputation, which your zeal must needs wipe off! For which purpose, you bring the Confessions of the French and Dutch Churches, averring the truth and justifiableness of their own government. For which they have good reason: neither shall you herein expect my contradiction; nor yet my pre-

* B. Montague.

sent labour of reconciling their government and ours, in the main and material points of both. This condition they are in; and they do well to defend it: but they did not tell you they would not, if opportunity were offered, be content with a better. I am deceived, if their own public constitutions be not still concluded with the power of a change: and I have elsewhere shewed, out of Fregevillæus, that this order of government was in their Churches at first only provisional; and instanced in those testimonies of approbation, which their learned Divines have freely given to our form of administration *; which I shall not now stand either to repeat or multiply. Let it be enough, for the present, to say, that, upon my certain knowledge, many eminent Divines of the Churches abroad have earnestly wished themselves in our condition; and have applauded and magnified our Church, as the most famous, exemplary, and glorious Church in the whole Christian World. So as I wanted not good reason, for that, which you are pleased to style presumptuous, assertion.

But "the reason" of my assertion is yet so more offensive, that you wonder how it could fall from my pen: That there is little difference in the government of other Protestant Churches and our own, 'save in the perpetuity of their Moderatorship, and the exclusion of Lay-Elders.' A passage, belike, as you say, of admirable absurdity. But soft, Brethren: I am afraid, first, lest you speak of what you know not. I speak not only of the next Churches of France and the Netherlands: I speak of them, in a generality; as one, that, if this place would bear it, could give a particular account of them all. Neither can your cavils work my repentance. You tell me of "the Moderator in Geneva;" as if all the Church of God were included in those strait walls: I could tell you of the Superintendents of the Churches of Germany; of the Præpositi, in the Churches of Weteraw, Hessia, Anhalt; of the Seniores, in Transylvania, Polonia, Bohemia. But what of the Moderator in Geneva? He "is not of a Superior Order to his brethren." But, let me tell you, when Master Calvin was Moderator there, as he constantly was for many years, no Bishop in England swayed more, than he did in that Church: and, even in the Low Countries, how much the *Deputati Synodi*, after they had been frequently employed in those services, (as, for instance, my ancient and truly-reverend friend, Mr. Bogermannus) prevailed, and with what authority they carry the affairs of the Church, it is not hard to understand. For those other circumstances which you are pleased to mention, were the Moderatorship perpetual, they would soon accordingly vary: and, if not so, yet you may remember, that I said not, no difference at all, but 'little;' whereof your well-affectedness to our government can make this use, that "then the abrogation of Episcopacy will be wrought with the less difficulty, and occasion the less disturbance." The old word is, "Well fare a friend in a corner." Still, you are

* See Sections 4 and 5 of the Introduction to Episcopacy by Divine Right: pp. 515—521 of this vol. EDITOR.

for the destructive. none, but the Babylonian note, sounds well in your ear; *Down with it, down with it, even to the ground.* But the God of Heaven, whose cause it is, will, we hope, vindicate his own ordinance, so long perpetuated to his Church, from all your violent and subtle machinations; and prevent the utmost danger of your already sufficiently raised disturbance.

SECT. 15.

CONCERNING the Lay-Presbytery I said, and say still, most justly, that it 'never had footing' in the Church of God till this present age. These wits cry out in great sport, See how like the man looks to Doctor Hall, in his "Irrefragable Propositions." Truly, Brethren, as like him, as ye are like yourselves: who are still scornful and insolent. But, though ye be commonly spiteful, yet you are so seldom witty, that we may well bear with you, for once. Be he like, whom he will, D. Hall will sufficiently defend, both those "Propositions" and this "Remonstrance," against all your impotent cavils.

For this, concerning the questioned Lay-Presbytery, you make a fair flourish to little purpose.

You do wisely to omit those three known texts *, which the world knows have been so thoroughly canvassed and eluded; and that famous text of an acknowledged counterfeit, Ambrose, so often exploded. We shall have now new stuff from you; but, of as little worth. Surely, had the foregoing patrons of your Lay-Eldership found that they could have received any colour of protection from these places of Antiquity, alledged by you, they had not, after the raking of all the channels of time, forborne the utmost urging of these your testimonies, in their favour and defence; but they well saw how little reason there was, to press those unproving evidences, which you will needs urge as convictive.

Your testimony from Origen † cannot but shame you; if yet you can blush. You feared to cite the chapter, that, in so long a book, you might not be discovered.

But the scope of the place is clearly thus: Origen is upon comparison of the Philosophers and Christians, in their care of teaching. *Nam illi* (scil. *Philosophi*) *propalam apud vulgus disserentes, non sunt curiosi in discernendis auditoribus, &c:* "For the Philosophers," saith he, "in their public discourses to the people, are not curious in the differences of their auditors: but every one, that lists, comes; and hears them, at pleasure. But the Christians do, what they may, carefully pre-examine the minds of those, that desire to hear them. And, first, they do privately so, to those, that are bewitched (with Paganism) before they be received into the congregation: and, when they seem to have come on so far, as to be desirous to live

* Viz. 1 Tim. v. 17. 1 Cor. xii. 28. and Rom. xvi. 8. EDITOR.
† Orig. contra Celsum. c. 14.

honestly, then do they bring them in; but, in distinct degrees: the one, of those which are newly admitted, but have not yet attained (the cognizance of their purification), Baptism; the other, of those which are now come on so far as to profess the Christian Religion. In this latter rank are appointed some, which do enquire into the lives and manners of those that come: that they may be a means to keep off such candidates of religion, as do carry themselves amiss, from their assemblies; and the rest, that are like themselves, they may gladly receive."

In which passage, it is most evident, that Origen speaks of those, which are newly admitted into the Church: who, by reason of their late knowledge and acquaintance with those, which they left behind them in Pagan superstition, might be fit monitors to know and notify the condition of such candidates, as did offer to come into the Church.

Now these trusty Answerers would make the world believe, that this is spoken of some Sage Elders, that were to govern the Church; and, to deceive the reader, unfaithfully turn the words, *Nonnulli Præpositi* sunt:* as if they were some Ruling Elders, indeed; whereas, the word signifies and intends, only a designation of such novices, as were well approved, to an office of monitorship concerning those, which would profess to be converts.

And now, to return your own words, "we would gladly know, whether these were not, as it were, Lay-Elders."

As for those other testimonies, which you have drawn hither out of Augustin, Optatus, and the Letters of Fortis, and Purpurius, out of Baronius; I could, if need were, double your files in this kind. Might that do you any service, I could tell you, out of the Acts of the Purgation of Fœlix and Cæcilianus †, of *Episcopi, Presbyteri, Diacones, Seniores;* out of the Synodal Epistle of the Cabarsussitan Council, as mentioned by St. Augustin, in his Enarration upon the Psalms, *Necesse nos fuerat Primiani causam, Seniorum literis ejusdem Ecclesiæ postulantibus, audire atque discutere,* which is a more pregnant place than any you have brought: and could reckon you up yet more, out of the Code of the African Canons, Can. 91; out of Gregory, subscribed, as they say, Turonensis, who, speaking of the Bishop of Marseilles, brings him in to say, *Nihil per me feci, &c:* "I did nothing of myself, but that which was commanded me *à Dominis nostris et Senioribus;* out of Gregory the Great, in his Epistles, more than once." I could weary you with supply of such authorities.

But, Brethren, I shall sadly tell you, that you do herein nothing but abuse your reader, with a colourable pretence. For all those places you alledge, are nothing at all to the purpose in hand. Who can make question, but that Carthage, and Hippo, and other African Cities, had old and grave men in them? Who can doubt, that they had magistrates, and men in authority? such, as we still are wont, out of the ancient appellation, to style Aldermen? Who can

* Τεταγμένοι. † Vide Justellum, in Notis ad Canon. African.

doubt, that they did, in all great occasions of the Church, take the advice and assistance of these prime men? But, will it hence follow, that, in the sense you contend for, they had a Setted-Lay-Presbytery? Was their Church ever the more, according to your construction, governed by Pastors, Elders, Deacons?

That these forecited were such, as we have intimated, is most evident. In the African Canons, Can. 100, they are called οἱ γέροντες, "the old men." And, in the 91st Canon, we find, as a commentary upon this point, *Debere unumquemque nostrûm, in civitate suâ, convenire Donatistarum Præpositos, aut adjungere sibi vicinum Collegam, ut pariter eos in singulis quibusque civitatibus per Magistratus vel Seniores locorum conveniant**: that is, "That every one of us should, in our own cities, meet with the Chief-Governors of the Donatists, and take with him some neighbour as his Colleague or Assistant, that they together may give them a meeting by the Magistrates or Elders of the places."

But, you will say, there were those, which were called *Seniores Ecclesiastici*, "Ecclesiastical Elders," also. True: there were such. Justellus confesses so much: and learned Isaacus Casaubonus (whose manuscript notes I have seen,) and his worthy son Mericus Casaubonus in his Notes upon Optatus, yield no less: but these, they do truly say, were but as our Church-Wardens: men, that were trusted with the utensils, stock, and outward affairs of the Church: or, as I may more fully compare them, our Vestry-Men; who are, commonly and of old, designed under the name of the eight men, or twelve men, in every great parish (as I am sure it is in the western parts) to order the businesses of seats, and rates, and such like external occasions.

Now that those places, which you have cited, intend no other Elders than these, you shall be convinced out of your own testimonies.

The place, which you bring out of St. Austin *contra Cresconium Grammaticum*, runs thus †: *Omnes vos &c.*: "All you Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and Elders, do know, &c." Where you see plainly, that the Elders, which he means, are below Deacons: and so you shall find them, wheresoever they are mentioned. Now those, that you contend for, are, by your own claim, in a key above them.

Optatus, whom you cite, is clear against your sense: while he makes only *quatuor genera capitum*; "only four sorts of men in the Church; Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and the Faithful" (Laity.) And, in his first book against Parmenian: *Quid commemorem Laicos &c.* he reckons up, meer "Laics, Ministers, Deacons:" *Presbyteros secundo sacerdotio constitutos*; "Presbyters in the second degree of

* Διὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἢ τῶν πρῶτα φερόντων ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις συνέλθασιν. Can. Afric. 91.

† Aug. contra Crescon. l. iii. *Omnes vos Episcopi, Presbyteri, Diaconi, et Seniores scitis, &c.* Where, against your own knowledge, you translate *Presbyteri* "Elders," to blear the reader's eyes; with a shew of a double sort of Elders, whereas *Presbyteri* are there manifestly distinguished from *Seniores*.

Priesthood:" *et, principes omnium, Episcopos;* "and, the chief of all, Bishops."

Shortly, Brethren, that there were, in the Church of old, Ruling Elders, which were in a rank above Deacons; and had, together with the Pastors, a settled power of government in the Church; it is an opinion no less new, than unjustifiable: and I do here solemnly profess, that, if any one such instance can be brought, I will renounce Episcopacy for ever.

Do not, then, against the light of your own knowledge, set a face on proofs of those things, which never were; but give glory to God, in yielding to so undoubted and clear a truth.

SECT. 16, 17, 18.

THE rest, that remains, is but mere declamation; not worthy of any answer, but contempt and silence.

It is most true, 'that the religious Bishops of all times have strongly upheld the truth of God against Satan and his Antichrist.'

What can you say to this? You tell me of "some irreligious ones, that have as strongly upheld Satan and his Antichrist against the truth of God." What is this, to the calling? Cannot I tell you of some wicked and irreligious Presbyters? shall the function itself therefore suffer? You tell us what an "unpreaching Bishop" once said of a Preacher: I challenge you to shew any unpreaching Bishop in the Church of England, this day. It is your slander, this; not their just epithet.

The "scandals of our inferior Ministers," I profess I could not but bleed to see; but, withal, desired to have had them less public. Your charity accuseth me of excusing them; and, blaming my humble motion of Constantine's example, profess to desire the blazoning of them to the world. Whether of us shall give a better account of our charity to the God of Peace, I appeal to that Great Tribunal.

In your next Section, like ill-bred sons, you spit in the face of your mother: a mother, too good for such sons; the Church of England: and tell us of "Papists, that dazzle the eyes of poor people, with the glorious name of the Holy Mother, the Church." If they be too fond of their mother, I am sure your mother hath little cause to be fond of you; who can and dare compare her to those Ethiopian strumpets, which were common to all comers. For your whole undutiful carriage towards her, take heed of the Ravens of the Valley. As if we were no less strangers than you enemies to the Church of England, you tell the world, that we know not who she is; and that we wonder when we are asked the question; and run descant upon the two Archbishops, Bishops, Convocation; even what your luxuriant wit shall please: and, at last, you make up your mouth with a merry jest, telling your reader that the Remonstrant, out of his 'simplicity, never heard nor thought of any more

Churches of England than one.' *Ridiculum caput!* Sit you merry, Brethren; but, truly, after all your sport, still my 'simplicity' tells me there is but one Church of England. There are many Churches in England; but many Churches of England, were never till now heard of. You had need fetch it as far as the "Heptarchy." And, to shew how far you are from the objected simplicity, ye tell us, in the shutting up, that England, Scotland, and Ireland, are all one Church of England. *Nullum magnum ingenium sine mixturâ dementiæ.*

But, now, take heed of "obelisks." You profess, you for your parts do "acknowledge no Antiprelatical Church." I am glad to hear it; nor I neither: but, I beseech you, if you make and condemn a Prelatical Church of England, what shall be the other part of the contradistinction?

The Remonstrant tells you of further divisions and subdivisions, which, upon this ground, you must necessarily make of the Church. Your deep Wisdoms take this, as of his upbraiding of the divisions in the Church, in mere matter of opinion; and fly out into the censures of the Prelatical party, as the cause thereof; and would have them say, *Mitte nos in mare, et non erit tempestas.* The truth is, the severalties of sects, and their separate congregations about this city, are many and lamentable. I do not upbraid, but bewail them. The God of Heaven be judge, where the fault rests; and, if it be his holy will, find some speedy redress! but, in the mean time, one casts it upon faction; another, upon ungrounded rigour: whereso-ever it be, *Woe be to* those, *by whom the offence cometh.* Lay you your hands on your hearts, onwards; and consider well, whether your fomenting of so unjust and deep dislike of lawful government have not been too much guilty of these woeful breaches.

As one, that loves that peace of the Church which you are willing to trouble, I, persuading an unity, ask 'what bounders' you set, 'what distinction of professors' you make, 'what grounds of faith, what new Creed,' what different 'Scriptures, Baptism, means of salvation' are held by that part which you mis-call the 'Prelatical Church:' you answer according to your wonted charity and truth.

What 'bounds?' Those, you say, of "the Sixth Canon; from the high and lofty promontory of Archbishops, to the *terra incognita* of an &c." Witty, again! Alas, Brethren, if this be all, the lists are too narrow. Here are but four ranks of dignities, and few in each: but if that inclusive "&c." reach far; yet what will you make of all this? Do you exclude Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, &c. from being members of the Church of England? Sure, you dare not be so shamefully unjust. If, therefore, that they have an interest in the Prelacy, cannot exclude them from their interest in the Church, what becomes of your bounders? This is fit work for your "obelisk!"

What 'distinction?' You say, "worshipping to the East, bowing to the altar, prostituting" perhaps you mean prostrating * "them-

* The word is "prostrating" in Smectymnuus's Answer, Lond. 1641. which appears to have been the first edition. EDITOR.

selves in their approaches into Churches." And are these fit distinctions, Brethren, whereupon to ground different Churches? If they difference men, do they difference Christians?

What 'new Creed?' You say, "Episcopacy by Divine Right is the first Article of their Creed:"—For shame, Brethren, did ever man make this an Article of Faith? Who will think you worthy to have any Faith given you in the rest of your assertions? You add; "Absolute and blind obedience to all the commandments of Bishops:"—Blush yet again, Brethren, blush to affirm this; when you well know, that the words of the oath of Canonical obedience run only, *In omnibus licitis et honestis mandatis*, "In all lawful and honest commands." You add, "Election upon faith foreseen:"—What! nothing but gross untruths! Is this the doctrine of the Bishops of England? Have they not strongly confuted it in Papists, in Arminians? Have they not cried it down to the pit of hell? What means this wickedly-false suggestion? Judge, Reader, if here be not work for "obelisks!"

What 'Scripture?' You say, "Apocrypha, and Traditions unwritten." Mark, I beseech you, unwritten Traditions are Scriptures, first: then Apocrypha! And why, I pray you, is it more our Apocrypha, than yours? Are all our Bibles "Prelatical," too? Shortly, all those Churches, and houses, and persons, that have the Apocrypha in their Bibles, belong to the "Church Prelatical." What have we lost by the match?

What 'Baptism?' What 'Eucharist?' You tell us of the "absolute necessity," which some Popish fools have ascribed to the one; and "an Altar and Table set Altarwise," in the other. What are these to the Church of England? Doth the error of every addle-head, or the site or posture of a board, make a different Church?

What 'Christ?' You answer, (near to a blasphemy) "A Christ, who hath given the same power of absolution to a Priest, that himself hath." This can be nothing, but a slanderous fiction. No Christian Divine ever held, that a Priest's power of absolution was any other than ministerial; Christ's, sovereign and absolute. If you know the man, bring him forth, that he may be stoned.

What 'Heaven?' You say, such as "is receptive of drunkards, swearers, adulterers." Brethren, take heed of a Hell, while you feign such a Heaven; and fear, lest your uncharitableness will no less bar you out of the true heaven above, than you bar Prelatical sinners from their access thereinto. But, if you would rather, go on still in your own way: separate yourselves from us, that profess we are one with you: charge upon us those doctrines and opinions, which we hate, no whit less than yourselves: fasten upon the Church of England those exotical positions of unsound teachers, which itself hath *in terminis* condemned; and say, as you are not ashamed to do, "We thank God we are none of you." We forgive you; and pray for your repentance.

Your "Queries," wherein I see you trust much, are made up of nothing but spite and slander. If I answer you with questions

shorter than your own, and more charitable, you will excuse me. In answer then to your first, I ask

1. Who ever held the Lordships of Bishops to stand by Divine Right? If nobody; whether he, that intimates it, doth not falsify and slander. Why is it a greater fault in one of our Doctors to hold the Lord's Day to stand *jure humano*, than it was in Master Calvin?

2. I ask whether it were any other than King James himself, of blessed memory, that said, "No Bishop, no King:" and, if it were he, whether that wise King did not mean to prejudice his own authority.

3. Whether, since it hath been proved, that Bishops are of more than merely human ordinance, and have so long continued in the Christian Church to the great good of Church and State, it be not most fit to establish them for ever; and to avoid all dangerous motions of innovation.

4. Whether these Answerers have the wit or grace, to understand the true meaning of the *Jus Divinum* of Episcopacy; or, if they did, whether they could possibly be so absurd, as to raise so senseless and inconsequent inferences upon it.

5. Whether there be any question at all in the fifth question: since the Remonstrant himself hath so fully cleared this point, professing to hold Episcopacy to be of Apostolical, and, in that right, Divine Institution.

6. Whether Master Beza have not heard soundly of his distinction of the three kinds of Episcopacy, in the full and learned answer of Saravia: and whether he might not have been better advised, than, in that conceit of his, to cross all reverend Antiquity: and whether the painter, that drest up his picture after the fancy of every passenger, do not more fitly resemble those, that frame their Discipline according to the humour of their people, varying their projects every day; than those, which hold them constantly to the only ancient and apostolical form.

7. Whether it were not fit, that we also should speak as the Ancient Fathers did, according to the language of their times; and whether those Fathers could not better understand and interpret their own meaning in the title of Episcopacy, than these partial and not over-judicious Answerers; and whether they have not clearly explicated themselves in their writings, to have spoken properly and plainly to the sense now enforced.

8. Whether Presbyters can without sin arrogate unto themselves the exercise of the power of public Church-Government, where Bishops are set over them to rule and order the affairs, both of them and the Church; and whether our Saviour, when he gave to Peter the promise of the Keys, did therein intend to give it, in respect of the power of public jurisdiction, to any other, save the Apostles, and their successors the Bishops; and whether ever any Father or Doctor of the Church, till this present age, held that Presbyters were the successors to the Apostles, and not to the Seventy Disciples rather.

9. Whether ever any Bishops assumed to themselves power temporal to be Barons, and to sit in Parliament, as Judges, and in Court of Star-Chamber, &c. or whether they be not called, by his Majesty's writ and royal authority, to these services: and whether the spiritual power, which they exercise, in ordaining, silencing, &c. be any other, than was, by the Apostles, delegated to the first Bishops of the Church; and constantly exercised by their holy successors in all ages, especially by Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustin, and the rest of that sacred order; men, which had as little to do with Antichrist, as our Answerers have with charity.

10. Whether the Answerers have not just cause to be ashamed of patronizing a noted Heretic, Ærius, in that, for which he was censured of the ancient Saints and Fathers of the Church; and whether the whole Church of Christ, ever since his time, till this age, have not abandoned those very errors concerning the equality of Bishops and Presbyters, which they now presume to maintain.

11. Whether the great Apostacy of the Church of Rome do or did consist in maintaining the order of government set by the Apostles themselves; and whether all the Churches in the whole Christian World, even those that are professedly opposite to the Church of Rome, do let in Antichrist by the door of their discipline, since they all maintain Episcopacy no less constantly than Rome itself.

12. Whether, if Episcopacy be, through the munificence of good princes, honoured with a title of dignity and largeness of revenues, it ought to be ever the more declined; and whether themselves, if they did not hope to carry some sway in the Presbytery, would be so eager in crying up that government; and whether, if there were not a maintenance annexed, they would not hide themselves and jeopard their ears, rather than mancipate themselves to the charge of souls.

13. Whether there be no other apparent causes to be given, for the increase of Popery and superstition in the kingdom, besides Episcopacy (which hath laboured strongly to oppose it); and whether the multitude of Sects, and professed slovenliness in God's service (in too many), have not been guilty of the increase of profaneness amongst us.

14. Why should England, one of the most famous Churches of Christendom, separate itself from that form of government, which all Churches through the whole Christian World have ever observed, and do constantly and uniformly observe and maintain? and why should not rather other less noble Churches conform to that universal government, which all other Christians besides do gladly submit unto?

15. Why should the name of Bishops, which hath been, for this 1600 years, appropriated, in a plain contradistinction, to the Governors of the Church, come now to be communicated to Presbyters, which never did, all this while, so much as pretend to it; and if, in ancient times, they should have done it, could not have es-

caped a most severe censure? And, shortly, whether, if we will allow you to be Bishops, all will not be well.

16. Whether, since both God hath set such a government in his Church as Episcopacy, and the laws of this land have firmly established it, it can be lawful for you to deny your subjection unto it; and whether it were not most lawful and just, to punish your presumption and disobedience, in framing so factious a question.

And thus, I hope, you have a sufficient answer to your bold and unjust demands; and to those vain cavils, which you have raised against the 'Humble Remonstrance.'

God give you wisdom to see the truth, and grace to to follow it!

AMEN.

TO THE

POSTSCRIPT.

THE best "beauty," that you could "have added to your discourse," Brethren, had been honesty and truth, both in your allegations of testimonies, and inferences of argumentation. In both which, I must needs say, and I speak it in the presence of God to whom I must shortly give an account, that I never saw any writer, that would dare to profess Christian sincerity, so foully to overlash: as if ye made no conscience, by what means you upheld a side, or win a proselyte. God touch your hearts, with a true sense of that, whereof you cannot be but in this discourse convinced!

Now you think to garnish your work with a goodly Pasquin, borrowed, for a great part, out of "Sion's Plea;" and the "Breviate;" consisting of a rhapsody of histories, "concerning the pride, insolence, treachery, cruelty, and all other the deadly sins of Popish Prelates, but especially of those, who swayed the See of Canterbury, in those days of darkness and Romish Tyranny." Whereto, I suppose, you expect no answer; as being a thing utterly unconcerning us; and that, whereof I might say, setting aside the ill intention of an application, as Huntingdoniensis said of the Cardinal's adultery, *Celari non potuit, negari non debuit.*

But tell me, Brethren, what can be your drift, in this your tedious relation? Is there any man, that offers to undertake their patrocination? or is it any advantage to you, to make their memory yet more odious? Let them have been as foul as ill-will can make them: let them have been, in their times, devils incarnate: what is that to us?

"They were Bishops," you say. True: but they were Popish Bishops; limbs of that body, whose head we abjure. The fault of their wickedness was in the Popery; not in the Episcopacy: in the men; not the calling. Why should you think to choke us with these hateful instances? If I should go about to rake together all the insolencies, murders, incests, treasons, and villainies, that have been done by Popish Presbyters, in the time of that lawless ignorance and superstition, would you think these could be any blemish

to you? Why will you then be so miserably uncharitable, as cast upon us the crimes of those, whom we equally condemn; and to fetch their faults upon their Chairs? What one profession is there in all mankind, which, if we should go about to ransack, would not yield some persons extremely vicious? Shall the vocation be condemned, for the crimes of the men?

At last, to make up the mouth of your admirable charity, you tell us of the gracious "practices of the Prelates, from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign to this present day;" whose "great design," you say, still hath been "to hinder reformation, to further Popery and Arminianism, to beat down preaching, to persecute zealous professors," and some such other noble projects of Episcopal piety.

Tell me, Brethren, as you will answer it before the just Judge of all the World; have these been the main designs of Bishops? Are they all guilty of these woeful enormities, or are they not? If ye say they are, the world will cry shame on your falsehood: if they are not, the world will cry no less shame on your injustice, in taxing all for the fault of some.

What! are these the only remarkable works, that your eyes could discover to fall from the hands of Bishops? Could you see no colleges, no hospitals built? no Churches re-edified? no learned volumes written? no heresies confuted? no seduced persons reclaimed? no hospitality kept? no great offenders punished? no disorders corrected? no good offices done for the public? no care of the peace of the Church? no diligence in preaching? no holiness in living? Truly, Brethren, I can say no more, but that the fault is in your eyes, and not in your object: wipe them, and look better: yea, I beseech God to open them, rather; that they may see good, as well as evil.

As for that base and scurrilous proverb, to which you say it is now come (whereas the world knows it is elder than your grandsires, and was taken up, in the Popish times) it were more fit for a *scurra in trivio*, or some ribald upon an ale-bench, than for grave Divines.

How easy were it for me, to reckon up a hundred of such spiteful adages, which vulgar envy hath been wont to cast upon the rest of the Clergy; worthy of nothing but scorn! and so had this been, if your wit and charity had not been alike. But, surely, Brethren, if "whatsoever is spoiled, they say, 'The Bishop's foot hath been in it;'" I doubt not but they will say, The Bishop's foot hath been in your book: for I am sure it is quite spoiled by this just confutation. After your own pottage (for your proverb *sapit ollam*) you tell us of Bonner's "broth;" I should have too much wondered at this conclusion, but that I hear it is the fashion in some countries, to send in their kail in the last service; and this, it seems, is the manner amongst our *Smectymnuans*.

Well; to shut up all, let them of their Bonner's "beef" and "broth," make what brewess they please for their credulous guests.

Learned and worthy Doctor Moulin shall tell them *, that the restoration of the English Church and eversion of Popery, next under God and our Kings, is chiefly to be ascribed and owed to the learning and industry of our Bishops; some whereof, being crowned with martyrdom, subscribed the Gospel with their blood. Thus he. Neither doubt I, but that many of them, if occasion were offered, would be ready to imitate them in those red characters.

In the mean time, I beseech the God of Heaven to humble you, in the sight and sense of your own grievous uncharitableness; and to put, at last, into your hearts and tongues, the Counsels of Peace.

AMEN.

* P. Moulin. Epist. 3. ad Episcop. Winton. &c.

THE

DETERMINATION OF THE QUESTION,

CONCERNING THE

DIVINE RIGHT OF EPISCOPACY.

BY THE FAMOUS AND LEARNED DIVINE,

DR. ABRAHAMUS SCULTETUS,

LATE PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HEIDELBERG.

FAITHFULLY TRANSLATED OUT OF HIS OBSERVATIONS UPON THE EPISTLES TO TIMOTHY AND TITUS.

AN

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

KNOW, Reader, that whereas, in one of those many angry pamphlets, which have been lately published, there is an intimation given of some disgraceful language, that fell from Dr. Voetius, the learned professor of Utrecht, concerning the person of Dr. Hall, B. of Exeter, there hath been serious inquisition made into the truth of that report; and that the said Dr. Voetius disavows, to the party that enquired of it, any such words of under-valuation, by him spoken, as is testified under the hand of Sir William Boswell, Knight, his Majesty's Lieger with the States.

And if, upon the sight of a displeasing title of a book, contrary to his own judgment, any learned Divine should have passed a censure upon the work, there was small reason for the reporters to reflect upon the person of the author.

Yea, I am confident, that many of our worthy brethren at home, who are differently minded concerning this tenet of the Right of Episcopacy, if they would be pleased to inform themselves thoroughly of the state of the question, as it is defended by the author of that treatise, would find small cause of scruple in this opinion.

For, whereas there are three degrees of truths and holy institutions, as they are commonly distinguished, Human, Apostolic, Divine; the first, from mere men; the second, from men apostolical; the third, from God himself immediately: the author desires to go a midway, in this difference; holding it too low, to derive Episcopacy from a merely human and ecclesiastical ordinance; holding it too high, to deduce it from an immediate command from God; and, therefore, pitching upon an Apostolical Institution, rests there. But, because those Apostles were divinely inspired, and had the directions of God's Spirit for those things which they did for the common administration of the Church, therefore and in that only name, is Episcopacy said to lay claim to a Divine Right: howsoever, also, it cannot be gainsaid, that the grounds were formerly laid by our Saviour, in a known imparity of his first agents.

Now, surely, this truth hath so little reason to distate them, that, even learned Chamier himself can say, Res ipsa cœpit tempore Apostolorum, vel potiùs ab ipsis profecta est. *And why should that seem harsh in us, which soundeth well in the mouths of less-interested Divines?*

But, because the very title of that book hath raised more dust than the treatise itself, be pleased, Readers, to see, that this very question is, in the very same terms, determined by that eminent light of the Palatinate, Dr. Abraham Scultetus; whose Tract, to this purpose, I have thought fit to annex.

Peruse it, and judge whether of those two writers have gone further in this determination. And, if you shall not meet with convincing reasons, to bring you home to this opinion; yet, at least-wise, find cause enough to retain a charitable and favourable conceit of those, who are, (as they think, upon good grounds) otherwise minded: and whilst it is, on all parts, agreed by wise and unprejudiced Christians, that the calling is thus ancient and sacred, let it not violate the peace of the Church to scan the original, whether Ecclesiastical, Apostolical, or Divine. Shortly, let all good men humbly submit to the ordinance, and heartily wish the reformation of any abuses.

And so many as are of this mind, Peace be upon them, and the whole Israel of God!

AMEN.

THE

QUESTION,

Whether Episcopacy be of Divine Right: that is, whether the Apostles ordained this government of the Church, that not only one should be placed over the people, but over Presbyters and Deacons, who should have the power of Imposition of Hands or Ordination, and the Direction of Ecclesiastical Councils.

THIS was anciently denied by Ærius; as is related by Epiphanius, in his 75th Heresy: and by John of Jerusalem; as appears by Jerome, in his Epistle to Pammachius.

And there are not wanting, in these days, many learned and pious men, who, although they acknowledge Ærius to have erred, in that he should disallow of that manner of Ecclesiastical Government, which had been received by the whole world; yet, in this they agree with him, that Episcopal Government is not of Divine Right.

From whose opinion, why I should sever my judgment, I am moved, by these strong reasons, famous examples, and evident authorities.

My judgment is this:—

First, in the Apostles' Epistles the name of Bishop did never signify any thing different from the office of a Presbyter. For a Bishop, Presbyter, and an Apostle, were common names; as you may see Acts xx. Phil. i. 1. Tit. i. 1 Pet. v. 1, 2. Acts i. 20.

Next, in the chief Apostolical Church, the Church was governed by the common advice of Presbyters; and that, for some years, in the time of the preaching of the Apostles. For, first of all, companies must be gathered together, before we can define any thing concerning their perpetual government.

Then, the Apostles, as long as they were present or near their Churches, did not place any Bishop over them, properly so called; but only Presbyters: reserving Episcopal Authority to themselves alone.

Lastly, after the Gospel was far and near propagated; and that, out of equality of Presbyters, by the instinct of the Devil, schisms were made in religion: then, the Apostles, especially in the more remote places, placed some over the Pastors or Presbyters; which, shortly after, by the Disciples of the Apostles, Ignatius and others, were only called Bishops, and, by this appellation, they were distinguished from Presbyters and Deacons.

Reasons moving me to this opinion.

First, Jerome, upon the 1st chapter of the Epistle to Titus, writeth, that "A Presbyter is the same with a Bishop; and, before that, by the instinct of the Devil, factions were made in religion, and it was said among the people, *I am of Paul, I of Apollos, but I of Cephas*, the Churches were governed by the common counsel of Presbyters: afterwards, it was decreed, in the whole world, that one, chosen out of the Presbyters, should be placed over the rest." From whence I thus argue:—When it began to be said among the people, *I am of Paul, I of Apollos, but I of Cephas*, then one chosen out of the Presbyters, was placed over the rest: but, while the Apostles lived, it was so said among the people; as the first Epistle to the Corinthians, besides other of St. Paul's Epistles, puts it out of doubt: therefore, while the Apostles lived, one chosen out of the Presbyters was placed over the rest.

Again: there can be no other term assigned, in which Bishops were first made, than the time of the Apostles; for all the prime successors of the Apostles were Bishops: witness the successions of Bishops in the most famous Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome; as it is in Eusebius: therefore, either the next successors of the Apostles changed the form of Ecclesiastical Government, received from the Apostles, according to their own pleasure, which is very unlikely; or the Episcopal Government came from the Apostles themselves. Besides, even then, in the time of the Apostles, there were many Presbyters, but one Bishop: even then, in the time of the Apostles, ὁ προεζῶς, he that was placed over the rest, which afterwards was called Bishop, did impose hands, or ordain Ministers of the Word; which Presbyters alone did not presume to do. Even then, therefore, the calling of Bishops was distinct from the office of Presbyters.

If any desire the Examples of Apostolical Bishops, the books of the Antient are full of the Episcopal Authority of Timothy, and Titus: either of which, howsoever, first performed the office of an Evangelist; yet, notwithstanding, ceased to be an Evangelist, after that Timothy was placed over the Church of Ephesus, and Titus over the Church of Crete: for Evangelists did only lay the foundations of faith in foreign places, and then did commend the rest of the care to certain Pastors; but they themselves went to other countries and nations, as Eusebius writes in his iiid. book of Ecclesiastical History and 34th chapter. But Paul taught sometimes in Ephesus and Crete, and laid the foundations of faith there; therefore, he commandeth Timothy to stay at Ephesus, and Titus at Crete, not as Evangelists, but as Governors of the Churches. And, indeed, the Epistles, written to either of them, do evince the same: for, in these, he doth not prescribe the manner of gathering together a Church, which was the duty of an Evangelist; but the manner of governing a Church, being already gathered together, which is the duty of a Bishop: and all the precepts in those Epistles are so conformable hereunto, as that they are not referred, in especial, to

Timothy and Titus; but, in general, to all Bishops; and, therefore, in no wise, they suit with the temporary power of Evangelists. Besides, that Timothy and Titus had Episcopal Jurisdiction, not only Eusebius, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Ambrosius, Jerome, Epiphanius, Oecumenius, Primasius, Theophylact, but also the most antient writers of any that write the History of the New Testament, whose writings are now lost, do sufficiently declare. Eusebius, without doubt appealing unto those, in his iiid. Book of Ecclesiastical History and 4th chapter: "Timothy," saith he, "in histories is written to be the first, which was made Bishop of the Church of Ephesus; as Titus was the first, that was made Bishop of the Church of Crete." But, if John the Apostle, and not any ancient disciple of the Apostles, be the author of the Revelation, he suggests unto us those seven new examples of Apostolical Bishops: for all the most learned interpreters interpret the Seven Angels of the Churches, to be the Seven Bishops of the Churches; neither can they do otherwise, unless they should offer violence to the text. What should I speak of James, not the Apostle, but the brother of our Saviour, the son-in-law of the Mother of our Lord? who, by the Apostles, was ordained Bishop of Jerusalem; as Eusebius, in his iid. Book of Ecclesiastical History, and 1st chap. out of the 6th of the Hypotyposes of Clement; Jerome, concerning Ecclesiastical Writers, out of the 1st of the Comments of Hegesippus; relate: Ambrose upon the 1st chap. unto the Galatians, Chrysostom in his 23d Homily upon the xvth. of the Acts, Augustin in his iid. Book and 37th chap. against Cresconius, Epiphanius in his 65th Heresy, the 6th Synod in Trullo and 32d Canon, all assenting thereunto. For, indeed, this is that James, that had his fixed residence at Jerusalem, as an ordinary Bishop; whom Paul, in his first and last coming to Jerusalem, found in the city; (almost all the Apostles preaching in other places, Gal. i. 19.) and that concluded those things, which were decreed in the assembly of the Apostles, Acts xxi. For he was, with Chrysostom, Bishop of the Church of Jerusalem; from whom, *when certain came,* Peter *would not eat with the Gentiles;* Gal. ii. 12.

From examples, I pass to Authorities; which Ignatius confirms by his own authority: whose axioms are these:—"The Bishop is he, which is superior in all chiefty and power. The Presbytery is a holy company of counsellors and assessors to the Bishop. The Deacons are the imitators of Angelical virtues, which shew forth their pure and unblameable ministry. He, which doth not obey these, is without God, impure, and contemns Christ, and derogates from his order and constitution:" in his Epistle to the Trallians *. In another place, "I exhort that ye study to do all things with concord: the Bishop being president, in the place of God; the Presbyters, in place of the Apostolic Senate; the Deacons, as those, to whom was committed the ministry of Jesus Christ" in his

* See Note ||, on this quotation, p. 571 of this vol. EDITOR.

Epistle to the Magnesians *. And, again: "Let the Presbyters be subject to the Bishop, the Deacons to the Presbyters, the people to the Presbyters and Deacons:" in his Epistle to those of Tarsus †. But Ignatius was the disciple of the Apostles: from whence then had he this Hierarchy, but from the Apostles?

Let us now hear Epiphanius, in his 75th Heresy. "The Apostles could not presently appoint all things. Presbyters and Deacons were necessary: for, by these two, ecclesiastical affairs might be dispatched. Where there was not found any fit for the Episcopacy, that place remained without a Bishop; but, where there was need, and there were any fit for Episcopacy, they were made Bishops. All things were not complete, from the beginning; but, in tract of time, all things were provided, which were required for the perfection of those things which were necessary: the Church, by this means, receiving the fulness of dispensation."

But Eusebius comes nearer to the matter, and more strongly handles the cause; who, in his Third Book of Ecclesiastical History, and 22d chapter, as also in his Chronicle, affirmeth, that Erodius was ordained the first Bishop of Antioch, in the year of our Lord 45, in the 3d year of Claudius, the Emperor: at which time, many of the Apostles were alive.

Now Jerome writeth to Evagrius, that, at Alexandria, "from Mark the Evangelist, unto Heraclas and Dionysius the Bishop, the Presbyters called one, chosen out of themselves and placed in a higher degree, the Bishop." But Mark died, as Eusebius and Bucholcerus testify, in the year of our Lord 64: Peter, Paul, and John the Apostles, being then alive. Therefore, it is clear, that Episcopacy was instituted in the time of the Apostles: and good Jerome suffered some frailty, when he wrote, that "Bishops were greater than Presbyters, rather by the custom of the Church, than the truth of the Lord's disposing;" unless, perhaps, by "the custom of the Church," he understands the custom of the Apostles; and, by "the truth of the Lord's disposing," he understands the appointment of Christ. Yet, not so, he satisfies the truth of history: for it appears, out of the first, second, and third chapters of the Revelation, that the form of governing the Church by Angels or Bishops was not only ratified and established in the time of the Apostles, but it was confirmed by the very Son of God. And Ignatius called that form, the order of Christ.

And when Jerome writes, that "it was decreed, in the whole world, that one chosen out of the Presbyters should be placed over the rest;" and when I have demonstrated, that, in the lifetime of the Apostles, Bishops were superior to Presbyters, in Ordination, and that each Church had one placed over it; do we, not without cause, demand, where, when, and by whom, Episcopacy was ordained? Episcopacy, therefore, is of Divine Right.

* See Note ||, p. 573 of this vol. EDITOR.
† This Epistle is not considered genuine. EDITOR.

Which, how the Prelates of the Church of Rome, for almost three hundred years, did adorn with the truth of doctrine, innocency of life, constancy in afflictions, and suffering death itself for the honour of Christ: and, on the other side, how, in succeeding times, first by their ambition, next by their excessive pragmatical covetousness scraping up to themselves the goods of this world, then by their heresy, last of all by their tyranny, they corrupted it; that the Roman Hierarchy, at this day, hath nothing else left but a vizard of the Apostolical Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, and the lively Image of the Whore of Babylon: our histories, both ancient and modern, do abundantly testify.

Wherefore, all Bishops are warned from hence, that they thoroughly weigh with themselves the nature of Apostolical Episcopacy, of which they glory that they are the successors.

That Episcopacy had two things peculiar to it; the privilege of succeeding, and the prerogative of ordaining: all other things were common to them, with the Presbyters. Therefore, both Bishops and Presbyters should so exercise themselves in godliness, should so free themselves from contempt by their conversation, and so make themselves examples to their flock: not neglecting especially the gift of prophecying, received from above; but being wholly intent, to reading, consolation, and teaching; to meditate on these things, to be wholly conversant in them; and so perpetually employed in this holy function and divine affairs, with this promise, that, if they shall do these things, they shall both save themselves, and their auditors: but if, after the custom of some great ones, they follow the pride and luxury of this world, they shall both destroy themselves and them that hear them.

THE

JUDGMENT

OF THE LEARNED DIVINE,

D. ABRAHAMUS SCULTETUS,

PRIME PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY AT HEIDELBERG,

CONCERNING

LAY-ELDERS.

OBSERVATIONS

UPON

1 TIMOTHY,

BY ABRAHAM SCULTETUS, CHAP. XXVII.

CONCERNING 1 TIM. v. 17.

THERE are some, that think this place of Scripture is of force enough to make good a Lay-Presbytery: for their eyes and judgments are dazzled with that distinction of Elders, which they suppose to be clearly intimated here by St. Paul. But, if they shall have diligently scanned the place, and compared it with other texts of Scripture, they shall soon find, that the defence of Lay-Elders out of this place, is both contrary to the signification of the word προεζῶτες i. e. *those that rule*, and contrary to the signification of the word Presbyter; and that it is quite against St. Paul's perpetual doctrine; and it is against the judgment of all the Fathers, that have expounded this speech of St. Paul.

It is contrary to the signification of the word προεζῶτες: for προεζία or ecclesiastical rule or government, is an honour wherewith only Ministers of God's Word are invested, in the New Testament; and not any Lay-Persons *We beseech you, brethren*, saith the Apostle, 1 Thes. v. 12, 13. *that you know those that labour amongst you, and are over you in the Lord, and that admonish you: And to esteem them very highly in love for their work's sake.* "Upon which words," saith Calvin, "it is worthy to be observed, what titles he gives to Pastors. First, he saith, that they labour; and, then, he sets them forth, by the name of Rule or Governance." And Beza, upon the place: "It appears from hence, that the Church was governed by Pastors in common, and that the degree of a Bishop was not thought of, and therefore προίστασθαι, to rule, is the same with ἡγεῖσθαι, to lead; because the shepherds are wont to go before their flock." But the Apostle, Heb. xiii. 7, and 17. calls the Ministers of the Word Leaders: therefore, according to Beza, we must acknowledge those, that are over the people, are the Ministers of the Word. Neither doth Justin Martyr, in his Apology to Antonius, call the προεζῶτα any other, than the Pastor and Teacher of the Congregation.

Moreover, the defence of Lay-Elders out of this present text of St. Paul is contrary to the signification of the word Presbyter; which, when it is used concerning the polity of the New Testament, doth always signify the Ministers of the Word: Acts xi. 30. They sent their collection *to the Elders by the hands of Barnabas and Saul;* that is, to the Ministers, of whom it is said, Acts xiv. 23. χειροτονήσαντες δὲ. *They ordained them Elders in every Church:* and, Acts xv. 2. a main question of faith is propounded to *the Apostles and Elders* of Jerusalem; but, what! to be decided by Lay-Men? For the *Elders* met with the *Apostles, to consider of this matter*, Acts xv. 6. And the *Presbyters* are joined together with the *Apostles*, v. 22. and are distinguished from *the whole Church;* as also v. 23; and chap. xvi. 4. Again, in the xxth. of the Acts, the *Elders* of Ephesus, v. 17. are said to be made *Bishops, to feed the flock of Christ*, v. 28. And, in Acts xxi. 18. and the verses following, the Presbyters or Elders of Jerusalem instruct the Apostle Paul what he is to do; and, therefore, were no Lay-Men. In this very chapter, when Timothy is commanded to receive no accusation against an Elder, the Elder there is a teacher; as shall be shewed in the next chapter. Tit. i. 5. *that thou mayest ordain Elders in every city:* what kind of Elders? surely, teachers; for he adds, *If any be blameless &c. for a Bishop must be unreproveable &c.* And, James v. 14. the sick are bidden to send *for the Elders of the Church*, that they may *pray over*, and *anoint* the sick *with oil in the name of the Lord;* which is no Lay-Man's duty. 1 Pet. v. 1, 2. *The Elders I exhort, who am also a* fellow-*Elder; feed the flock:* how is he a fellow-Elder, but because he is a teacher, as they? and they are charged to feed the flock; therefore, Pastors. 2 John i. and 3 John i. John, the Apostle, without all question, is called an Elder. Ignatius makes often mention of Elders or Presbyters, in his Epistles; but never of Lay-Elders. And, in his Epistle to those of Tarsus, describing the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy of his time, he saith, ὑι πρεσβύτεροι, "Let the Presbyters be subject to the Bishops, and the Deacons to the Presbyters, and the Lay-Men to both Deacons and Presbyters." And, to the Magnesians; "As the Lord," saith he, "doth nothing without the Father, so neither do you without your Bishop; neither Presbyter, nor Deacon, nor Laic*:" where observe, that the very Deacons did not sit in the Presbytery Apostolique; much less Lay-Men.

Thirdly, the defence of Lay-Elders out of the 17th verse of ch. v. of the 1 Tim. is against the perpetual doctrine of St. Paul: for, to give honour to the Presbyters or Elders, is to honour them with maintenance, out of the public stock of the Church; for so the Apostle, before, commands those that are indeed widows to be honoured, that is, to be designed to public attendances and allowances. And the reason, which the Apostle gives, confirms this explication of the honour required; when he saith, *Thou shalt not muzzle the ox, that treadeth out the corn.* And, in Matthew, the honour of parents is chiefly to be taken of meat and maintenance: which signifi-

* See note ¶, p. 573 of this vol. EDITOR.

cation is very familiar and proper to the word *Kabud*, used in the Fifth Commandment; and so the word is expounded by Mark, vii. 12. But maintenance, out of the stock of the Church, the Apostle would not have to be given, even to such poor widows, as could be otherwise provided for; as, before, verse 16: and he himself laboured with his own hands, that he might not be burdensome to others; much less would he have the chief of the laity, who abound with wealth, to be maintained of the common store, and that more liberally than others. For if, by *those that rule well*, you shall understand both Lay-Elders and Sacred also, you must needs conclude, that they are all *worthy of double honour*, both those which *rule*, and those which *labour in doctrine:* which conclusion the Apostle is against elsewhere; whilst he saith, *Those, which serve at the altar, must partake of the altar:* and *the Lord* himself, who hath *appointed, that those, which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel;* 1 Cor. ix. 13, 14. Whereupon Jerome, in the same place; "He would," saith he, "have them to yield carnal things to those, of whom they receive spiritual things; because they, being taken up in teaching, cannot provide necessary things for themselves." Yea, I say yet more, if St. Paul had, by *those that rule*, understood Lay-Elders, certainly he would somewhere have put them in mind of their duty, or at least have made mention of them, 1 Tim. iii. where he doth not omit to give charge even of Deacons and Deaconesses: but he doth neither of the two; but, presently after the mention of Bishops or Presbyters that were Pastors, he falls into the speech concerning Deacons and their wives: so as it is a plain proof, that Lay-Elders were utterly unknown to him.

Fourthly, the defence of Lay-Elders out of this place is utterly against the judgment of the Fathers, so many as ever have expounded this text of the Apostle.

Neither, indeed, is there any necessity at all, that, because the Apostle saith, *those especially that labour in word and doctrine*, therefore we should devise new Elders, to be taken out of the common people: for it was well known, that those of the Clergy, which are over the Lord's flock, have their distinct offices and employments. There are of them, which administer sacraments, make public prayers, privately admonish faithful people, and withhold them from sinning: there are others, which, being endued with excellent gifts of speaking, employ themselves in being teachers and guides to men's souls in the way to heaven: and the labours of these men, which are taken by them, in word and doctrine, are justly preferred before the service of them, which administer the Sacraments, and make prayers for the Church; even by the testimony of the Apostle himself, who saith, *Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel;* 1 Cor. i. 17. He was sent for both purposes; but the chief end of his mission was, the preaching of the Gospel.

Whosoever, therefore, thus rule the people, whether they do administer the sacrament, or only preach the word, or whether they do both, *are worthy of double honour:* where a certain number is put

for an uncertain; *double honour*, that is, greater and more than others.

Although some are of opinion, that here, by apostolic authority, there is a greater portion assigned to the governors, than to others that appertain to the Church; others interpret it of that double honour, which is fit for governors to have: one, of an awful reverence and command; the other, of more largeness of maintenance; that they be, both observed and respected above others, and that they have a more liberal provision of necessaries for their livelihood.

But the first of them is the more simple exposition of the words. He, therefore, holds those, that are set over the people, *worthy of double honour*.

And why double? A little before, he had given them order about the honouring, that is maintaining of their widows, at the charge of the Church. From the widows, he passeth to the Elders or Presbyters; whom, if they rule well, he would have honoured with a double allowance, that is, greater than that of the widows, both by reason of their office and by reason of their family; and, amongst those that rule, yet again, he would have those most regarded, who are employed not so much in administering the Sacraments, as in preaching the Word. I doubt not but this is the most true explication of this place.

A SHORT

ANSWER

TO THE

TEDIOUS VINDICATION

OF

SMECTYMNUUS.

BY THE

AUTHOR OF THE HUMBLE REMONSTRANCE.

TO THE

MOST HIGH COURT OF PARLIAMENT.

MOST HONOURABLE LORDS, AND YE MOST NOBLE KNIGHTS, CITIZENS, AND BURGESSES OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS:

NOTHING could fall out more happily to me, than that my bold Adversaries have appealed to your inviolable justice: for, sure I am, while you are, as you ever will be, yourselves, wise and just, my cause cannot miscarry in your hands. With no less, therefore, but better grounded confidence, I cast myself upon your impartial judgment; rejoicing to think, how clearly you will distinguish, betwixt a facing boldness and a modest evidence of truth. How can I but receive courage from your pious and just proceedings? It is I that vindicate, these men oppose, that Holy Liturgy, which your most religious Order, in this Active Session, commanded to be entirely observed. How busy faction is to cross that your most seasonable decree, every day yields new and lamentable proofs. If these endeavours of mine serve only for the pursuance of your so necessary and gracious Act, they cannot fear to be unwelcome. But, if I have hurt a good cause, by a weak and insufficient handling, let me suffer in your censure, and let my Adversaries triumph in my sufferings. Contrarily, if, after all their smooth insinuations, it shall be found, that this champertous combination hath gone about, by mere shews of proof, to feed the unquiet humours of men, in the unjust dislike of most justifiable, ancient, and sacred institutions; and to cast false blames upon my peaceable and sincere managings of a certain truth; let them pass for what they are, and feel that justice which they have appealed.

AN

ANSWER

TO A

CALUMNIATORY EPISTLE,

DIRECTED BY WAY OF

PREFACE TO THE READER.

READERS:

My comfort is, that you have eyes of your own, and know how to use them. With what gravity would our SMECTYMNUANS else persuade you, that my late 'Defence' is fraught with such stuff, as you shall find undiscernible by any but their eyes!

You cannot well judge of the management of this quarrel, unless it will please you to receive notice how this fray began. It is not long, since I sent forth a meek and peaceable 'Remonstrance;' bemoaning the frequence of scandalous Pasquins, and humbly pleading for the just and ancient right of Liturgy and Episcopacy. Wherein I could not suppose, that any person could find himself touched; save only those, who profess friendship to libels, enmity to the established forms: when, all on the sudden, the SMECTYMNUANS, a strange generation of men, unprovoked, unthought of, cry out of hard measure; and fly in my face, as men wrongfully accused. I know them not: I hurt them not. If their own guilt have galled them, that is no fault of mine. A long and bitter "Answer" is addressed by them, where no question was moved: insomuch, as I could hardly induce His Majesty, when I presented my 'Defence' to His Royal Hands, to believe, that any exception could be taken to so fair and innocent a discourse. My labour was all for peace: even this is made the ground of the quarrel. What should I now do? I were worse than a worm, if, upon this treading upon, I did not turn again: yet, not so much out of respect to my

own poor and (if need were) despicable reputation, as to the public cause of God and his Church, which I saw now engaged in this unjust brawl. According to my true duty, therefore, I published a short and defensive Reply to their long "Answer;" wherein, I hope, the judicious will witness, that the truth sustains no loss. Now, enraged with a moderate opposition, they heat their furnace seven times more; and break forth into a not more voluminous, than vehement Invective. I do not see them look fleeringly through their fingers, at their seemingly-unknown, yet often discovered and oft vilified, Antagonist. It is all one, so long as he is nameless. If he be a Consul, they are Senators. Civility is but a ceremony. All faces, under masks, are alike.

It matters not for the person: let it please you to look at the cause.

In the carriage whereof, they first tax me, with over-lashing in my accusations. I had objected to them, mis-allegations, mis-interpretations, mis-inferences, weak and colourable proofs; neither can their querulous noise make me go less, or be less confident in my charge. They liken themselves to Cato; and well may! they are extremely like! of thirty accusations, no one could be proved against Cato; of no fewer charges, which are laid upon them, I see not how they acquit themselves of one! Who can but wonder at this eminent boldness, that they dare tell you, "There are, after all" my "general exclamations, but four places," for which I tax them of falsehood? "Falsehood," is their own word: 'Mis-allegation,' is mine. Be pleased to cast your eye upon my margin *, and to count this quaternion of their imputed errors. But they are mis-inferences and weak inconsequences, which, besides mis-citations, were upon the file of my accusations; wherein I fear Cato's number will be out-vied. Readers, such fidelity, as you find in the denial of my manifest exceptions against their allegations, look for in the demonstrative proofs of their exceptions against mine. There is, belike, a "Machiavel" somewhere: find him out, I beseech you; and let him be brought forth to shame: certainly, where the falsehood lies, there he lurks.

In the second place, they tell you of railings, revilings, scornings, never the like since Montague's Appeal; and present you with a whole bundle of such strange flowers of rhetoric, as, truly, I wondered should ever grow in my garden: wherein, they have done passing wisely, in not noting the pages, as the several beds, wherein such rare plants grew: for I have carefully re-examined

* Tertul. Apol. c. 30.—p. 13. of the Defence. (p. 647 of this vol. EDITOR.) August. Ep. 121.—p. 14. (p. 648 of this vol.) Justin Martyr. Apol. 2. —p. 14. (p. 648.) Concil. Laodic. c. 8.—p. 15. (p. 648.) Concil. Carthag. 3.—p. 15. (p. 649.) Concil. Milevit. 2.—p. 16. (p. 649.) Hieron. ad Evagr.—p. 61. (p 665.) Greg. Naz. Orat. 28.—p. 65. (p. 668.) Firmilianus in Cypr. Ep. 75.—p. 71. (p. 670.) Ambr. in Presbyt. consignant.—p. 72. (p. 671.) Concil. Antioch. c. 10.—p. 72. (p. 671.) D. Raynolds—p. 101. (p. 680.) Orig. contr. Cels.—p. 141. (p. 693.) Augus,. contr. Crescon. l. iii.—p. 146. (p. 695.)

the book, and profess seriously, that some of them I cannot find at all; others I find, but utterly mis-applied. "We are called," they say, "vain, frivolous cavillers, riotous, proud, false, envious, &c." Let me appeal to your eyes, Readers, where ever I thus wronged those, whom I call "Brethren." Divers of these words I confess to have used; but, to another purpose, upon a different subject. That, which I speak of the things, they unjustly take of the persons. For example: I talk of 'false and frivolous exceptions:' they say, I call them false and frivolous men. I talk of 'vain cavils:' they charge me to say, they are vain cavillers. I speak of 'a riot of assailants:' they cry out, that I call them riotous men. I say, a 'suggestion' is 'envious:' they take it to themselves. I call the 'libellers, factious persons:' they mis-apply it, as spoken of them. I say an 'intimation' is 'witless and malicious:' I am taken to say the men are so. And, not to weary you with so odious a rabble, I say, 'this is weakly and absurdly objected:' they say, I call them weak and absurd men. Thus, I could easily pass through the rest; and shew you, that what I speak by way of supposition, they take absolutely; what I speak as dehorting, they as accusing; what of speeches, they of persons; what of others, they of themselves. And thus rises the rare rhetoric, which they have imputed to me: wherein I doubt not, but ye, my Readers, will take occasion to think, What fidelity shall we expect from these men, in citing other authors, when they do so foully mis-report the book in our hand? They are not, then, my flowers; but their own weeds, which they have thus bundled up together. But, had I so far overlashed as is pretended, your wisdom, Readers, would send you to enquire of the provocation: for, surely, the occasion may, if not justify a man's act, yet abate his blame. When, therefore, ye shall look back, and see with what strange insolence I was entertained by these undertakers, ye will be so far from complaining of my sharpness, that ye will rather censure my patience. How blind self-love will make men in their own concernments! These men will not see in themselves that true guilt, which they unjustly cry out of, in another: so, I have heard a man, with a very noisome breath, censure the ill lungs of his neighbour. Let my margin present thee, Reader, with but a handful out of a full sack*. These

* *In the Answer to the Humble Remonstrance.*

"Episcopal bravado." p. 3. "Treason, treason." p. 4. "Episcopal zeal broke into flames of indignation." p. 10. "We know not what his arrogancy might attempt." p. 14. "So many falsities and contradictions." p. 15. "A face of confident boldness." p. 15. "A self-confounded man." p. 15. "Notorious falsity." p. 15. "Notorious ——." p. 16. "Not leave his ——." p. 17. "*Os durum.*" p. 18. "Forgets not himself, but God also." p. 18. "Words bordering upon blasphemy." p. 18. "Indignation will not suffer us to prosecute these falsities." p. 18. "A stirrup for Antichrist." p. 30. "Antichristian government." p. 75. "We thank God we are none of you." p. 84. "Borders upon Antichrist." p. 90. "Pride, rebellion, treason, unthankfulness, which have issued from Episcopacy." p. 95.

are their terms in their very first papers; without any pretence of imitation: but if we should rake together the scornful, girding, and (as some of their betters have styled them) unmannerly passages of this their angry vindication, it were enough to fill a book alone. Readers, ye may, if you please, believe, how easy it were for me, to pay them home in their own coin: but I would rather to consider what is fit for me, how nameless soever, to give, than what they are worthy to receive. Some others may, perhaps, be more sensible of this indignity than myself; who have learned to think more meanly of myself, than they can speak; and, at once, both to pity this petulancy, and disregard it.

In the third place, they talk of "daring protestations, and bold asseverations;" and spend some instances of the particular expressions of my confidence. Do not think, Readers, that I will be beaten out with words. There is no one line of those passages which they have recited, that I will not make good against all the clan of Smectymnuus. Neither can I, out of this assurance, decline any Bar under Heaven, for the trial of my righteous cause. It is, therefore, an unreasonably envious suggestion of theirs, that in dedicating my book to His Sacred Majesty, I did, ever the more, "fly from" the judgment of Parliament; when, in that very Epistle, I made confident mention of my secure reliance upon the noble justice of their judicature. Besides, that it is not too wise nor too loyal an intimation of these men, which would imply such a distance betwixt Sovereign and Parliamentary interest: for me, I would ever suppose such an entire union betwixt them, as the head and the body; that they neither should nor can be severed in the rights of their several concernments. As for that resolute averment of "the Author of Episcopacy by Divine Right, that he offers to forfeit his life to justice, and his reputation to shame, if any living man can shew any" Lay-Presbyter (not as they please to report the word, a "Ruling-Elder") "in the world, till Farell and Viret first created him;" let me be his hostage: let my life go for his, if any one such Lay-Presbyter can be produced. Let them search records, and try their skill; and, when they have overcome, triumph. But, in the mean time, they may not think to fob us off, with the colourable testimonies of B. Whitgift, King, Saravia, who were all well known to be just so good friends to Lay-Presbytery, as themselves are to Episcopacy. For the rest, If I have been somewhat bold with them, in telling them, right-down, of 'poor arguments,' 'verbal exceptions,' 'mere declamations,' 'shuffling of testimonies,' 'unproving illustrations,' I may crave your pardon, Readers: but theirs, I cannot; as not conscious of any ill-placed word, in this easy censure. Shortly, my much reverenced friend, learned Rivetus, will give them but a little thanks in misapplying his censure of Bishop Montague, to a man so differently tempered; whom he hath, with particular respects, vouchsafed to honour and oblige.

In the fourth place, they tell you, that, after all these "Thra-

sonical boasts" of mine, if their "whole book were divided into four parts, there is one quarter, of which" I make "no mention."

Wherein, Readers, I think verily you may believe them: for, in the first leaf of my 'Defence,' I foretold you so much; as finding nothing in that swollen bulk, but a mere unsound tympany, instead of a truly solid conception; whereof you may easily perceive the one half (well near) bestowed, either in mere verbal quarrels, or in real disputes of things uncontroverted. I am more thrifty of my good hours, than to follow them in so wild a chace: pitching, only, upon those points, which I conceived to be valuable and pertinent; wherein my profession was, so to save time, as that I should not lose ought of truth.

It is an injurious suggestion, therefore, which these men make, that where their proofs are strongest, there I have glided away without answer; since I can safely call God to witness unto my soul, that I am not conscious to myself of any one considerable argument of theirs, that I have balked in my replicatory 'Defence:' but if, in their estimation, there be any such, as wherein they have placed an over-weening confidence, let them not spare to re-inforce it to the utmost; that the world may witness their valour, and my cowardice.

What need is there of this, you will say, when they have already gloried in the victory; vaunting, that they have me, "*confitentem reum*; and, in effect, the cause granted" by me, "in those things which are most material?" Were it so, Readers, as they pretend, that I come nearer to their tenets, than some others; one would think they should, in this, find cause to acknowledge and embrace mine ingenuity, rather than to insult upon me as in way of disgrace. I wis, it is not the force of their argutation, that could move me one foot forward; but, if God's blessing upon my free disquisition of truth should have so wrought upon my better-composed thoughts, as that I should have yielded to go some steps further than others towards the meeting of peace, one would not think this should yield any fit matter of exprobration: but, the truth is, I have not departed, one inch, from either my own tenet, or from the received judgment of our Orthodox Divines.

Now, that they may see the fault is not in my levity, but in their own misunderstanding; that "identity of the names and offices of Bishops and Presbyters," in the beginning of the Apostles' times, whereat they take advantage, they may see averred, at large, in 'Episcopacy by Divine Right.' Part. ii. sect. 4. and, to second it, they are challenged in my 'Defence *,' to name any one of our writers, that hath not proclaimed this truth. Where, then, lies the contradiction?

The clear nominal distinction of the three Orders of "Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons," I professed to prove only out of the writ-

* Defence, p. 48. (p. 661, of this vol. EDITOR.)

ings of those, who were the next successors to the Apostles. What is here of either yieldance or contradiction?

And, if I have ingenuously granted, that the Primitive Bishops were elected by the Clergy, with the assent of the people; that Bishops neither do nor may challenge to themselves such a sole interest in Ordination or Jurisdiction, as utterly to exclude Presbyters from some participation in this charge and act; that they ought not to divest themselves of their jurisdictive power, by delegating it to others; that the ordinary managing of secular employments is improper for them; if, in all these, I have gratified them, why do they complain? and if I have disadvantaged my cause, why is it not urged to my conviction?

It is warily said of these men, that I "almost grant Lay-Elders in Antiquity." I do so almost grant them in my own sense, that I utterly deny them in theirs.

Why should I make any doubt to yield unto the justice of their complaints, in the Postscript, against the insolence and tyranny of Popish prelates? What lose we by this condescent? Or how can they plead they are not justly taxed, for diffusing other men's crimes to the innocent; when their consciences cannot but fly in their faces, for this injustice?

Lastly, I am charged with shameful self-contradictions; which surely must needs argue great rashness, or much weakness of judgment.

See the instances.

In the same Epistle, I profess "not to tax their abilities," and yet call them "impotent assailants." And why not both of these? He, that taxeth not their abilities, doth not therefore presently approve them. They may, perhaps, not want good abilities in themselves; and yet be unable to prove their cause. They may be able men; and yet impotent matches.

The contradiction they would raise in the words concerning Evangelists, is merely cavillatory. May you be pleased to turn to the ninety-fourth * page of my 'Defence,' you shall clearly acknowledge it. The word, in a common sense, signifies any Preacher of the Gospel; but, in the peculiar sense of the New Testament, it signifies some persons extraordinarily gifted and employed; not settled in any one place, but sent abroad by the Apostles on that blessed errand: now, to say that any of these latter were "such as had ordinary places and ordinary gifts," (as they do, Sect. 13. p. 48.) I do justly blame as a mere fancy; not herein contradicting any thing, but their light imagination.

In the contradiction pretended to be, concerning the extent of Episcopacy, sure they cannot but check themselves. In my 'Remonstrance' and 'Defence,' they report me to say somewhere (but, where, no man can tell) that "Bishops had been every where;" and, that "all Churches, through the whole Christian

* Page 677, of this vol. EDITOR.

World, have uniformly and constantly main ained Episcopacy:" elsewhere, that I say they "were not every where," and that "there are less noble Churches that do not confer to Episcopal Government." Words are more easily accorded, than acknowledged. There are not, there have not been every where settled Christian Churches. Wherever there have been settled Christian Churches, there have been Bishops. From the Apostles' times to this present age, there have been Bishops in all Christian Regions: now, some late Reformed Churches have been necessitated to forbear them. Where, I beseech you, lies the contradiction?

I have often granted, that the name of Bishops and Presbyters was, at the first, promiscuously used; and yet, I do no less justly maintain, that, for this sixteen hundred years, the name of Bishops hath been ordinarily appropriated, in a contra-distinctive sense, to Church-Governors, in an apparent superiority. Distinguish times, and reconcile histories.

The two next exceptions, concerning "Diocesan Bishops," and "Civil Government," are fully cleared and convinced in the due places of this ensuing 'Answer.' I shall not blur paper, in an unseasonable anticipating my own discourse.

"Sole Ordination," and "Sole Jurisdiction," we so disclaim, as that we hold the power of both, primarily in the Bishop; the concurrent assistance, in the Presbyters. What opposition is there in an orderly subordination?

The last contradiction clearly reconciles itself. In stating the question concerning Episcopacy, I distinguish "betwixt Divine and Apostolical authority:" professing, not to affirm that Bishops were "immediately ordained by Christ;" and yet averring, that "Christ laid the grounds of this imparity in his first agents." What discordance is in these two? Is the ground-work of a house, the whole frame of it? Can they find the roof in the foundation? In the Epistles to the Seven Asian Churches, Christ, I truly say, acknowledges (at least intimates) the Hierarchy of those Seven Angels. Do I imply, that he did immediately ordain them?

Readers, ye have seen the poor stuff of these their selected exceptions. Believe it, such are all their contradictions to me, as these contradictions which they find in me, to myself, groundless and worthless: as I shall make good in this following discourse, concerning the ancient, holy, and beneficial use of set-Liturgies in the Church.

This subject, because, as it is untracked with any frequent pens of others, so it is that wherein my Adversaries seem most to pride themselves, (as supposing to have in it the most probable advantages against me) I have somewhat largely handled, to your ample satisfaction.

But, as for that other head of Episcopacy, which hath already filled so many reams of waste-paper, forasmuch as I see they offer nothing, but that, which hath passed a hundred ventilations, *Transeat.* I have resolved to bestow my time better, than in drawing this saw to and fro, to no purpose. Let them first give a full and punctual answer to that, which hath been already, in an entire body of a treatise, written concerning the 'Divine Right of Episcopacy;' and then, let them expect, that I should trouble myself with sweeping away these loose scraps of their exceptions. Till then, let them, if they can, be silent: at least, I shall; as one, that know how to give a better account of the remainder of my precious hours.

A SHORT

ANSWER

TO THE

TEDIOUS VINDICATION

OF

SMECTYMNUUS.

SECT. I.

I AM sorry, Brethren, that your own importunity will needs make you guilty of your further shame. Had you sat down silent, in the conscience of a just reproof, your blame had been by this time dead and forgotten; but now, your impetuous Defence shall let the world see, you did in vain hope to face out an ill cause with a seeming boldness. I may not spend volumes upon you, but some lines I must: enough to convince the reader of the justice of my charge, and the miserable insufficiency of your "Vindication."

It is not your stiff denial, that can make it other than 'God's' truth, which I maintain; or that can justify your errors. Let the cause speak for itself; and let that great Moderator of Heaven, to whom we both appeal, judge.

It was a light touch, that I gave to your grammatical slip of Areopagi: wherein it would not have hurt you, to have confessed your oversight. Had you yielded that you 'stumbled,' though withal you say, you stumbled like emperors, we could have passed it over with a smile: but, now that you will needs fall into a serious contestation, and spend almost a whole leaf in a faulty defence; I must tell you, that you make this a heinous trifle. To face out wilfully the least error, is no less than a crime: and such is this of yours; as every true grammarian knows. I doubt not, but you had "heard of Dionysius Areopagita;" but, if you should have cited him under the name of Dionysius Areopagus, every scholar would have laughed you to scorn. Had you said, "The admired

sons of justice, the Areopagus," I grant it had been good; according to that, which you cite out of Sarisburiensis: but, to say, "The admired sons of justice, the Areopagi," no grammar, no authority can bear you out; and, however you face it, that you can bring "precedents enough out of approved authors," name but one, and take all. That of Sarisburiensis, which you allege, is altogether for me, against yourselves. He says, "That Senate of Athens was called Areopagus *:" so said my margin before: but what is this, to your false Latin? Brethren, this matter of Latinity is "but a straw:" but, let me say, this willing defence of a plain falsehood is a block, which your very friends cannot but stumble at. And how can the reader choose but think, he, that will wilfully stand in the defence of a known falsehood in language, will not stick to defend a known error in his cause? Before, ye stumbled: now, ye fall: rise up, for shame, in a just confession; and look better to your feet hereafter.

But, belike, you have not a better faculty in stumbling, than I in "leaping:" and talk of huge great "blocks," that I have overskipped in this whole book. Where are they? which be they, Brethren? If such were, they are, I hope, still visible. Shew them me, I beseech you, that I may yet try my skill. You instance in "some words sounding to contempt:" I thought what these "blocks" would prove; mere matter of words, not less windy, than the froth of your next paragraph: wherein your gravity is set upon a merry pin; and, in a becoming jeer, tells us of the "gentleman student in philosophy," that desires to learn the rare secret of the 'sinking of froth;' for which, I remit you and your deep student, to the next tapster.

It is not all your shuffling, that can shift the just charge of your gross uncharitableness. The 'Remonstrance, comparing, in a general notion, the forms of Civil Government and Ecclesiastical, expresses it in these terms: 'Since, if Antiquity may be the rule, the Civil Polity hath sometimes varied; the Sacred, never: and, if original authority may carry it, that came from arbitrary imposers, this from men inspired': than which, no word can be in a right sense more safe, or more innocent. Your good gloss appropriates † what, *in thesi*, was spoken of all forms of Civil Government, to our particular Monarchy; and tells your reader, that I deliver it as "arbitrary" and "alterable;" than which, there cannot, I suppose, be any slander more dangerous. And, to mend the matter, now in your "Vindication," you redouble your most injurious charge upon the Remonstrant; as if, upon this ground, it could follow, that, "to attempt the alteration of monarchical government, had been," in his opinion, "less culpable than to petition the alteration of Episco-

* Doth he say, those Judges were called Areopagi? † Answ. p. 1.

pal:" quite contrary to the express words of my 'Remonstrance;' whose implication is no other than this, That, if it were capital in them who endeavoured to alter the forms of Civil Government, they must needs seem worthy of more than an easy censure, that went about, in a libellous way, to work the change of a settled government in the Church.

See, Reader, this latter is, in the Remonstrant's judgment, worthy of more than 'an easy censure:' the others' accusation is no less than 'deadly.' Whether now doth he hold less culpable? Truly, Brethren, if you be not ashamed of this unjust crimination, I hope some body will blush for you.

With how bold a face dare you appeal to the "reader," yea to the "most Honourable Parliament," and to the "Sacred Majesty" of our Sovereign, that you "do the man no wrong!" Join issue, then: and let all these judge. "First," you say, "one of the most confident advocates of Episcopacy hath said, That where a National Church is settled in the orderly regiment of certain grave Overseers, to seek to abandon this form, and to bring in a foreign discipline, is as unreasonable, as to cast off the yoke of just and hereditary monarchy, and to affect many-headed sovereignty." This you "think an assertion insolent enough, that sets the mitre as high as the crown." But, what a foul injury is this! Reader, do but view the place; and see, where the mitre stands. The words run thus*: 'so were it no less unreasonable †, where a National Church is settled in the orderly regiment of certain grave Overseers, ruling under one acknowledged Sovereign ‡, by wholesome and unquestionable laws, and by these laws punishable if they overlash &c.' Say now, Reader, whether this man "sets the mitre as high as the crown." Neither doth he say, it were no less heinous; for the difference of the morality is excepted before: but, 'no less unreasonable;' as that, which is there said to argue 'a strange brainsick giddiness' in either offence.

Yet more anger! The "Remonstrant rises higher, and sets the mitre above the crown." Wherein, I beseech you, Brethren? What a Woolseian insolence were this! He tells us, you say, that Civil Government came from arbitrary imposers, the Sacred from men inspired: now Civil Government here includes Monarchy; therefore, this is to advance Episcopacy above Monarchy: since the one challenges God for the founder; the other, human arbitrement.—Brethren, had your argument as much reason as spite, it would press sore: now, as you have framed it, it is a mere cavil. The Remonstrant speaks of all Civil Government, in general: the

* See the passage at p. 520. of this vol. EDITOR.

† They cite it "no less heinous." AUTHOR. This accusation against his adversaries seems to be a singular oversight on the part of our author: as it is directly refuted by the passage just quoted from them, and which is very accurately taken from their "Vindication." Lond. 1641. EDITOR.

‡ These words 'Ruling under one acknowledged Sovereign' are purposely left out in their citation of them, to make the proposition odious. What fidelity there is in this, let the reader judge.

several forms whereof, amongst several nations and people, no reasonable man can deny were introduced variously, according to the first institution of their founders. What error can your sharp eyes find in this proposition? Now, you will needs draw this, by an envious application, to Monarchy: as if I meant to derive it only from men; not from God. Ye are mistaken, Brethren: they are your better friends, that thus deduce Monarchy. For us, we hold it is from God, by men: from God, as the author and ordainer; by men, as the means: we fetch it not from earth; but from heaven: we know who said, *By me kings reign;* and, from him, we derive their crowns and sceptres. But, ye may know, which we have oft blushed and sighed to see laid in our dish by Popish authors, who it was, that said *, "Kings, princes, and governors have their authority of the people; and, upon occasion, they may take it away again, as men may revoke their proxies:" who it was, that said, "It is not enough, for subjects not to obey; but they must withstand wicked princes." Sure, they were no fautors of Episcopacy, that have written so bloody lines, against the safety and lives of lawful princes, as I dare not transcribe; that have so undervalued their power, and so abased their original. Small reason had you to twit me with this hateful guilt.

It is but a poor put-off, that you censure not my words as treasonable, from my pen, which from yours had received no better construction: the words are the same, the intimation evident; and not less evincible, than your vilifying of the judgment of that wise and (above all examples) learned King James; whom, while you smooth in words, and directly oppose in his well-grounded Edict concerning the Liturgy of the Church, what do you but verbally praise and really check? Ye cannot, therefore, so easily wipe off these aspersions of uncharitableness, by either stiff denial or unjust recrimination. For me, such is my malice towards you, that I can, at once, convince your want of charity, and forgive it.

If the religion of "King William Rufus," or the infallible judgment of "Pope Pius," may do you any service, make your best of them: to me, they are much alike. Whatsoever "Daniel" (the poet, not the prophet) pleased to say, all historians were not "monks," nor all monks false-tongued. Would God all Divines were true! The actions of this prince blazon him more, than the historians' pens: whereof some have taxed him for favour of Judaism; others, for touches of Atheism; all, for indevotion.

As for the Bishops of those times, I say they were 'Popish;' and, in that notion, 'tyrannical:' for that dependance, which they

* The first and greatest zealot at Frankfort. Lib. de Obedient. And Buchanan in his Book de Jure Regni. *Nos autem id contendimus, populum à quo Reges nostri habent quicquid juris sibi vendicant, regibus esse potentiorem. jus quidem in illos habere multitudinem, &c.* Buchan. de Jure Regni

had upon him, *who exalts himself above all that is called God*, exalted them to their proud contestation with princes. It was their Popery therefore, that made them insolent; and their insolence, that made them odious to kings.

"It hath been," ye say, the usual quality of "former and later Bishops, to tyrannize over such as fear them, and to flatter such as they fear." Your tongues are your own: but, Brethren, if this be their quality, it is your fault that you will not suffer it to be their property. There are those, that can do this, and more: can tyrannize over those, whom they ought to reverence; and flatter those, whom they should not fear.

As for your Pius; should not the Pope have been my 'Antichrist,' I am sure he is yours. Little reason, therefore, could you have, to use his testimony against your own profession. But, why "may we not," you say, "use the testimony of Antichrist, against Antichristian Bishops?" Brethren, I understand you not. I hope you have more grace, than to call ours so. If you have so much of the Separatist in you, many good hearts will justly grieve to see, that ye pretend to come forth under licence. Sure, you dare not mean, you dare not say, that the public government established here by law, is Antichristian: this were to strike, where you would not: or, if you could be so bold, Authority might oversee, but would never allow so lawless an affront. If our Bishops be Antichristian, whence is your Ordination? Good speed may you have, Brethren, towards Amsterdam!

Full witty and sound, is the inference, which you draw from the grounds, which I give of the Pope's unwillingness to yield a Divine Right to Bishops; for that he would have them derive their authority 'merely from himself.' Therefore, say you, it follows, "that they have no more Divine Right, than the Pope." Just: for the Pope thinks so; pretending his own (false) right, and disclaiming their true.

But what's this, I ask, to our Bishops, 'who profess, notwithstanding the Apostolical, that is, Divine Right of their calling, to hold the places and exercise of their jurisdiction wholly from His Majesty?' You answer: "Surely ours have begun to affect the same exemption from secular power; to make large and haughty strides, towards an independent Hierarchy." Where, or wherein, Brethren? Will any justice hold it enough to accuse? I challenge your instances. If you can find an universal guiltiness this way, spare us not. I shall yield, we cannot suffer too much. But, if your exceptions be either none, (as your silence argues) or particular, why should not you smart for the unjust branding of a whole Order?

Methinks, you should shame and fear to speak of our affected independence of Hierarchy, when ye know that an Independent Parochial Hierarchy, if it could be worth so high a name, is, in public pamphlets and open sermons, set a-foot, with much earnestness, by those, who would be thought no mean ones in your fraternity: and when you cannot but know, that the Bishop's Bench

is openly challenged, in the name of too much dependance upon Sovereignty. Away with these idle slanders of your innocent, grave, and modest governors.

For Mr. "Hooker," we know you love and honour his memory, dearly! Nothing of his can be unwelcome to us. Neither doubt we, but that you will be no less edified by his "last" works, if they may see the light, than with his first. That man doth not look, as if he meant to contradict his own truths.

Ye doubt to be "chid for this" licentiousness of your pen: and so you well may; for it can be no less than a foul slander, to charge that "faction" upon whole "Episcopacy," which you dare, upon urging, impute but to a 'few.' "The more," ye say, is your "misery, that a few Bishops can put both the kingdoms into so dangerous a combustion." True: but, if it be your misery, it is not our sin. Blame the guilty: strike not the innocent. But, if but a few can do this, ye say, "what a stir would they all make, if they should unite their powers!" This is, in your own phrase, *argumentum galeatum*. If a few factious preachers in our neighbour pulpits, since the entering of this Parliament, have kindled such a fire in the city and kingdom, what would they all do, if their seditious tongues were all united!

But, now, ye speak to purpose: if "but a few were factors for this attempt; how was it, that one of the Episcopal tribe, in open Court, called the Scottish design, *Bellum Episcopale?*" Who can forbear to smile at this doughty proof? Why, Brethren, was that word too big for one man's mouth? Could he not utter it, without help of his fellows? Did they either say, or think it, the more; because he spake it? What reason have you to feoff a private conceit on all? especially when the words may be capable of a less evil construction, as referring to the northern rise of that quarrel, not to our prosecution.

But, "where," ye say, "were the rest of the peaceable and orthodox Bishops the while?" Truly, in all likelihood, at home; quietly, in their own Sees; in their retired studies; without notice of any plots, without any intimation of dangers: much more without intermeddling in any secrets of State, or close stratagems of disturbance. So as, it was not their "love to peace and truth," that could "oppose," what they never could reach to know: neither is it any fault of theirs, that "the dear and precious name of Episcopacy" is "exposed" to base and vulgar "obloquy." Let those, who will needs pour contempt upon the guiltless, look for a just revenge from him, who hath said, *Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm.*

Still, therefore, must I take leave to cry, 'Fie,' upon those my 'Brethren,' that 'dare to charge faction upon Episcopacy;' and, withal, to deplore the unhappy miscarriages of any of our spiritual

"Fathers," that shall be found guilty of these woeful broils. What 'Cyprian' would have done, upon occasion of so high an indignity offered by you to that holy function, appears sufficiently in his Epistle to Rogatianus*: though no instance can come home to the point; for, let me boldly say, that, since Christianity looked forth into the world, there were never so high and base scorns put upon Episcopacy, as there have been by shameless libellers within the space of this one year in this kingdom, yea in this city. God, in his great mercy, forgive the authors; and make them sensible of the danger of his just vengeance!

SECT. 2.

WHAT a windy Section have you past; wherein you confess you have striven for "words!" "Things," you say, shall now follow: things, well worthy to be not more "precious to the Remonstrant," than to every well-minded Christian: "LITURGY and EPISCOPACY."

Liturgy leads the way. We had need to begin with our prayers. I challenged you for the instances of those many "alterations" you talked of, in the present Liturgy. You answer me, "Truly, Sir, if we were able to produce no fuller evidence of this, than you have done of your Jewish Liturgy ever since Moses' time, we should blush indeed; but if we can bring forth such instances, &c." Truly, Brethren, you could do little, if ye could not crack and boast: the greatest cowards can do this best. Do not say, what ye can do; but do, what ye say. Put it upon this very issue. For the Liturgy, ye say, "we can bring forth instances of such alterations, as shall prove this present Liturgy, to be none of that, which was confirmed by Parliamentary Acts."

Mark well, Readers; for, certainly, in plain English, these men go about to mock you. The question is of the present Liturgy, which is pretended to vary extremely much from that in Queen Elizabeth's days. Now come our braving Vindicators; and, after all their brags, labour to shew that this our present Liturgy differs from that in the days of "Edward the Sixth;" and spend one whole page, in the particular instances. Is not this pains well bestowed, think you? Have they not hit the bird in the eye? Utterly balking what they undertook, they undertake what no man questioned; and now, beforehand, crow, and triumph in these cockle-shells of a famous conquest.

But ye lay this for your ground, that "The Liturgy confirmed by our Parliamentary Acts, is the same, which was made and confirmed in the fifth and sixth of Edward the Sixth:" with "one alteration, or addition of certain Lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year; and the form of the Litany altered and corrected, and

* Cypr. l. iii. Ep. 9.

two sentences only added in the delivery of the Sacrament to the Communicant: and none other or otherwise." Thus says the Act*. Now comes your rare sagacity; and finds, notwithstanding, Queen Elizabeth's Liturgy varying from the former, in many omissions, in many additions, in many alterations: wherein, what do ye other, than give the check to a whole Parliament? They say flatly, "None other, or otherwise:" you say, the book is so altered, that the Liturgy now in use, is not the same that was "established by Act of Parliament." But, be that as it may; there, lies not the question. If Queen Elizabeth's book did so much differ from King Edward's, what is that to us? Say, as you have undertaken, what such huge difference there is, betwixt King James's book and Queen Elizabeth's. Now, your loud vaunts end in flat silence: neither can you instance in anything, save some two petty particles, not worthy of mention: that "in the title of Confirmation, the words 'for imposition of hands,' are added;" and, "in the Epistle for Palm-Sunday, 'in,' is turned into 'at.'" These are all, besides those which I fore-specified, which have so "mis-altered" the Liturgy, that it can no more be known to be itself, than the strangely-disguised dames, which were mentioned in Doctor Hall's reproof:—Now let the reader say, who is worthy to wear those "liveries" of "blushes," which, in your wardrobe of wit, you have been pleased to lay up for your friends.

But I have not yet said all. "If," you say, "to these we should add the late alterations in the use of the Liturgy, bringing in loud music, uncouth and unedifying anthems, a pompous superstitious altar-service; we think any indifferent eye will say this is not the Liturgy established by Parliament." What mean you, Brethren, thus to delude the reader? Are these things you mention, any part of the Liturgy? are they prescribed by any law of the Church? are they found in any Rubric of the Communion-Book? Do not the allowed Forms of our Public prayers, in all Parochial and some Cathedral Churches, in Chapels, in houses, stand entirely without these? Why do you, therefore, bring in these things, as essential to Liturgy? In the meet omission of some whereof, no doubt, some Bishops of England, no less zealously conscionable though better tempered than yourselves, may be found to conspire with you.

As for the nameless Bishop, whom you cite, you must pardon me, if I did not understand either you or him: for the words in your Defence run, that "the Service of the Church of England is not† so dressed, that, if a Pope should come and see it, he would claim it as his own." Now you report them to be, that "the Service of the Church of England is now so dressed &c:" so as you cannot blame me, if I knew not the meaning or the man. But, by this your description of his preaching it, "as matter of humiliation to all the Bishops of this kingdom, in a day of solemn and national Fasting," I perceive it is the Reverend Bishop of Carlisle, whom

* Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer. 1°. Eliz.

† The word is *now* in Smectymnuus's Answer. Lond. 1641. EDITOR.

you thus cited, and whom you have herein not a little wronged. I acquainted that worthy Prelate with the passage: he disavows the words, and defies the reporters; vehemently protesting, that he never spake either those words, or that sense; and, to make it good, delivered me the pretended clause, transcribed out of his notes, with his own hand: which I reserve by me; no whit sounding that way; but signifying only a vehement dislike of some innovations, as the turning the Table to an Altar, and the low cringing towards the Altar so erected; but, as for the Liturgy or Service of the Church of England, not a touch of either in his thoughts or tongue. Now, Brethren, learn you hence just matter of private humiliation, for so foul a slander of a grave and religious Bishop; and, in him, of this whole Church.

For learned Calvin; if those, who profess to honour his name, would have been ruled by his judgment, we had not had so miserable distractions in the Church, as we have now cause to bewail. All, that I say of him, is, that his 'censure' of some "Tolerable Fooleries *" in our Holy Service, 'might well have been forborne *in alienâ republicâ*:' your vindication is, That he wrote that Epistle to the English at Frankfort. Who doubts it? The parties were proper; the occasion just: but not the censure. *Parciùs ista*, when we meddle with other men's affairs. I may well be pardoned, if I say that harsh phrase doth not answer the moderation, which that worthy Divine professeth to hold in the controversy of the English †.

As for that "unparalleled discourse," whereon you run so much descant, "concerning the Antiquity of Liturgies," deduced so high as from Moses' time; you argue, that it cannot be, because you never read it. Brethren, 'your not omniscient eyes' shall see that my eyes are so "lyncean," as to see you proudly mis-confident: you shall see, that others have seen, what you did not; and shall sample that, which you termed, "unparalleled."

It is neither thank to your bounty, nor praise to your ingenuity, that the question is half-granted by you; but an argument of your self-contradiction.

An Order of Divine Service you yield; but not a Form: or a Form; but not prescribed, not imposed. And, for this, you tell us a tale of "Justin Martyr's Liturgy," and "Tertullian's Liturgy:" how much to the purpose, the sequel shall shew.

In the former, you grant, that, "after the Exhortation, they all rose, and joined in Prayer: prayer ended, they went to the Sacrament." But whether these prayers were suddenly conceived, or ordinately prescribed; there is the question: and whether that sacrament were administered in an arbitrary and various form, methinks yourselves should find cause to doubt.

* *Tolerabiles ineptiæ.*

† *In Anglorum controversiâ moderationem tenui, cujus me non pœnitet.* Cal. Epist.

But, Justin says, to clear this point, that "in the beginning" of this action, "the President poured out prayers and thanksgiving, according to his ability; and the people said, Amen." Whatever his ability was, I am sure you have a rare ability in mis-construing the Fathers: and particularly these testimonies of Justin and Tertullian.

To begin with the latter. Out of him you say, "the Christians in those times did in their public assemblies pray, *sine monitore, quia de pectore;* without any prompter but their own heart." Prove, first, that Tertullian speaks of public assemblies. Secondly, know that, if he did, the place is to your disadvantage: for, as a late learned author* well urges, would ye have it imagined, that the assembled Christians did betake themselves publicly to their private devotions, each man by himself, as his own heart dictated? This were absurd, and not more against ancient practice; than, as yourselves think, piety †.

Was it, then, that not the people, but the Minister was left to the liberty of his expressions? What is that to the people? How did they ere the more pray without a prompter? How is it more out of their heart, when they follow the Minister, praying out of unknown conceptions, than out of foreknown prescription? So as, you must be admonished, that your *sine monitore*, "without a prompter," is without all colour of proof of prayers conceived.

Your "Zephyrus" blows with too soft a gale, to shake the foundation of this argument; and, indeed, is but a side-wind to my 'Heraldus,' and the very same blast with your "Rigaltius;" though you would seem to fetch them out of different corners.

If I give you your own asking, you have gained nothing: for, what would you infer? Christians prayed for the Emperors without a monitor, as the Heathens did not: therefore, they had no Forms of Christian Prayers:—He were liberal, that would grant you this consequent; when, rather, the very place shews what the form was, which the Christians then used: "We are praying still for all Emperors; that God would give them a long life, a secure reign, a safe court, valiant hosts, faithful counsellors, good people, and a quiet world ‡." This was Tertullians's Liturgy; wherein the hearts of Christians joined "without a monitor."

It is small advantage, that you will find, in my sense of *sine monitore;* 'not being urged by any superior injunction.' "If no injunction," you say, "how could it be a Liturgy; a commanded, imposed form?" You are unwilling to understand, that the injunction here meant is general, a command to pray for the Emperor; not a particular charge of the forms enjoined in praying. This was,

* Author of the Use of Public Prayer.

† This is that, which is ordinarily termed by them "A Sacrifice of Fools;" out of Eccl. v. 1.

‡ *Precantes sumus pro omnibus Imperatoribus; vitam prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum.* Tert. Apol. c. 30.

therefore, the praise of their Christian loyalty, that, even unrequired, they poured out their supplications for princes.

Shortly, then, after all these pretended senses, Tertullian will not, upon any terms, be drawn to your party.

Those other two places of Tertullian and Austin are merely sleeveless and unproving; not making any whit at all more for conceived prayers, than for prescribed. Who ever made question, whether we might build our prayers upon our Saviour's Form? or, whether we might vary our prayers with our occasions? Those Fathers say no more; we, no less. Ye dare "not say there were no Public Liturgies in St. Austin's time:" my margin was conviction enough; which ye touch, as an iron too hot, with a hand quickly snatched away. Your denial should have drawn on further proofs *.

Justin Martyr †, though fifty years before Tertullian, follows him in your discourse. How guiltily you both translate and cite him, an author ‡ of no mean judgment hath shewed before me. I shall not, therefore, glean after his sickle. But shortly thus, take your ὅση δύναμις in your own best sense, for *quantum pro virili potest* §, what will follow? The President prayed, and gave thanks to the utmost of his power; therefore, the Church had then no Liturgy. What proof call you this? Look back, Brethren, to your own citation ‖; you shall find prayers more than once, in their Lord's-Day meetings. These latter were the Presidents; the former, some other Ministers: these, in the usual set forms; those, out of present conception: both stand well together, both agreeable to the practice; as of these, so of former ages.

But, while I affect over-full answers, I feel myself grow, like you, tedious. I must contract myself and them.

Your assertion of the original of set Forms of Liturgy, I justly say is more 'magisterial,' than true; and such, as your 'own testimonies confute.'

That of the Council of Laodicea is most pregnant for set Forms ¶, before Arius or Pelagius looked forth into the world: wherein mention is expressly made of three Forms of Prayer; one, by and for the *Catechumeni*; the second, for the Penitents; the third, for the Faithful. You cannot elude so clear a proof, by say-

* Your cavil, in the margin of your book, shews you want matter of quarrel. The *suas*, which you would have instead of *nostras*, is a disadvantage to yourself. Those are called the People's Prayers, which the Church ever had, and shall have: and those were to be looked on, therefore prescribed, and to be read; there being a clear opposition betwixt *audirent* and *intuerentur*.

† Justin Mart. Apol. 2.

‡ Use of Public Prayers.

§ The word may as well imply all intention of voice, because the congregation was large.

‖ Page 15. ¶ Conc. Laod. c. 19.

ing the Council required prayers for all these, but did not "bind to set forms" in prayers: for the same Council stops your mouth, while it tells you, in plain terms *, τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν εὐχῶν that "the same Form or Liturgy of Prayers was to be used morning and evening." And Clemens (though not the true, yet ancient) tells us, τρεῖς εὐχὰς ἑξῆς ἐπιτελεῖμεν κ. τ. ἀ. and in the eighth book of his "Constitutions," recites large prayers which were publicly used in the Church. Let the reader now judge, where this shuffling lies. The Canon requires one of these prayers to be in silence: what then? So doth our Liturgy require, in the Ordination of Ministers, that, in one passage of this solemn act, our prayers should be secret and silent; yet the rest is no less in set Forms.

You might, then, be ashamed to object want of fidelity to me in the citation of that testimony, which I but barely quoted in my margin.

Neither can you avoid a self-confutation in your own proofs.

There was no noise of the Arian Heresy till the Nicene Council. The Council of Laodicea, wherein set Forms are notified, was before the Nicene, by your own account. Yea, but, say you, the Heresy of Arius was not "just born at the period of the Nicene Council:" true; but was it born so long before, as that any Council took notice of it before the Nicene? This you dare not affirm. But, for a second shift, "the Heresy of Arius troubled the Church, sometime before the name of Arius was borrowed by it:" grant we, upon good authority of Fathers and Councils, that the ground of the cursed error of Arius, concerning the Son of God, was laid before by others; what is that to the question of set prayers? What is, if this be not, a plain shuffle? Neither is it any other than a mere slur, wherewith you pass over the unanswerable pressure of the Laodicean Council, before-mentioned, by cavilling the difference betwixt "prescribing" and 'composing.' The Council is flat, in both; and enjoins one and the same Liturgy of prayers. Certainly, Brethren, you find cold comfort at Laodicea.

Let us see how you mend yourselves at Carthage. The Fathers there, enjoin † that no man in his prayers should name the Father for the Son; or the Son for the Father: that, in assisting at the Altar, their prayers should be directed to the Father: that no man should make use of any other Form than is prescribed, unless he did first confer with his more learned brethren. Hence you gather, "there was no set Form in use in the Church;" and no "such circumscribing of liberty in prayer," that a man should be tied "to a set Liturgy." The charge was, doubtless, given upon a particular occasion, which is buried with time. Whether it were ignorance or heedlessness, in those African Priests, that they thus mistook in their devotions, I cannot determine. But, why might it not be then, as it is with too many now, that, notwithstanding the Church's prescriptions, men will be praying as they list; and let fall such expressions, as may well deserve censure and restraint? However,

* Conc. Laod. c. 8. † Conc. Carthag. iii. c. 23.

that they had set Forms, seems to be sufficiently implied in their own words: *Quicunque sibi preces aliunde describit:* for, what can that *aliunde* relate unto, but some former prescription? which that they had, even in these African Churches, we need no other testimony than of the Magdeburgenses *, who cite Cyprian himself for this purpose in his book *de Oratione Dominicâ;* where he tells us, that the Priest began with, *Sursum corda*, "Lift up your hearts;" and the Congregation answered, "We lift them up unto the Lord." To which they add, *Formulas denique quasdam precationum sine dubio habuerunt:* "They had then, without doubt, certain set Forms of Prayers;" and, to suppose that they had prescribed Forms for public use, which no man should be required to use, it were a strange and uncouth fancy.

Neither need we any better contest for our defence than him, whom you cite in your margin, learned Cassander, in the just allegation both of this Council, and the Milevitan †, the Canon whereof runs thus: "It pleaseth the Fathers, that those prayers or orisons, which are approved in the Synod, shall be used by all men: and no other shall be said in the Church, but such, as have been made, by some prudent authors, or allowed of the Synod; lest, perhaps, something may be composed by them, through ignorance or want of care, contrary to the faith." Say, Readers, is not this a likely testimony to be produced against set Forms of Prayer? What is it, then, that you would hence infer? First, "that this," being anno 416, "is the first mention of prayers to be approved or ratified in a Synod, and the restraining to the use of them:"—Grant that it were so, of prayers to be ratified or restrained: is it so of prayers to be used? Are you not sufficiently convinced herein, by the Synod of Laodicea? It is the occasion, that draws on the law. Till now, this presumption, of obtruding private men's prayers upon the public use of the Church, was not heard of in those parts: now only, was it seasonable for correction. Secondly, you say "the restriction was not such, but that" it admitted "a toleration of prayers," framed by "prudent" Divines; no less than those, "which were approved by the Synod:"—What gain you by that? when these prayers were said, and not conceived; and so said, that they were put into forms, not left to arbitrary delivery? Thirdly, "the occasion of this restriction," being "the prevention of errors" in praying, is so universal both for time and place, that it may well argue this practice to be most ancient for the original, and worthy to be perpetual for the continuance.

And now, that the Vindicators may see how small cause the Remonstrant hath to be convinced of the lateness of set Forms imposed, (not till the Arian and Pelagian Heresies invaded the Church) let them be pleased to tell the reader, what those Εὐχαὶ προσαχθεῖσαι, "Prayers prescribed" were, whereof Origen speaks in his vith. book against Celsus, so frequently used ‡: and, if that word may

* Centur. Magdeb. cent. 3. c. 6. † Concil. Milevit. ii.
‡ Vid. Author of the Use of Public Prayer. pp. 8, 9.

undergo another sense, what those εὐχαὶ can be construed, wherefrom he quotes three or four passages of Scriptures, in the fourth book against Celsus. Lastly, what the meaning and inference may be, of that which the Centuries alledge out of Origen in his iid. Homily upon Jeremy; *Ubi frequenter, in oratione, dicimus, Da, Omnipotens, da nobis partem cum Prophetis: da cum Apostolis Christi tui: tribue, ut inveniamur ad vestigia Unigeniti tui* *. If this be not part of a set Form of Prayer, and long before Arius or Pelagius, I have lost both my aim and the day: if it be, repent of your confidence, and recant your error; and grant, at last, that, out of "most venerable antiquity," the approvers of Liturgies have produced such evidences for their ancient use, as your insolent wisdom may jeer, but can never answer.

How I admire your goodness! Merciful men, you pardon that fault, which in justice ye could not find, or cannot prove.

My "confident assertion" of the prayers, wherewith Peter and John joined, when they went up into the Temple at the ninth hour of prayer, that they were 'not of a sudden conception, but of a regular prescription,' shall be made good with better authority, than your bold and braving denial. I say the prayers wherewith they joined, not the prayers which they made. The prayers, which they made, were their own †; which wipes away your stout instance, in the Pharisee and Publican: but the prayers, wherewith they joined, were public and regular. For, in all their sacrifices and oblations, the Jews had their set service of prayers, which gave life to those otherwise dead, or at least, dumb, actions. The noble and learned Lord Du-Plessis ‡, the great glory of the Reformed Church of France, speaks home to this purpose: so doth the renowned P. Fagius §, the dead Martyr of our Cambridge: besides learned Capellus, whom we cited in our late 'Defence.' *Confessio olim in sacrificio solennis: ejus, præter quam in Lege vestigia, in Prophetis formulam habemus. In ipsis Judæorum libris verba tanquam concepta extant, quæ Sacerdos pronunciare solitus;* saith the said Mornay Du-Plessis ‖: "There was a solemn confession in their sacrifice of old: whereof, besides that we have certain footsteps in the Law, we have the very form in the Prophets. In the books of the Jews, the very express words ¶ are extant, which the Priest had wont to pronounce." Thus he. And Lyranus, well acquainted with the Jewish practices,

* Cent. 3. c. 6. "Where we often, in our prayer, say, Give us, O Lord Almighty, give us a portion with thy Prophets: give us a portion with the Apostles of thy Christ: grant, that we may be found in the footsteps of thine Only Begotten Son."

† So Hannah made her private prayers in the house of God. 1 Sam. i. 10.

‡ Mor. du Pless. de Missâ. l. i. c. 3.

§ P. Fagius in Paraphras. Chald. in Lev. xvi. and in xxiii.

‖ Du Pless. de Missâ et ejus partibus. l. i. c. 5.

¶ *Verba tanquam concepta:* "the very words as conceived by him."

as being one of them himself, tells us, that the Priest was used to confess, in general, all the sins of the people, "as," saith he*, "we are wont to do in the entrance of our Mass." But Ludovicus Capellus, the French oracle of Hebrew learning, hath those very words, whereat you jeer so oft, as falling from my pen: *Ex quibus videre est, orationem, cujus causâ Petrus et Johannes petebant Templum, fuisse eam, quæ à Judæis dicitur* מנחה קטנה; *quæ respondet Oblationi Vespertinæ Lege præscriptæ, quæ fiebat, ut loquitur Scriptura, inter duas vesperas* †. Thus he: whom I beseech you, Brethren, laugh at for company.

Admire with me, Reader, the subtlety of this deep exception. Our Saviour, I say, prescribed to his disciples, besides the rule, a direct Form of Prayer. What say my great challengers to this? "The Remonstrant will have a hard task," say they, "to prove from Scripture, that either John or our Saviour gave to their disciples public Liturgies, or that the disciples were tied to the use of this Form." Truly, the task were as hard, as the very mention of it is absurd and unreasonable. For shame, Brethren, leave this palpable shuffling. The Remonstrant spake of a 'Prayer:' ye ask for a "Liturgy." The Remonstrant speaks of 'prescribing:' ye talk of "tying;" which, till your Reply, came not so much as into question. It must be a weak sight, that cannot discern your gross subterfuges.

'The use, that our Saviour was pleased to make,' in his Last Supper, 'of the fashions and words which were usual in the Jewish Feasts,' is plainly affirmed, not by Cassander only; whose *videtur* you please to play upon: but by Paulus Fagius, at large; by Mornæus; by Capellus. And, if these took it from "Maimonides, who wrote not till a thousand years after Christ;" yet, from whom I beseech you had Maimonides this observation? A man of yesterday may, upon good grounds of authority, tell a truth of a thousand years' old.

I let pass the mere nonsense, wherewith you shut up this paragraph; as more worthy of the reader's smile, than my confutation: who will easily assume by comparing the place, how little I meant to fetch a Liturgy from a feast; or necessity, out of an arbitrary act.

To prove that the Jews had a Form of Liturgy even from Moses' time, I produced a monument above the reach of your either knowledge or censure: a Samaritan Chronicle, now in the hands of our most learned and famous Primate of Ireland; written in Arabic; translated into that tongue, out of the Hebrew; as Jos. Scaliger, whose it once was, testifies: fetching down the story from Moses to Adrian's time, and somewhat below it.

* Lyran. in Lev. xvi.

† Lud. Capel. Spic. in Act. iii. "Whence we may see, that the prayer, for which Peter and John went up to the Temple, was that, which the Jews called מנחה קטנה 'The Lesser Oblation;' which answered to the Evening Oblation prescribed by the Law, &c."

Out of this so ancient record, I cited the very words of the author, which these men would fain mistake as my own: wherein he mentions a book of the old Liturgy of the Jews, in which were contained those songs and prayers which were used before their sacrifices: adding; "For, before every of their several sacrifices, they had their several songs still used in those times of peace; all which, accurately written, were transmitted to the subsequent generations, from the time of the Legate (Moses) unto this day, by the ministry of the High Priest *." Thus he.

This is our evidence. Now let us see your shifts.

First, you tell us, those "were only divine hymns, wherein there was always something of prayer." If but thus, we have what we would: for what are praises, but one kind of prayers; and what can be more said for a set form of hymns, than of petitions? But, Brethren, ye might have seen in the author's own words, which you are loth to see, "Songs and Prayers, which were ever used before their sacrifices;" and were comprised in that ancient Service-Book. See now, Reader, whether there be not something for set prayers in the author's own words; which these men would wittingly out-face, and not willingly see.

The testimony cannot be eluded: now it must be disparaged. "Joseph Scaliger had certainly but two Samaritan Chronicles." Who says he had more? I cited but one: what needed you (but to shew the world you can tell something) to talk of two? What business have we with that "Shorter Chronicle," which you will needs draw into mention? Let that be as "fond," as your exception is unseasonable: what is that to us? How else should we have known, that you had taken notice of a "Samaritan Pentateuch," and "learned Mr. Selden's *Marmora Arundeliana?*" Away with this poor ostentation: speak to the purpose. What can you say against that large Samaritan Chronicle, which I produced, turned out of Hebrew into Arabic, written in a Samaritan Character; and now not a little esteemed by the great and eminently judicious Primate, in whose library it is? Surely, as I have heard some bold pleaders, when they have feared a strong testimony, pick quarrels at the face of the witness; so do you, Brethren, in this case. Scaliger himself, you say, the former owner, passes this "censure" upon it, "that, though it have many things worthy of knowledge, yet they are crusted over with Samaritan devices." Who can expect other, but that a Samaritan should speak like himself, when it comes to a difference in religion?

* *Postea mortuus est Adrianus, cujus Deus non misereatur! obiitque cum luctu et magnâ contritione. Tempus autem regni, anni sunt 21 (Deus conterat ejus ossa!) ita ut computus annorum ab Adamo ad mortem ejus 4513. mens. 7. Quo tempore &c. abstulit librum optimum, qui penes illos fuit, jam inde à diebus illis tranquillis et pacificis, qui comprehendebat cantiones et preces sacrificiis præmissas. Singulis, enim, sacrificiis singulas præmiserunt cantiones jam tum diebus pacis usitatas; quæ omnia, accuratè conscripta, in singulas transmissa subsequentes generationes, à tempore Legati (Moses sc.) ad hunc usque diem, per ministerium Pontificum Max. Hunc ille librum abstulit, &c. quo libro historia nulla præter Pentateuchum Mosis antiquior invenitur, &c.* Chron. Samaritan.

but this is no reason, why, in matters accorded, there should be any distrust. What a Bellarmin writes of the Holy Trinity passeth for no less current, than the best of our own. If Ainsworth lived and died a Separatist, yet we dare believe him in his report of Jewish Antiquities, no less than Broughton, Weemes, Drusius. So as this wind shakes not the authority of this relation.

But, "judge," you say, "how much credit we are to give to this book for antiquity, as far as Moses, which makes no mention of their own original, any other ways, than, that they came out of Egypt by Moses." A poor and groundless exception! for, that, which we alledge this author for, is only the report of a book containing the Forms of Prayers used by the Jews since Moses; and, as for the mention of their own original, it was their glory to fetch themselves from the first Jewish Patriarchs; as the Samaritan Woman did at Jacob's Well: neither would they challenge a lower rise. No marvel, therefore, if they passed in silence the history of the defection of the Ten Tribes; as rather tending to their own blemish: especially considering what Josephus reports of their fashion, That ever, when the Jews prospered, they claimed brotherhood of them; when contrarily, they proclaimed hostility.

And what if this author "doth only touch the names of Sampson, Samuel, David;" what doth this detract from the credit and validity of his history?

So as, notwithstanding your frivolous cavils, we will take leave to make so much of our Samaritan Chronicle, as to avow it for a noble and ancient proof of that my confident assertion of the use of Liturgies since Moses.

YOUR pretended proof to the contrary, which you so gloriously bring out of your "famous Rabbi Moses Maimonides" in his Mishna, will prove but a vain flourish; and, if it work any thing, it will be for my advantage. For, what is it, that he says? "It is," saith he, "an affirmative precept, that prayers should be made to God, every day, &c." *Cæterùm neque numerus &c.* "But neither the number of those prayers, nor the obligation to this or that prayer, nor the certain and definite time of prayer, is enjoined in the Law." Thus he. Now, how doth that concern us? Who ever defended, that Moses, in the letter of the Law, had given order for either number, or time, or obligation of particular prayers of several Israelites? although, under your good favour, we know, that, even then, there were solemn forms of words, to be used in the remove and resting of the Ark *, and in the solemn benedictions of Israel †, and in the trials of jealousy, prescribed by God himself to the Priests; whereof what can ye make other, than a shorter kind of stinted Liturgy? Length, or brevity makes no variance. But what doth this imply

* Num. x. 35, 36. † Num. vi. 23—26.

other, than that there were, of old, prescriptions both of number, and time, and forms, though not expressed in the Law? particulars whereof we shall produce in the sequel: such, as were not only for the help of the ignorant, but for the direction of the Priests themselves, and for the better devotion of the people. That "Ezra," therefore, and "the Men of the Great Synagogue," made use of those "eighteen forms of prayers" or benedictions, prescribed by them so long ago, it argues nothing, that the like forms were not in set practice before their times.

So as your Maimonides, after all your proritation, holds no other than fair terms with our Samaritan Chronicle.

And would learned Capellus, think you, make himself so merry at the view of this passage? Surely, Brethren, it would be at your fond and ridiculous misprision, in playing not upon my words, but your own idle fancy.

I cited Capellus * for 'the Forms of Prayer used at the Mincha and other sacrifices;' which you cannot gainsay: but, that I should infer "from him, that the Jewish Liturgies were as ancient as Moses;" it is your mere dream, not my assertion. It would become you to make more conscience of your suggestions.

As for the marginal note out of Buxtorfius, it is worthy of but a marginal touch. What such abuse were it to say, that Maimonides took those thirteen Articles of his Creed, from the Jews' devotion; when the same author confesses they had a being before, but were by Rabbi Moses Bar Maimon redacted into this order, wherein they stand? Surely, that, ever since Ezra's time, they had a known Form of Prayer, is confessed clearly by the same Rabbin, in his Mishna; as we have formerly seen: and, what place could be more proper for the seat of a Creed?

But, to meet a little with your crowing insultation, in this passage of the age of the Jewish Liturgy, what say you to that express testimony of Paulus Fagius †; a man, one of the best acquainted with Hebrew learning, of all ours in his age: who, upon the Chaldee Paraphrase of Leviticus, chap. xvi. in the words *Et confiteatur super eum*, hath thus, *Forma confessionis, quâ tum usus est Summus Pontifex, secundum Hebræorum relationem, hæc fuit, &c:* "The form of confession, which the High Priest then" in the first times of the Law, "used, according to the relation of the Hebrews, was thus, "O Lord, thy people of the house of Israel have sinned: they have done wickedly: they have grievously transgressed before thee: I beseech thee now, O Lord, forgive their sins, and iniquities, and transgressions, wherein thy people, the house of Israel, have sinned, and done wickedly, and transgressed before thee ‡." And, when the said High Priest offered a bullock for a sin-offering §, then he said in this manner, "O Lord, I have sinned: I have done wickedly, and have grievously transgressed: I beseech thee now, O

* Capell. Spicil. in Act. ii. † P. Fagius in Chal. Parap. Lev. xvi.
‡ *O Domine, peccâruut: iniqua egerunt: &c.*
§ *Et cum offerret juvencum pro peccato.*

Lord, be merciful to those sins, and iniquities, and grievous transgressions, wherein I have sinned, done wickedly, and transgressed against thee." And, when he should offer the other bullock, he used much what the same form; adding; "I, and my house, and the sons of Aaron, thy holy people, have sinned, &c. I beseech thee now, O Lord, pardon the sins, and iniquities, and transgressions, &c." " This triple confession did the High Priest solemnly use, in the Feast of Expiation. And what the Form of the High Priest's prayer was, when he appeared before the Lord, the said Fagius shews us out of the Talmud *.

Besides this, there was a set Form, and that somewhat large, of Prayer and Benediction, which the Master of the Family, amongst the Jews, was privately wont to use in his holy feasts; which the same author elsewhere, in his Chaldee Paraphrase upon Deut. viii. fully expresses; adding, withal, (which you were pleased to make sport with, as mine) *Verisimile est, Christum quibusdam, quæ in his precibus continentur, usum fuisse* †: "It is very likely, that our Saviour made use of some passages, which are contained in these prayers." And Paulus Burgensis tells us, it was an old tradition amongst the Jews, that, when they had eaten the Paschal Lamb, they sung the Psalms, from *Laudate, pueri, Dominum*, to *Beati immaculati;* that is, from the cxiiith. to the cxixth. adding, *Verisimile hos à Domino decantatos:* "It is likely, that these were sung by our Saviour in his Last Supper."

By this time, the reader sees there is somewhat more ground for a set form of Prayer amongst the ancient Jews, than your deep Rabbinism would condescend unto.

I have dwelt somewhat longer in this point, because I see the chief pride of your "Vindication" lies in this passage of Jewish skill. Wherein I well see with whose heifer you have ploughed; and what name you might add, if there were room, to your learned Acrostics: but, when all is done, I am deceived, if you may not put your gains in your eye.

For "Christian Liturgies," your like confidence challenges the Remonstrant, "to produce any Liturgy, that was the issue of the first three hundred years." I name those under the style of James, Basil, Chrysostom; as ancient, though spuriously inserted.

You tell me of those of Peter, Matthew, Mark, &c. (though Peter's was the same with Mark's) and cite learned Rivetus, who censures these as "zizania; the tares, which the enemy sowed while the husbandman slept." Quite beside the cushion. Those were such, as all wise Christians will confess, with St. Austin, were *A sutoribus fabularum, sub Apostolorum nomine conscripti:* "Broached by some cogging merchants, under the name of the Apostles."

But these other were generally, both for matter and manner,

* Ubi supra. † P. Fagius in Chal. Parap, Deut. viii.

holy; though interspersed with some passages, that might argue a later hand: while others of them bear such age, as that they are cited by ancient Fathers, for authentic parts of the formerly received Liturgies.

Shortly, then, to produce those entire Liturgies, which were in the first three hundred years, is as unreasonable to demand, as impossible to perform. How many noble monuments, besides these, have perished; as swallowed up by the devouring jaws of time; which it were a vain hope to revoke!

But, that there were such Liturgies in use with those Churches, within the time required, I doubt not to evince.

What else, I beseech you, was that *Euchologium*, which Origen, before that time, cites? Whence were those passages of interchanged devotion, which the Centuriators themselves instance in, from Cyprian; fore-alledged by me? I dare boldly say, ye cannot answer these demands, and not yield your cause.

To which let me add, in the next succeeding age, those εὐχὰς ἐνθέσμους, which Eusebius tells us, that Constantine made use of in his Court *. Our learned Christophorson renders it thus: *Constitutas, cum universo Ecclesiæ cœtu, preces reddebat:* so as, notwithstanding your colourable proof in your Defence of the frame of a prayer enjoined to the soldiers by that good Emperor, it is clear enough, that, in those times, there was a set Form of Liturgy, enjoined to the use of the Church.

Learned Mornay, an author past exception, shall attest with me: who, in that elaborate and accurate treatise of the Mass and the parts thereof, dividing that divine service, according to the distribution of the Laodicean Synod, which you would fain have eluded by a pretence of no prescription of Forms, into that of the *Catechumeni*, that of the Penitents, that of the Faithful, hath thus †; *Hic jam mille fidelium locus, cujus ab oratione generali exordium, &c:* "This then is the place of the service of the faithful, whose entrance was always with a general prayer, for all the world, for the state of the Church, for the necessities both public and private. The Grecians call this a Litany, or supplication, &c." *Quæ autem orationis illius forma fuerit ab incunabulis Ecclesiæ, ad hoc usque seculum custodita, ex coævis authoribus perspicuum:* "What the form of that prayer was, which hath been kept, even from the cradle of the Church unto this very age, it is apparent out of the authors that lived in those times."

Thus that famous Lord, Du Plessis: who seconds his own judgment by pregnant authorities from Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustin; to which, out of the fear of tediousness, I remit my Reader.

By all which, it is, I hope, made evident enough, that, before ever Pelagius or Arius infected the world, prescribed Forms of Public Prayers were commonly used in the Christian Church.

It is, indeed, more than an "implication," which the Remonstrant drew from the Ancyran Synod ‡. The Presbyter, that had

* Εἶτ' εὐχὰς ἐνθέσμους σὺν τοῖς τὸν βασίλειον ὄικον πληροῦσιν ἀπεδίδου. Euseb. de Vitâ Const. l. iv. c. 17.

† Morn. du Pless. lib. de Miss. cap. 5. ‡ Concil. Anc.

once sacrificed, was forbidden, προσφέρειν, ὁμιλεῖν, ἢ λειτουργεῖν τῶν ἱερατικῶν λειτουργιῶν: "to offer, to preach, to officiate in priestly administrations." What is the Minister's employment, but the Word, Sacraments, and Prayers: all three here inhibited; and these last, under the name of Liturgies?

And, that these Anti-Remonstrants may not "delude" the reader with an opinion, that any either mistake or fraud will follow upon the "ambiguity" of the word, it may please the reader, to take notice of what these carpers will not see; a plain expression in my translated words, of 'Liturgies or Ministrations.' It is great pity, that the Remonstrant did not know so well as these deep heads, that λειτουργεῖν is a word of both various and general use. They needed not to send him to "Zonaras" or "Balsamon," for this parcel of philology, which he could have taught them nearer home; out of St. Paul himself, and St. Luke: in whom they shall find ἡμέραν λειτουργίας applied to Zacharias's sacrificing; Luke i. 23: and σκεύη λειτουργίας, which our last translation turns *vessels of the Ministry;* Heb. ix. 21. Yea, the very collection of Alms is St. Paul's λειτουργία· 2 Cor. ix. 12. and Epaphroditus is his λειτουργός· Phil. ii. 25. What use then was there of this vast piece of grammar-learning, when the Remonstrant himself interpreted Liturgies by 'Ministrations?'

I EXTOLLED the due use of 'conceived prayer.' Even this doth not please; but invites suspicion, rather. Well might I complain of this sullenness and morosity.

If the quarrels, that you picked with the both "Original and Confirmation of our Liturgy," prove unjust, you may well allow me to call your arguing about it, no other than 'wrangling.'

For the Original, I deduced it from 'ancient models; not Roman, but Christian:' you except at the terms of pretended "opposition;" and still "could fetch sparks to fling in the face of him," who, 'by the suffrages of unquestionable Divines,' hath shewed the just sense of the True Visibility of the Roman Church. Truly, Brethren, this is merely to bark, where you have no power at all to bite. What faculty you have in flinging sparks, I know not; but, I am sure, if you blow this coal hard, the sparks will fly in your eyes. The question is so thoroughly settled by those, which you spitefully call "begged," suffrages, that no wit of man can find but a probable colour to revive it.

Fain would you have something to say to Doctor Hall, if ye knew what it were. In his book of the "Old Religion," he cites a speech of Luther's: that this good friend of Rome says, "Under the Papacy is true Christianity; yea, the very kernel of Christianity." What of this? Did Doctor Hall feign that Luther said so? Or do these men fear that Luther is turned Papist? "Compare this," you say, "with that the Bishop of Salisbury saith, in his begged suffrage, who thus speaks: That the Church of Rome is no more a True Church, than an arrant whore is a true wife to her husband." Well:

compare Luther with the Bishop of Salisbury; two worthy Divines: what then? They will, I hope, prove good friends, and Doctor Hall with them both; whose own suffrage hath been and is, no less peremptory against Rome, than this which he begged: 'A married woman, though she be a close harlot, is yet a wife: and, though she be not true to her husband's bed, yet she is truly his wife, till she be legally divorced.' Such is the state of the Roman Church, to Doctor Davenant, and Doctor Hall, and all other Orthodox Divines. Where now is your charity, in raising such groundless intimations against your innocent brethren?

Tell the reader, I beseech you, where that "scorn" lies, which you say is cast upon you in this passage of my 'Defence.' I justly boast of those our Martyrs and Confessors, which were the composers of our Liturgy: you would fain counterpoise them with "some holy Martyrs and Confessors of the same Reformed Religion, that opposed it, even to persecution;" and tell us of the "Troubles of Frankfort." Pardon me, Brethren: some Confessors, you may talk of; but Martyrs, ye can name none. One, who was the most vehement of all those opposers, I knew to live and die in a quiet submission to the Liturgy established: none of them suffered death for religion. They might be holy men, and yet might square in their opinions: even betwixt Paul and Barnabas there was a παροξυσμὸς. My praise of our Martyrs tended not to the disparagement of any other.

As for that slur, which your "Answer" seemed to cast upon the Edict of King James and our Parliamentary Acts, that they are not unalterable as the laws of the Medes and Persians; your so deep protestation clears you in our thoughts. I have charity enough to believe you: but I must tell you, that speech might have a good heart, but it hath an ill face. Let it pass with favour.

And as for those "cheerful expressions," which you confess you have taken liberty to make use of, in the passages of your book, you will pardon me, if they be entertained with as cheerful answers. "Tertullian" shall be seconded by Horace: *Ridentem dicere verum, quis vetat?* Let those laugh, that win.

For your "Queries;" it seems you think I am merry too soon, in receiving them with so "sarcastical a declamation."

Your project is of the altering of our Liturgy: I tell you seriously, if you drive at 'total alteration,' as your words seem to import, your query is worthy of no better reception than scorn: for, that any pri-

vate person should, as of his own head, move for the entire change of a thing, established by so sacred authority and such firm and full laws, can be no better than a bold and ridiculous insolence.

It was truly told you, that, if you intended only a correction of some inconvenient expressions, no doubt it would be 'considered of, by wiser heads than your own;' whereby I meant, that Honourable and Reverend Committee, to which this great care was, by public assent, referred: you straight suspect "a design to gain upon the Parliament; and, by a pretended shadow of alteration, to prevent a real and total reformation."

Take heed, Brethren, lest you heedlessly wrong them, whom you profess to honour, and we with you. Is the Parliament, think you, so easy to be gained upon by pretended shadows? Will those solid judgments be likely to be swayed by colours? Why do you cast that aspersion upon them, to whom ye say you have presented these considerations; and to whose grave wisdoms, we do no less humbly submit? That God, who sits in the assembly of the judges of the earth, will, we hope, so guide the hearts of those great and prudent Peers and Commons, that they shall determine what may conduce most to peace and godly uniformity.

But sure, Brethren, you could not imagine, that, by those 'wiser heads,' we should mean our own; when you compare your own designs and success, with our plain credulity and late unthriving proceedings. Enjoy your winnings, without our envy; not without our pity of the poor Church of England: which will, I fear, too late rue your prevalence.

The "alteration of the Liturgy sent into Scotland" is a business utterly unconcerning us. Whatever unhappy hands were in it, would God they had been prevented by some seasonable gout or palsy!

In the report of the alteration made of the Liturgy in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time, I fear you do not well agree either with truth or with yourselves, if we compare this passage with your first entry into this large Section. Let the scanning of it be left to the reader's better leisure; as not worthy to retard our way.

Doctor Taylor, whom you are pleased seriously to honour with the titles of my irony, hath made good amends, belike, for the praise he gave to our Liturgy which he helped to compose, in his censure of a "Bishop's Licence," and the "Priestly Robes:" the one whereof, you say, he called the "mark of the Beast:" the other, a "fool's coat." But, what if the strange variety of Popish vestments, seemed to that holy Martyr ridiculous? What if to take a licence to preach from the hands of a Popish Bishop, seemed to him no better than to receive the mark of the Beast? what is that to us? what, to the cause? Were these tenets erroneous, is this sufficient to enervate his testimony, for the allowance of that Litany, which he made his last prayer at his parting with his dear consort? and for the free use whereof, he blessed that God, to whom he was sending up his soul? Were it a good ground of judgment, that he, who once errs,

can never say true? But, for this censure of the good Martyr, let those, that feel the smart of it, complain.

Let us descend, since you will have it so, to the re-examination of those your "Reasons," which enforce your desired alteration.

First, "It symbolizeth with the Popish Mass." I say, 'neither as Mass, nor as Popish:' you disprove me in neither; neither, indeed, can do. Could you instance, "This prayer is superstitious; that, idolatrous: this, heretical; that, erroneous;" you might have just reason to except at any touch of our symbolizing with them. But, if the prayer be good and holy, why should I more refuse it, as coming from a Papist's mouth, than I would make use of a vicious prayer coming from the best Protestant? Where I said, 'If the Devil confess Christ to be the Son of God, shall I disclaim the truth, because it passed through a damned mouth?' you answer, "But you know, Sir, that Christ would not receive such a confession from the Devil's mouth; nor Paul neither, Acts xvi:" True, in respect of the person confessing; not, of the truth confessed. As it came from an evil spirit, our Saviour and St. Paul had reason to refuse it: but neither of them would disclaim the matter of that truth, which was so averred. There is great difference betwixt the words of a foul spirit and a faulty man: but, if you will needs make a parallel, it must be personal. Christ would not allow a Devil to confess him: we will not allow a Popish Sacrificer to usurp our good prayers: but, if my Saviour would not disallow that I should make use of the good confession of an evil spirit, much less would he dislike that I should make use of that good prayer, which was once the expression of an evil man. And yet these were not such, being taken from the composures of holy men, and ill places: so as this is no other, than to take up gold mis-laid in a channel, which could not impure it: you may well ask why it was laid there: you have no reason to ask why a wise man should take it up. Your question, therefore, "What need we go to the Roman Portuise for a prayer, when we can have one more free from jealousies in another place?" might have been moved to those Worthies, which gathered this pile of devotion; who would easily have answered you, that your jealousy is causeless, while the prayers themselves are past exception: but can with no colour of reason be charged upon us, who take holy prayers from good hands, not needing to enquire whence they had them.

Your Second Reason is as forceless, as your first. Our Liturgy "was composed," you say, "into this form, on purpose to bring the Papists to our churches:" that failing, there is no reason to retain it. The argument fails in every part: First, our Liturgy was thus composed on purpose, that all Christians might have a Form of holy devotion, wherein they might safely and comfortably join together, both publicly and privately, in an acceptable service to their God: and this end, I am sure, fails not in respect of the intention of the composers, however it speed in the practice of the users of it. Secondly, there is no reason, that, where the issue of things faileth, the good intention of the agent should be held frustrate, or his act

void: our end in preaching the Gospel, is, to win souls to God; if we prevail not, shall we surcease, and condemn our errand as vain? But here, I say, the project sped: for, 'till the eleventh year of Queen Elizabeth, there was no Recusant.' You tell me, "It was not the converting power of the Liturgy, but the constraining power of the Law," that effected this: but, Brethren, what "constraining power" was of any use, where there was no Recusant? Every constraint implies a reluctation: here was none: if, then, our Liturgy had no power of converting to our churches; yet it had no operation of averting from them. What the Pope's negociations were with Queen Elizabeth, at this time, imports nothing: I am sure I have those manuscript decisions of the Jesuitish Casuists, which first determined it unlawful to join with our assemblies; till which our Liturgy had so good effect, that those, who differed from us in opinion, were not separated in our devotion. But how am I mistaken! That, which I boasted of, as the praise, is objected to me as the reproach of our Divine Service. "What credit is this to our Church," you say, "to have such a Form of Public Worship, as Papists may, without offence, join with us in, &c?" Or, "How shall that reclaim an erring soul, that brings their bodies to church, and leaves their hearts still in error?" I beseech you, Brethren, what think you of the Lord's Prayer? Is that a perfect platform of our devotion, or is it not? Tell me, then, what Christian is there in the world, of what nation, language, sect soever, (except the Separatist only) will refuse to join with their fellow-Christians in that Form of Prayer? And, What credit is it to our Christian profession to have such a form of public prayer, as Papists, Grecians, Moscovites, Armenians, Jacobites, Abassines, may, without offence, join with us in? I had thought you would have looked for the reclamation of erring souls, by the power of preaching? Here is no unteaching or confutation of errors; no confirmations, of either Doctrines or Uses, in the Forms of our Prayers: and, if I should ask you how many you have reclaimed by your 'conceived prayers,' you would not, I fear, need to spend too much breath in the answer. When I, therefore, impute the rare gain of souls 'to the want or weakness in preaching,' you think to choke me by an exprobation of the fault of our governors: "Let the Bishops see how they will clear their souls of this sin, who, having the sole power of admitting Ministers into the Church, have admitted so many weak ones; and have rejected so many faithful, able Preachers, for not conforming to their beggarly rudiments:" let those, whose guiltiness finds themselves galled with this crimination, fly out in an angry answer; but, if there be those, who have been conscionably careful not to admit them that are not competently διδάκτικοι, not to eject any peaceable, and conscionable Divine for mere matter of ceremony, how injuriously have you fastened upon them other men's delinquencies! although it is not unpossible, that men may be able Preachers, and yet turbulent; and there may be ceremonial rites, neither "theirs," nor "beggarly." You are deceived, Brethren: it is not our Liturgy, that hath "lost" any: too many have lost themselves by a mis-taught

prejudice against our Liturgy. As for the mis-catholic part, tell me, I pray you, whether is it more likely, that a staggering Papist will rather join with a Church that useth a Liturgy, or one that hath none: with a Church, that allows some of their wholesome prayers; or that, which rejects and defies all, though never so holy, because theirs. And, for our own, surely, if our "acute Jesuits" had no keener "arguments," than this you bring, we should be in small fear to lose proselytes: for what weak Protestant could not easily reply, "The Church of Rome was ancient; but yours is new: that was orthodox; this, false: the service was not yours; but borrowed and usurped from better hands: we make use of it, as we may, in the right of Christianity; not in any relation to you, and your errors?" So much for you and your Jesuit, in the second reason.

Your Third Reason is grounded upon "stumbling blocks:" it is no marvel if it fall. Those, you say, are laid by the Liturgy; and, I say, 'removed by many.' So, ye know, they are by Hooker, Abbot, Hutton, Morton, Burges, Covel, and I know not how many others. Amongst the rest, I stumbled upon 'a blind man,' whose inward sight abundantly supplied the want of his bodily eyes; who hath, in many of those points, given, in my opinion, very clear satisfaction: but, sure, you could not suppose me so weak, as to imagine that his lack of eyes could exempt him from error; although divers of your exceptions are, if they were worth our insisting upon, more groundless than his tenets. But, while I allowed many of his passages, I never meant to justify all. It is far from me, to excuse or patronize other men's paradoxes. We know the old distinction of scandals, taken, and given: if there be any danger of the latter, 'it is,' I say, 'under careful hands to remove it;' and, however it pleases you to fall into choleric comparisons, perhaps those hands, which you slight, may not be the least active.

To the Fourth, which is the idolizing of the Liturgy, I say truly, 'Separatists' abhor it for such; never true 'Protestant' adored it for such. Shew us the man, that ever worshipped the Service-Book; that we may wonder at that uncouth idolatry. Shew us the man, that holds it "the only worship of God in England;" as you unjustly pretend. I tell you of some others, that stick not to say, 'Too many do injuriously make an idol of preaching:' (why should you "hope" I am "not serious" in affirming so undoubted a truth?) yet we may not think of abandoning it. Even "in cold blood," the argument holds firm; without equalizing one with the other. Some have made an idol of their silver and gold: must I, therefore, cast away this metal? You needed not fear, that I would speak ought to the derogation from my own profession: but, if I compare God's ordinance of Prayer, with his ordinance of Preaching; and this individual Liturgy, with that individual Sermon; I hope there is no danger, in that collation.

To the Fifth, "The great distaste," which these public prayers meet withal, is truly lamentable; and the effect of that distaste, "separation." Yet more? Let those mis-zealous men, who have infused these thoughts into well-meaning souls, see how they will

answer it in that great day, to the Judge of the Quick and Dead. Surely, if the case were mine, I should fear it would fall heavy upon my soul: for, if it be granted, that there are divers passages in our Liturgy faulty, and worthy of correction; yet no wise enemy can say, they are so heinous, that they bar all communion. Did they contain heresy or blasphemy, we could but separate from their use: now, their separation can no more be without our pity, than without their own sin. Your argument hence inferred, That the partition wall of our offensive Liturgy should be removed, because some "brain-sick" men (for that title is here merely your own, not mine) are scandalized thereby, will no less hold, if this our Liturgy were either altered or abolished: for, are there not thousands, that profess to be no less scandalized with any set Forms whatsoever? So, then, if we have any prescribed or stinted devotions at all, the partition wall stands still: and, if that should be demolished, how many more, and more considerable thousands do you think, would be scandalized with the want of those holy Forms, whereto they have been so long and so beneficially enured? Here is, therefore, a scandal on both parts, unavoidable; and it will be our wisdom and piety, to fall upon the least. You say, ye "think, nay," you "know, that some few Prelates, by their over-rigorous pressing of the Service-Book and Ceremonies, have made more Separatists, than all the Preachers disaffected to the Ceremonies in England: I examine not the truth of your confident assertion; but will you to distinguish betwixt Causes and Occasions. The rigour of those few Prelates might be the Occasion; but the mis-persuasions of those disaffected Preachers were the Causes, of this woeful separation. Both might unhappily concur to this mischief; but those more, who are the direct and immediate agents in so bad a service.

Your Last Reason is so slightly enforced, that it merits rather pity than refutation. I do justly aver, that, there is no reason why difference in Liturgies should breed disunion between Churches; or why union in religion should bind us to the same Liturgies; distinguishing, as I ought, betwixt essential points, and mere outward formalities. How faintly you reply, that "It is true, every difference in Liturgies doth not necessitate a disunion of Churches: but here the difference is too large to be covered with a few fig-leaves!" Grant it to be larger than it is; is it yet essential? The question is not, what may cover our differences, but what may disunite our Churches? It is not Forms of Liturgies, but matter of obstinate and fundamental error, that can draw on such an effect. Tell not me, therefore, or your reader, of some "Ceremonies" of ours, that "will not down with other Reformed Churches;" when ye may, as good cheap, hear of some fashions of theirs, which will not down with us. It is good reason, that, as we give, so we should take liberty, in things indifferent; without any reciprocal dislike. As for precedency of time in our Liturgy, and of dignity in our Church, they may well have this operation with us; that our Liturgy could not conform to that, which had no being; and that other Churches should rather conform to ours, which was ever noted for 'more no-

ble' and eminent. You "desire not to eclipse the glory of this Church," as you profess: yet you are willing to over-shadow it somewhat darkly; while you can say, "Our first Reformation was only in Doctrine; theirs, in Doctrine and Discipline too." Wherein you are double-faulty: First, in imputing a defect to our Church, most unjustly, in the extent of our Reformation: what! was there no Reformation but in matter of Doctrine? none, in matter of practice? none, in idolatrous or superstitious rites? none, in offensive customs? none, in corruption of government? none, in laws ecclesiastical? what call you eclipsing, if this be none? Secondly, in imputing that to the Reformed Churches as their perfection, which is, indeed, their unwilling and forced defect: Reformation implies the renewing of a form that once was; now, shew us, if you can, where ever in the world that Form of Discipline, whose erection you applaud to some neighbour Churches, found place, before it was in this last age provisionally taken up, by those, who could not be allowed, with the liberty of true religion, to enjoy their former government. As for the comparison you are pleased to mention, betwixt the Liturgies of the Reformed Churches, and those of other Christians, Grecians, Armenians, &c. wherein you say, if you "should set down what" you "have read in the Liturgies of those Churches," you "believe the Remonstrant would blush for intimating, there is as much reason to conform to their Liturgies, as those of the Reformed Churches:" I must tell you, it is of your own making, neither did ever fall from my pen. I do "blush," indeed; but it is to see your bold mistakings, and confident obtrusions of things never spoken, never meant. I do not mention a conformity to their Liturgies, as equally good; but only ask, why we should be tied to the forms of one Church, more than another; as those, who are entire within ourselves, and equally free from obligations to any. So as you shut up your first Query with a mere cavil; and the Reasons, whereby you endeavoured to back it, are utterly reasonless.

YOUR Second Query is to seek of so much as any good pretence of reason; yea, of sound authority: "Whether the first reformers of religion did ever intend the use of a Liturgy further, than to be a help in the want and to the weakness of the Ministers."

For, first, have they ever professed their whole and sole intentions, or have they not? If not, how come you to know what they never expressed? If they have, why have you suppressed it?

Secondly, it is obvious to every common understanding, that there were other reasons besides this, of framing set Forms of Public Liturgies: as, the uniformity of divine services in every national Church; the opportunity of the better joining together of all hearts in common devotions; the better convenience of fixing the thoughts upon the matter of a foreknown expression.

So as this, which you have so groundlessly intimated, cannot be

imagined to be the only reason of prescribed Liturgies. Tell me, I beseech you, what think you of our Saviour's epitome of a Liturgy, the Lord's Prayer? for, certainly, it was no other: a Form of Prayer enjoined by divine authority: was that ONLY intended "to be a help in the want, and to the weakness of the Ministers?" Was it not prescribed for the help of the devotion of all disciples?

Your instances are, if it might be, poorer than your assertion.

The 23d Canon of the 4th Council of Carthage ordains, *Ut nemo Patrem nominet pro Filio, &c.* In a care to prevent the dangerous misprisions of some ignorant Priests in Afric, in mis-naming the Sacred Persons in the Trinity, it charged them not to mis-apply the terms: Therefore, all prescribed Forms of Prayer are only intended to supply wants or weaknesses of Ministers: a stout inference, and irresistible!

"The composers of the Liturgy for the French Church at Frankfort" tell us, *Hæ formulæ inserviunt tantùm rudioribus: nullius libertati præscribitur:* "These forms serve only for the ignorant sort; not prescribing to any man's liberty." What mean you, Brethren, to urge so improbable a proof? First, this was but a particular congregation: and, therefore, of no use or validity for the practice of the whole Church. Secondly, these prayers, which they set forth, were only for the private use of Christians: for I hope you will not imagine, that, when they say, *rudioribus tantùm inserviunt*, "they serve only for the more rude and ignorant sort of people," that they herein meant to point out the Ministers. So as your very allegation confutes yourselves, and seconds me.

Your following enforcement in this paragraph fails of sense, much more of reason; and doth but beg, what it cannot evince. You tell me of "thousands, who desire to worship God with devout hearts," that cannot be easily persuaded, that these set Forms, though never so free from just exception, "will prove so great a help to their devotion:" I tell you of many more thousands than they, and no less devoutly affected, that bless God to have found this happy and comfortable effect, in the fore-set prayers of the Church.

Neither doth this plead at all against the use of present conception, whether in praying or preaching; or derogate anything from that reverent and pious esteem of conceived prayer, which I have formerly professed. Surely, I do from my soul honour both: I gladly make use of both; and praise God for them, as the gracious exercises of Christian piety, and the effectual furtherances of salvation. There is place enough for them both: they need not justle each other.

And, if experience had not made good this truth of mine to many, the most eminent Divines of these later times (eminent, I mean, not more for learning, than strict piety) why would they in their prayers, both after, and especially before their sermons, have confined themselves to a set Form of their own making, without the variation of any one clause, as I can abundantly instance? Certainly, they wanted not that freedom, of either spirit or tongue, which is

challenged by meaner persons; but did purposely hold themselves to the usual conceptions, wherewith their thoughts and the people's ears were best acquainted.

As for the difference, which is pretended in the use of Liturgies in "other Reformed Churches," which you say do "use Liturgies, but do not bind their Ministers to the use of them," it will prove no better than a mere logomachy. In this point, if we be understood, we shall not differ. If, as you explicate yourselves in the sequel, out of the Canons and Rubric both of the Dutch and Genevan Churches, you mean only, that the Ministers were not so tied up to those prescribed Forms, that they might not, at some times and upon some occasions, make use of their own conceptions, you have herein no adversary. Doubtless, all Christian Divines have ever had that liberty, in all the Churches, that have professed the Name of Christ: neither ought it, neither can it be denied to any, either of theirs or ours. All allegations to this sense, might well have been spared: we shall willingly concur with you, both in opinion and practice. But if, by this not binding to the use of a Liturgy, you understand either an arbitrary power not in use in any Liturgy at all, or an absolute release from any whatsoever usage of their publicly-prescribed Forms, and a wilful rejection of them as either unfit or unlawful because set and stinted; none of your cited authorities, no practice of any well-governed Church, will countenance so strange a paradox. In this, Calvin fights directly against you, while he orders *, *Ut certa illa extet, à quâ Pastoribus discedere non liceat:* "That there should be a certain Form, from which it may not be lawful for Ministers to depart:" the contradiction whereunto, alleged out of your nameless Liturgy, of *Formulæ pro arbitrio*, I leave to your own reconciling.

As for the Lutheran Churches, though they have more superfluity than want, yet why they should be excluded out of the list of the "Reformed," I know no reason: since, if all "Protestant Churches" (which is the usual contradistinction from Popish) come under that style, these are wont to challenge the deepest share in that denomination. Neither is it out of any disrespect to the Churches Reformed, as your Charity would fain suggest, that I say, they are but 'a poor handful,' in comparison of 'the world of Christians abroad;' (I have ever honoured them, no less than yourselves) but, in regard of the paucity of their professors. Their value is no whit the less, because their number is so. One spark of a diamond may be worth large piles of marble. But I might well argue, that, in a point, wherein no judicious man can place an error, there can be no just reason, that we should abandon the received practice of all the Christian Churches upon earth, for the late institution of a few. If, herein, I mis-judge, I am willing to be convinced.

* Calvin Epist. to the Protector, &c. priùs citat.

THE Rubric of King Edward the Sixth, agreeing with the liberty given by divers ordinances, at this day, of omitting, upon some great occasions, part of the Liturgy enjoined, makes nothing for the proof of the proposition, supposed in your query, that "the Reformers of Religion did never intend the use of a Liturgy, further, than to be a help in the want or to the weakness of a Minister." It will be a hard task to make these two other than inconsequent.

You tell me of the practice of some stiff Ordinaries, that "have denied" this liberty; and plead, that, what some Ordinaries have so unkindly yielded, you cannot be blamed to desire as a favour from the High Court of Parliament. It is not for me, to return the answer of my superiors: but, I cannot but put you in mind, that there is a vast difference betwixt an act of occasional indulgence, and a constant claim; betwixt a particular dispensation, and an universal rule. Further than this, I prescribe not; but obey.

However the state of Homilies and Liturgies be much different; these latter having been, even from the Primitive Times, prescribed to the common usage of the Church, which the former offers not to challenge: yet I granted, that, 'If we did utterly abridge all Ministers of the public use of any conceived prayer, on what occasion soever, the argument might hold force against us.' You tell me of "some men," that "have sacrilegiously" done so: I send you to those "some men" for your answer. The commands and practices of the Church of England are within the task of my 'Defence:' let private men speak for themselves.

From the Desk you leap into the Pulpit; and tell us, that your "argument is as strong against limiting in prayer, as limiting in preaching:" wherein you are unwilling to know, that our Church allows equal freedom in both. Who, that hath sat within the report of our pulpits, can but say, that our Ministers do there ordinarily pray, as freely as they preach? I pray God they may do it holily and discreetly in both. While they are allowed this freedom in their pulpits, what inconvenience can it be to be limited to solemn, public, but sacred, Forms in their desk? We allow both: you would rob us of one: where is the sacrilege?

So, then, in all this eager passage, your reader sees what fearful venies you give to your own shadow: for, certainly, you have here no visibly real adversary. If, by a set Liturgy, we went about to infringe all liberty of conceived prayer, you might pretend some ground of a quarrel; but, when we allow, and commend, and practise both, in their due places, where can you fasten?

THE reason is lamentable, which you urge in the fifth place, that "many deny their presence at our Church-meeting, in regard of those imposed prayers."

Our eyes can witness, not without tears, the too much truth of this sad assertion. We have seen, and pitied to see, many poor misguided mechanics, waiting abroad in the churchyards, for the good hour; who, so soon as ever the long expected psalm calls in to the ensuing sermon, have thronged into the congregation, as now only worthy of their presence. Alas, poor souls! were their knowledge, which they over-ween, but equal to their zeal, they would see and hate their own mis-judgment. In the mean time, shift it how you please, woe, woe be to those teachers, that have misled well-meaning people, to this dangerous and ungodly prejudice! It had been better for them never to have been born, than to have lived to be authors of so pernicious a schism in the Church of God.

I have no reason to accuse you, whom I know not: although I must tell you, your cold put-off doth little less than accuse yourselves. For your parts, you say, you profess that you "are not against a free use of a Liturgy." We thank you for this favour. What is this, but to say, "If a Liturgy be not left free, we profess ourselves to be against it; we animate all others in that profession?"

You are yet more courteous, and tell us, ye do not "count a Liturgy a sufficient ground of separation from the Church." Mark, Reader: there is fraud in the words. They say, they do not "count a Liturgy a sufficient ground of separation:" they do not say, "This Liturgy." Such a Liturgy as they could devise, and upon such terms, might perhaps be no sufficient ground of a separation; but This Liturgy of our Church, as it now stands, they do not undertake for. Speak out, Brethren; and do not smother your thoughts: declare freely to your auditors, whether the Liturgy established in this Church be such, as wherewith they ought to join; and whether that come within St. Augustin's rule of *non-scindendas Ecclesias*. Were you less reserved, the Church would perhaps be more happy.

"The Remonstrant's Dilemma" may peradventure come too late, when you have forestalled the minds of ignorant men with strong resolutions against all imposed Liturgies, but especially our own. Now, you can confidently say, "The persons" concerned "will deny," that either "the Liturgy is good;" or "lawfully imposed, if it were good:" and here, for ought I see, they and you are resolved to rest. In vain shall we go about to make good the premises, while you have taught them to hold fast the conclusion. Disputes will not do it. You have found a way, that will work the feat: "By loosing the bond of imposition, and taking away the cause of disputes," and troubles "of many thousand consciences."

Why now, Brethren, I like you well. Plain dealing is a jewel. The way not to be troubled with Liturgies, is, to have no Liturgies at all; and the way to have no use of Liturgies at all, is, not to enjoin them: as if you said, "The way to loose the Gordian-knot, is,

to cut it in pieces: the way to prevent the danger of violating laws, is, to let them loose, or make them arbitrary: the way to remedy the discontent of Popish Recusants, is, to retract the oath: the way not to be barred by the gate, is, to throw open the hedge."

Truly, Brethren, if this be the only means of redress, you have reduced us unto a good condition. It is the established, and, as hath hitherto been thought, the wholesome law of this kingdom, that this (and this only) Liturgy should be used and frequented by Ministers and people; and this hath hitherto been obediently and peaceably observed: now, upon some new exotic scruples, good people are taught to place piety in the disobedience of those acknowledged laws; and nothing will quiet their "many thousand consciences," but an abrogation of the good laws they were wont to live under. What must the indifferent reader needs think of this? The law is the same it was, under which our religious forefathers went happily to heaven: the change is in us. O miserable men, whom some few tempestuous blasts from New-England and Amsterdam have thus turned about, and made insensible of our former blessings!

Mean while, that, which pincheth you in my Reply, you are willing to pass over in silence. Were the imposition amiss, what were this to the people? The imposition, if faulty, is upon the Minister: how can that more concern the people, than their joining with him in an usual prayer, whereto he ties himself, of his own making? If the case be equal, why do you not labour to convince your people of so unjust a partiality; and to reclaim them from so palpable an error? the end whereof, without a speedy remedy, can be no other than that I have most unwillingly fore-spoken, perfect deformity and confusion.

I MAY not omit to proclaim to the reader your eminent charity to me; of whom you say, "Yea, so resolute he is not to yield to a liberty, in what is established, &c. that we evidently see by his answer, that, had the reading of Homilies been as strictly enjoined as the Book of Common-Prayer, the ablest Minister in England, were the law in the Remonstrant's hands, must be held as strictly to them, as to this."

How now, Brethren? What! in so angry a confidence! On what ground, I beseech you? The Remonstrant is well known to have been as diligent a preacher as any in your Alphabet; and to be still (as not yet defective in that duty, so) as great an encourager of preaching as the best of your patrons: why will ye thus unjustly raise so envious a suggestion against him?

"He is so resolute not to yield a liberty:" Alas! what power hath he, to either yield or deny a liberty, who professeth, as he ought, nothing but humble obedience?

But, when a question is stated concerning the injunction or free-

dom of a Liturgy, you may be pleased to give me leave to defend that part, which my conscience, and I think upon sure grounds, dictates to me for a certain truth. *Non eadem sentire bonis, &c.* had wont to be a received rule.

But, as to this challenge itself, might the reader's leisure serve him to cast back his eye upon this passage of my 'Defence,' he shall no less marvel at the injustice, than the uncharitableness of it. He shall there see, with what inoffensive caution I marshal Homilies and Liturgy in the same rank; so making our obedience the rule of the use of both, as that I profess a just liberty yielded in both; shewing, that, if Homilies were enjoined to be read, and yet a free use of Preaching allowed, there were no more cause to refuse them, than we have now to refuse the Liturgy, having withal a freedom to our Conceived Prayers: in which position I would fain see what malice itself can find to carp at.

As for that strange project of yours, of imposing the use of "set Forms as a punishment" to unsufficient Ministers, ye might well give me leave to smile a little at so uncouth a 'penance,' and so unheard of a 'mulct;' whereat, others, perhaps, will laugh out.

You answer me, with a retortion of my own words; and seem to please yourselves much in the conceit, calling the ingenious reader to record of your own gross mistaking.

Be this once pleased, Readers, since you are called up, to examine these men's confident fidelity. I had, as I well might, taxed this rare 'project' of theirs. "Yet himself," say they, "comes out with a project about preaching, never a whit better; and doth as good as confirm our saying, in the latter end." View the place, I beseech you. See if you can find any the least intimation of either "preaching" or "project." All that passage is only concerning prayer, the gift whereof, I say, every forward artizan will be unjustly challenging: 'away then,' say I, 'with the book, while it may be supplied with his more profitable nonsense;' and conclude, how fit it is, 'where is nothing but an empty over-weening and proud ignorance,' there should be 'a just restraint;' a restraint, I say, in a limitation of the Forms of Prayer; for what should artizans have to do with preaching? Or what such absurd project is there, in this just restraint? Tell me now, Reader, whether this be not as like "Bellarmin," as the man in the moon. Truly, how either the Cardinal came into the line, or the "Noble Peer" into the margin, he were wise, that could tell. What was professed "in the hearing of some" of you, and some of your superiors, of a willing condescent to "part with that which is indifferent to themselves, if they might be informed it is offensive to others," must be supposed to import, as a true information, so a just offence: wherein they should be sure of the concurrence of some, whom you are pleased to censure, as less merciful than

whom, none can be more ready to make good that of Gregory, in putting to their hand for the removing of customs truly burdensome to the Church.

"THUS" you have very poorly "vindicated the first part of" your "Answer concerning Liturgy:" having made good nothing, which you have undertaken; disproved nothing, which I affirmed. And if, as you "profess," your desire was a sincere pursuit of truth, you are the more to be pitied, that you missed it. It is not yet too late for you to recover it. Be but ingenuous, in confessing what you cannot but see; and we cannot differ.

And, if you do heartily join with me in lamenting the breaches and miserable distractions of the Church, why should you not join with me in the effectual endeavours to make them up? Why do you suffer your hands to widen that, which your tongues would seem to close? If peace be the thing you desire, who is it that hath broken it? We are, where we were: the change is on your parts. And, if there have been some particular encroachments and innovations in some few hands, what is that to the whole Church of England? what is that to those, whose proceedings have been square and innocent?

We hope, then, that "the Worthies" of that High Court, "the great Patrons of Peace and Truth," will soon see and seriously consider, where the grief of the Church lies; and, by their wisdoms, put a seasonable end to these miserable and dangerous distempers.

SECT. 3.

YOUR Third Section is nothing, but a mere jangle of words: wherewith it was too much for the reader to be once troubled: for whose sake, I shall cut you up short; making it apparent, that my "affection to" my "cause," however you are pleased to scandalize my discourse, hath no whit "transported" me to any "overreaching expressions, in lifting up the Antiquity and extolling the Universality of Episcopal Government beyond truth."

That, which I spake of the libellers abroad, your charity would fain have extended to Foreign Churches: now, as ashamed of the misprision, you would fain salve it up with a pretended probability of your mistaken sense: for my part, now that my innocence is cleared, if you can put any honest colour upon your misunderstanding, I shall willingly connive at it; although I must tell you, there is enough dissimilitude in your instance.

In what sense you meant the "self-confoundedness" you impute to me, what matters it to the reader? Such a one you confess it was, that "makes men speak they know not what." It is a fair livery, and well beseeming the bounty of such munificent hands!

I justly professed myself so "self-confounded," as to say confidently, that 'he is no peaceable and well-affected son of the Church of England, that doth not hate libels, and wish well to Liturgy and Episcopacy.'

Your charity, presuming upon advantages, dares to choke me with the name of a "Parliament:" wherein how you will answer your injurious imputation to that High Court, I appeal to their Bar. To make the matter altogether envious, you guiltily leave out the first clause concerning libels, and aggravate the second; and that, which I professedly spake of Complainants, you spitefully draw home to the Judges: whom I must still suppose, you do heinously wrong, in fastening upon them this bold imputation of ill-affectedness to a well established Liturgy, and a well-regulated Episcopacy. I believe those Honourable Peers and Noble Commons will give you small thanks for this insolent assertion.

What I said, concerning the derivation of Episcopal Government 'from the times of the Apostles, without the contradiction of any one congregation in the Christian World,' I am ready to make good against all your frivolous clamours. Purposely to lay the ground of a quarrel, you intersert, "Diocesan;" which came not within the terms of my proposition: and, to confute your own addition, tell us how late Dioceses came into the Church; and now will needs enforce me to maintain, what your so magisterial power will put upon me.

Pardon me, Brethren: I undertake to defend my own words; not yours.

But, you say, "as good to have said nothing at all," as not this; and, "we know what kind of" government it is that "the Remonstrant pleads for:" I grant, you have reason to guess it; but what is that to my proposition? Whether they were Bishops of Cities, or Dioceses, or Parishes, or Provinces, that is not essential to the question: neither do we speak of them, *quà Diocesani;* but, *quà Episcopi.* If they were such as were placed in an imparity of degree above Presbyters, and were endued with an eminent power of Jurisdiction and Ordination, whatever the limits of their government were, my assertion holds good.

On this ground well might "Bp. Hall say, that Timothy was a Diocesan Bishop;" that is, sustained that place and did those offices, which his successors, being formal Diocesans, held and performed. This kind of Bishops, I defend to have continued in the Christian World unto this age, without the contradiction of any one congregation.

You tell me of Scotland: as if I had affirmed, that there had been Bishops always, every where. It is no small wonder to me, how you can with such sober vehemence press upon me so impossible an absurdity: when you plainly see, that all I contend for is this, That there hath been no time, no age from the Apostles' days, wherein this form of Episcopal Government hath not been, without contradiction, continued. Yet your importunity will force

a tenet upon me, *mal-grè:* and tells me you "are sure it is the assertion of Episcopal men."

Amongst whom, you cite Dr. Hall's 'Irrefragable Proposition;' 'No man living, no history, can shew any well-allowed and Settled National Church in the whole Christian World, that hath been governed otherwise than by Bishops, in a meet and moderate imparity, ever since the times of Christ and his Apostles, until this Present Age;' and the like passage you bring out of his 'Episcopacy by Divine Right:' part ii. p. 110*.

What can you make of these allegations? There is no one line in them, which I am not ready to justify. What one word is here liable to exception? Will it follow from hence, that I affirm Bishops to have been always, every where? You see, first, it is limited to the 'Christian World;' not the Pagan: and, in that, not to every Parochial Church; but a 'National:' and not to every National Church, which is *in fieri* and *inchoatè;* (such as that of Scotland, in those first times, was) but a 'Settled National Church.' And, to make yet more sure, lest any schismatical company might put in for a share, it is super-added, a 'well-allowed, settled, national Church.' I should have acknowledged you brave Vindicators, indeed, if now, in the height of your learned valour, you could have choked me with direct and particular instances of any 'well-allowed, settled, national Churches' in Christendom before this present age, that were otherwise governed.

INSTEAD of this, you tell me a tale of a sorry quarrel, taken up against the Bishop of Pampelona by some barbarous Biscainers; whose rudeness when I proved to you by their savage deportment to their King, you give a very civil and charitable construction of my marginal, as intimating it "no less crime to offer an affront to a Prelate than to a King." Thus love creeps, where it cannot go!

But, to mend the matter, you instance in the Reformed Churches. They have made contradiction to Episcopal Government:—true; but not till 'this present age.'

That period was set before in my assertion: whence now arises your sudden passion? "Sir, bethink you: take up your Remonstrance: read your own words: mark the parenthesis." Sirs, I have done all this; and wonder what it is, that you would have me to see or to say. The words are plain, without either welt or guard: say what you would infer upon them.

"The limitation of time here," you say, "hath reference to the Continuance of Episcopacy, not the Contradiction of Episcopacy: certainly, in any indifferent reader's eye, to both. Neither doth the very scope of the place evince any less: for could you

* This passage occurs at p. 591, of this vol., at the beginning of the last paragraph on that page. EDITOR.

suppose any man so utterly insensate, as to say, "By the joint confession of Reformed Divines, the Reformed Churches of this age have never contradicted Episcopacy?" This were, indeed, a paradox fit for none but a "self-confounded man:" fasten it upon those, that are fit for dark rooms and hellebore.

"Just such another is the next," you say: such another, indeed: as truly affirmed, and as unjustly excepted to: That Episcopal Government 'hath continued in this island, since the first plantation of the Gospel, to this present day, without contradiction'. What talk you, of "taking in the manner," and "salving of credit," as if you had your adversary at a great advantage? Πάνλα μία κόνις, as the Greek proverb is; and, as we are wont to say, "Here is great cry, and little wool:" for, whereas the proposition may bear this double sense, "the Continuance of Episcopacy in this island hath had no contradiction," or "There hath been no contradiction to the right of the Continuance of it in this island," at the choice of the propounder; I am ready to make it good in both senses: neither are you able justly to oppose it in either.

I am sure those instances, which you bring, out of Wickliffe, Lambert, Richardus de Mediavilla, Occam, Walter Mapes, Robert Langland, in your next Section, will shrink in the wetting; and come far short of your undertaking.

But, Brethren, I must sadly tell you, that, in your next and last exception, you have exceeded yourselves in malice. What loud and hideous outcries have you made against me, both in your "Answer" and "Vindication," for a safe and innocent passage in my 'Remonstrance'!

Speaking of the continuance and derivation of Episcopacy from the Primitive Times, I had said, 'Certainly, except all histories, all authors fail us, nothing can be more plain than this truth.' Now comes your charitable veracity, and in your "Answer," seconded now again by your "Vindication," reports the words thus: "Except all histories, all authors fail us, nothing can be more certain than this truth;" and thereupon cry out "*Os durum!*" and descant fearfully upon the word, "Nothing more certain! What, is it not more certain, that there is a God? Is it not more certain, that Christ is God and man? Must this be an Article of our Creed, &c? Nothing more certain! Oh, that men should not only forget themselves, but God also; and, in their zeal for their own honour, utter words bordering upon Blasphemy."

Thus you: whether like sober and honest men, let the reader judge; who, casting back his eye upon that passage of my 'Remonstrance *,' shall well find, that I have used no such word at all, as you have thus insolently and injuriously played upon. My phrase

* Page 21. Author. Page 632 of this vol. Editor.

was only, 'nothing can be more plain:' you falsify it, "nothing more certain;" and run strange and uncharitable descant upon it; such, as whereof I think your friends will be ashamed.

And, when I, not urging the great difference of this expression, was willing to pass it over, with intimating only the 'ordinary' use of this manner of speech, 'in our hourly discourse,' wherein we would be loth 'to be called to an account of our Creed;' yet still, as eager and unsatisfied, in this your "Vindication," you redouble the charge upon me: "We cry out," you say "of such a shamelessness, as dares equal this opinion of his of Episcopal Government to an Article of our Creed:" when as here was no mention, no thought either of "certainty," or of "Creed;" but only a harmless affirmation of the clear evidence of this truth.

But I will not stir this puddle any more: only beseeching my reader, by this one passage to judge of the spirit of these men; so set upon detraction and contradiction, that, rather than they will want colours of exception, they will devise them out of their own brains, and fasten them where they would disgrace.

Lest this place should not yield you sufficient ground of so foul a crimination, you fly back to 'Episcopacy by Divine Right *,' and thence will fetch a clearer conviction: where the author saith, he, for his part, is 'so confident of the Divine Institution of the Majority of Bishops above Presbyters, that' he 'dare boldly say, there are weighty points of faith, which have not so strong evidence in Scripture.' He said it; and made it good, by instances, in the same place. Why do you snarl at the speech, and not confute the proofs? Try your skill in that one particular, The Baptization of Infants; which, I am deceived, if the Church holds not a weighty point of faith. Let us, if you please, enter into serious contestation. Shew me more clear evidence of Scripture, for this holy and universally received position and practice of Baptizing Infants, than I can produce for the Majority of Bishops above Presbyters. Till then, give me leave to return your own prayer; "God give the men less confidence or more truth:" and, let me add, more charity; for, truly, in whether of these two latter you are more defective, it is not easy to judge. In the mean time, you have as much failed, in clearing yourselves from those just imputations, which are laid upon you; as you have over-reached, in the unjust bespattering of your staunch and innocent adversary.

And now forbear, if you can, Readers, to smile in the parting, at the grave counsel of our wise Smectymnuus; who, after he hath tired his reader with a tedious volume, in answer to my short 'Defence,' adviseth me very sadly, that my "words" may be "less in number."

Yet, howsoever his weary loquacity may, in this causeless expro-

* Episc. by D. R. Part ii. p. 47. Author. See p. 562 of this vol. Editor.

bration, deserve to move your mirth; I shall resolve to make good use of his counsel. *Est olitor sæpe opportuna locutus.* In the sequel, my words, which were never yet taxed for an offensive superfluity, shall be very few; and such as, to your greater wonder, I shall be beholden for, to my kind adversaries.

The rereward of my late 'Defence' was backed by the sound testimony of Dr. Abraham Scultetus, the famous Professor of Heidelberg, and the great oracle in his time of the Palatinate; who, in both the tenets, of Episcopacy by Divine Right, and the Unwarrantableness of Lay-Presbytery, agrees so fully with me, as I do with myself: the grounds whereof, I dare confidently say, are such, as no wit of man can overthrow or weaken.

Now what say my Smectymnuans to this? "For brevity sake, we will content ourselves with what that learned Rivet spake, when these two Treatises of Scultetus were shewed to him, by a great prelate amongst us, and his judgment required: *Hæc omnia jamdudum sunt protrita et profligata;* all these have been long since overworn, and beaten out, and baffled."

In good time, Brethren! And why should not I take leave to return the same answer to you, in this your tedious velitation of Episcopacy? There is not one new point in this your over-swoln and unwieldy bulk. No hay-cock hath been oftener shaken abroad, and tossed up and down in the wind, than every argument of yours hath been agitated by more able pens than mine: *Hæc omnia jamdudum sunt protrita et profligata.* Why should I abuse my good hours; and spend my last age, devoted to better thoughts, in an unprofitable babbling?

You may, perhaps, expect to meet with fitter matches, that have more leisure. The cause is not mine alone; but common to this whole Church, to the whole Hierarchy, to all the Fathers of the Church throughout the world, to all the dutiful Sons of those Fathers wheresoever. You may not hope, that so many learned and eminent Divines, who find themselves equally interested in this quarrel, can suffer either so just a cause unseconded, or so high insolence unchastised.

For myself, I remember the story, that Plutarch tells of the contestation between Crassus and Deiotarus*; men, well-stricken in age, and yet attempting several exploits, not so proper for their grey hairs. "What," said Crassus to Deiotarus, "dost thou begin to build a city, now in the latter end of the day?" "And, truly," said Deiotarus to him again, "I think it somewhat with the latest for you to think of conquering the Parthians." Some witty lookers-on will, perhaps, apply both these to me. It is the city of God, the Evangelical Jerusalem, which some factions hands have miserably demolished: is it for shaking and wrinkled hands to build up again, now in the very setting and shutting-in of the day? They are dangerous and not inexpert Parthians, who shoot out their arrows, even bitter invectives, against the Sacred and Aposto-

* Plutarch in Vitâ Crassi.

lical government of the Church; and such, as know how to fight, fleeing: are these fit for the vanquishing of a decrepit leader?

Shortly, then, since I see that our Smectymnuans have vowed, like as some impetuous scolds are wont to do, to have the last word; and have set up a resolution, by taking advantage of their multitude, to tire out their better employed Adversary, with mere length of discourse; and to do that by bulk of body, which by clean strength they cannot; I have determined to take off my hand from this remaining controversy of Episcopacy (wherein I have said enough already, without the return of answer; and, indeed, anticipated all those thread-bare objections, which are here again regested to the weary reader,) and to turn off my combined opposites to matches more meet for their age and quality: with this profession, notwithstanding, that, if I shall find, which I hope I never shall, this just and holy cause, whether out of insensibleness or cautious reservedness, neglected by more able defenders, I shall borrow so much time from my better thoughts, as to bestow some strictures, where I may not afford a large confutation. I have ever held *μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακὸν*: which as it holds in whatsoever matter of discourse, so especially in this so beaten subject of Episcopacy; wherein since I find it impossible for my Adversaries to fall upon any but former notions, oft urged, oft answered, "For brevity sake we will content ourselves with what that learned Rivet spake of the two treatises of Scultetus, *Hæc omnia jam dudum sunt protrita et profligata:*" with this yet for a conclusion, that if, in this their wordy and wearisome volume, they shall meet with any one argument, which they dare avow for new, they shall expect their answer by the next post.

A

MODEST OFFER

OF

SOME MEET CONSIDERATIONS,

TENDERED TO THE

LEARNED PROLOCUTOR,

AND

TO THE REST OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES MET AT WESTMINSTER.

BY

A TRUE LOVER OF TRUTH AND PEACE

MODEST OFFER

OF

SOME MEET CONSIDERATIONS,

&c.

LEARNED AND REVEREND BRETHREN:

If you be now, as is supposed, upon the advice of a Form of Church-Government, I beseech you, in the fear of God, setting aside all prejudice, to take into your sad thoughts these considerations following.

It is, I perceive, an usual prayer of many preachers well-affected to your Assembly, that God would now, after 1600 years' universal practice of the whole Church of Christ upon earth, shew you *the Pattern in the Mount:* as if, after so long and perfect inquisitions, there could be any new discoveries of the form that was or should be.

Wherein, I suppose, their well-meaning is not a little injurious both to the known truth and to you: for, what revelations can we expect thus late? or what monuments, of either Scripture or History, can now be hoped to be brought to light, which your eyes have not seen, and former ages have not enquired into?

Surely, ye well know, there can be but these three forms of Church-Government, possibly devised: either by Bishops, or by Presbyteries, or by the multitude of several and select Congregations; every of which have both their abettors and their adversaries. The first hath all times and places, since the days of the blessed Apostles, till this age, to stand for it. The second hath the late persecuted, reformed Church of France (which never desired nor meant to make their necessitated form a pattern for others), the Netherlands, and Scotland, for precedents of it. The third hath the Ministers of New-England and their associates, commonly styled by the name of Independents, vehemently contending for it. The adversaries of every of these are as well known, as their friends; and the pleas, which every of them makes for itself, are as well known as either.

I suppose it is yet *res integra:* else, I should lay my finger upon

my lips. Both the Houses of Parliament, your Assembly, and the whole Kingdom, stand yet free and unengaged to any part. For the National Covenant, as it is interpreted by some of yourselves and those other Divines whose allowed sermons have commented upon it, intends not to abjure and disclaim Episcopacy, as such; but only bends against the whole present fabric of government, as it is built on these arches, these pedestals: so as, if it be taken asunder from those, some of them not necessary, appendances, you are no way forestalled in your judgment against it; nor any other, that hath lift up his hand in this Solemn Covenant.

That I may not urge the Latin translation of the same Covenant, printed and sent abroad to the Low Countries and France and other Churches, which ran only upon *tyrannicum regimen Episcoporum;* that only "the tyrannical government of the Prelates," not their fatherly and brotherly preeminence, is there abjured.

Your Wisdoms know well, how to distinguish, betwixt a calling and the abuses of the execution thereof; betwixt the main substance of a calling, and the circumstantial and separable appurtenances thereunto, from which it may be divested and yet stand entire.

I should be a flatterer of the times past, which is not often seen, if I should take upon me to justify or approve of all the carriages of some that have been entrusted with the Keys of Ecclesiastical Government, or to blanch over the corruptions of Consistorial Officers: in both these, there was fault enough to ground both a complaint and reformation: and may that man never prosper, that desires not a happy reformation of whatever hath been or is amiss in the Church of God!

But this I offer to your serious consideration, whether Episcopacy, stripped of all circumstances that may be justly excepted against, and reduced to the primitive estate, may not be thought a form, both better in itself, and more fit for this Kingdom and Church, than either of the other.

How ancient it is, I need not appeal to any but yourselves; who do well know, that there was never yet any history of the Church, wherein there was not full mention made of Bishops as the only governors thereof: neither can any learned adversary deny, that they have continued, with the general allowance of God's Church, from the very Apostolic Times until this present age. And, whether it can be safe, and lie not open to much scandal, to exchange so ancient an institution, hitherto perpetuated to the Church, for a new, where no necessity enforces us, judge ye.

How universal it is, being the only received government of all the Christian Churches over the face of the whole earth, excepting only this small spot of our neighbourhood, ye know as well as the undoubted relation of the "Christianography" can tell you. And, how unsafe it may be to depart from the form of all the Churches that profess the name of Christ, who do all submit themselves to Bishops or Superintendents, except the fore-excepted, I leave to your grave judgment.

Besides, how Episcopacy is and hath long been settled in this kingdom; and, as it were incorporated into it, and enwoven into the

municipal laws of this land, so as that it cannot be utterly removed without much alteration in the whole body of our laws; is a matter well worthy of not the least consideration.

But, all these would yet seem light upon the balance, if there were not an intrinsical worth in the institution itself, that might sway with you.

The Covenant binds to the endeavour of such a government as is according to the Word of God, and the example of the best Reformed Churches.

And, now, let me appeal to your own hearts, and the hearts of all judicious and unprejudicate readers, whether the rules of Church-Government, laid forth in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, do not suppose and import that very proper jurisdiction, which is claimed by Episcopacy at this day: which if it were not intended to be left as a perfect pattern to succession, the whole Church of Christ should have been left in the dark, without any direction for the succeeding administration thereof. Those charges are plainly given, not to many, but to one; and do most manifestly imply, not a parity, but preeminence and power.

And, if the example of the best Churches must carry it, what Church could be more pure, and more fit for our imitation than the Primitive; and that part of it, which immediately followed the Apostles of our Blessed Saviour, Jesus Christ? And do not you full well know, that our histories and unquestionable authors name the men, whom those Apostles, by imposition of hands, ordained to this function? Do not Ignatius, Irenæus, Tertullian, Polycrates, Hegesippus, Clemens, Eusebius, Jerome instance in those persons, who succeeded each other in those first Sees?

If you tell me of the difference betwixt the Episcopacy of those first ages of the Church and that of the present times, I do willingly yield it: but, withal, I must add, that it is not in any thing essential to the calling, but in matters outward and merely adventitious; the abatement whereof, if it shall be found needful, diminisheth nothing from the substance of that Holy Institution. What can be more express, than, in the antientest of them, the blessed Martyr Ignatius, the mention of the three distinct degrees of Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons; encharged with their several duties, which were yet never intermitted and let fall to this present day? How frequently and vehemently doth he, in his genuine Epistles, twice in that to the Ephesians, call for due subjection to the Bishop and Presbytery! How distinctly doth he, in his Epistle to the Magnesians, name their Bishop Dama; and their Presbyters Bassus, Apollonius, Stephanus *? How doth he, in his Epistle *Ad Trallianos* †, set forth the Bishop, ὡς τύπον τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων; and the Presbytery, ὡς συνέδριον Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ! And, if

* Stephanus does not appear to be named in this Epistle. The passage, to which our author refers, is, however, much more to his purpose than it might seem to be from his representation of it; as it distinguishes the Three Orders, and names the parties. The genuine text is as follows:—Επει ουν ηξιώθην ιδειν υμας δια Δαμα του αξιοθεου υμων Επισκοπου και Πρεσβυτερων αξιων Βασσου και Απολλωνιου, και του συνδουλου μου Διακονου Σωτιωνος, ου εγω οναιμην, ὅτι ὑποτασσεται τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς χάριτι Θεοῦ, καὶ τῷ Πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς νόμῳ Ιησου Χριστου. EDITOR.

† On this passage see note §, at p. 511 of this vol. EDITOR.

any man shall be so unjustly scrupulous, as to call into question the credit of this gracious author, (reserved, no doubt, by a special Providence, for the conviction of the schisms of these last times) therein outdoing Vedelius himself, who stoutly asserteth some of these Epistles while he rejects others as suppositious, let him cast his eyes upon the no less famous and holy Martyr and Bishop, Polycarpus: who (as Irenæus, an unquestionable author, tells us *, one whose eyes beheld that Saint) did not only converse with those, that had seen Christ; but also was, by the Apostles, constituted, in Asia, Bishop of the Church of Smyrna. Let him, if he can, deny Cyprian, the holy Martyr, and Bishop of Carthage, writing familiarly to the Presbyters and Deacons there; sometimes gravely reproving them, sometimes fatherly admonishing them of their duties; in divers of his Epistles. Let him deny, that his contemporary, Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, acknowledgeth Forty-six Presbyters committed by the Catholic Church to his charge. Shortly, let him, if he stick at this truth, deny, that there was any Christian Church, of old; any history.

All which duly considered, I would fain know what reason can be shewed, why that ancient, yea first government, by the Bishop and his Presbytery, received; and, with all good approbation and success, used in the Primitive Church; and derived, though not without some faulty omissions and intertextures which may easily be remedied, until this present day; should not rather take place, than a government lately and occasionally raised up in the Church, for the necessity or convenience of some special places and persons, without any intention of an universal rule and prescription.

If you shall say, that this government by Bishops hath been found, by sad experience hitherto, a block in the way of perfect reformation, destructive to the power of godliness, and pure administration of the Ordinances of Christ; give me leave to answer, that,

First, I fear the Independent Part will be apt to say no less of the Presbyterian; boldly pressing their defects, both in constitution and practice; and publicly averring the exquisitely-reformed way to lie betwixt the Calvinian and Separation †, which they have had the happiness to light upon. Neither want there those, who, upon challenge of further illumination, tax those Semi-separatists, as coming far too short of that perfection of reformation, which themselves have attained.

Secondly, I must, in the fear of God, beseech you here, to make use of that necessary distinction, betwixt Callings and Persons: for it oftentimes falls out, that the calling unjustly suffers, for that, whereof only the person is guilty. Let the calling be never so holy, and the rules of administration never so wise and perfect; yet, if the person, in whose trust they are, be either negligent, or corrupt, or impotent in ordering his passions and carriage, it cannot be, but all things must go amiss, and much disorder and confusion must

* Iren. advers. Hæres. l. iii. c. 3.

† The posthumous quarto has "betwixt the Episcopal and Calvinian;" which was altered, as above, in the Third Folio. EDITOR.

needs follow to the Church of God. And, if such hath been the case in some late times, why should the blame be laid upon the calling; which both is innocent, and might have been better improved? Give me a Bishop (such there have been, and such there are, let D. Potter, the late Bishop of Carlisle, for instance, be one) that is truly conscionable, pious, painful, zealous in promoting the glory of God, ready to encourage all faithful preachers and to censure and correct the lazy and scandalous, careful of the due imposition of his hands, meek and unblameable in all his carriage: and now tell me how the government of such an one, regulated by the holy and wholesome laws of our Church, can be said to be obstructive to the success of the Gospel, or to destroy the power of godliness. Certainly, if all be not such, the fault is in the men: their calling doth not only admit of, but incites them to all virtue and goodness; whereof if they be defective, let the person take off the blame from the function.

Neither doubt I to affirm, that it may well be made good, that the perfectest reformation, which the Church of God can be capable of, here upon earth, may consist with Episcopacy; so regulated, as it may be, if it please the High Court of Parliament to pitch upon that course. And, indeed, how can it be conceived, that the careful inspection of one constant, prudent, and vigilant Overseer, super-added to a grave and judicious Presbytery, should be any hindrance to the progress of godliness? especially, when he is so limited by the bounds of good laws and constitutions, that he cannot run out, without the danger of a just censure. There are already many excellent rules of government, if they were awaked, and actuated by full authority: and, where there is any deficiency, more might be easily added, to make the body of Church-Laws complete.

To give a taste of what may be effected, with very little or no alteration of one form of government to another:—

I remember one of our brethren of Scotland, in a discourse tending to the advancing of the Presbyterian way, tells us, that Dr. Montague, the late worthy Bishop of Winchester, asked King James, of blessed memory, whose sweet affability the world well knew, how it came about, that there were so few heresies, and errors of doctrine, broached and prosecuted, to the public disturbance of the Church of Scotland. Unto which, the wise and learned King is said to have returned this answer: That every Parish hath their Pastor ever present with them, and watching over them: that the Pastor hath his Elders and Deacons, sorted with him: that he, with them, once a week, meets at a set time and place, for the censure of manners, or whatever disorder falls out in the Parish; so as he, by this means, perfectly knows his flock, and every aberration of them, either in matter of opinion or practice. And, lest any error or heresy may seize upon the Pastor, they have their Presbyteries, consisting of several Shrivalties; which meet together in the chief town or city next to them, every week also once, and have there their exercise of prophesying: after which, the Moderator of the said meeting asks and gathers the judgments of all the said Pastors, concerning the doc-

trine then delivered, or of any other doubtful point that is then and there propounded: and, if the said Presbyters be divided in their opinions, then the question is, under an enjoined silence, put over to the next Synod, which is held twice a year. Unto that all the Pastors of that quarter or province duly resort, accompanied with their Elders: the Moderator of the former Synod begins the Action: then, a new Moderator is chosen for the present; or, as it seldom falls out, the last Moderator, by voices, continued. Any question of doubt being proposed, is either decided by that meeting; or, if it cannot be so done, is, with charge of silence, reserved till the National Synod or General Assembly, which they hold every year once: whither come, not the Pastors only, but the King himself, or his Commissioners; and some of all orders and degrees, sufficiently authorized for the determining of any controversy, that shall arise amongst them. Thus he. And, certainly, this bears the face of a very fair and laudable course; and such, as deserves the approbation of all the well-willers to that Discipline.

But, let me add, that we either have or may have, in this very same state of things, with some small variation, in effect, the same government with us: only, there wants some care and life in their execution; which might, without much difficulty, be redressed.

Every Parish hath, or by law ought to have, their Minister ever present with them, and carefully watching over them. Instead, then, of their Pastor, Elders, and Deacons; we have, in every Parish, the Minister whether a Rector or Vicar, Church-Wardens, Questmen, Sidemen, and Overseers for the Poor: and, in places of any eminence, a Curate or Assistant to the Rector, who is a Deacon at least. These may, and ought, and, in some places, do duly meet together, every week, on a set day in their vestry, and decide such differences as happen amongst them; and may well be enjoined, to take notice of such abuses and misdemeanors, as are incident into their parish, for their speedy reformation, within the verge of their own power.

Instead of their Presbyteries, consisting of several Pastors, we have our number and combination of Ministers, in the divisions of our several Deancries; under which are ranged all the Ministers within that circuit: over whom the Rural Dean, as he is called, is every year chosen, by the said Ministers of that division, as their Moderator, for the year ensuing; whose office, if it were carefully looked unto and reduced to the original institution, might be of singular use to God's Church. This Deanery, or Presbytery, consisting of several Pastors, may be enjoined to meet together every month, or oftener if it seem fit, in some city or town next unto them: and may there have their exercise of prophesying, as I have known it practised in some parts of this kingdom; and as it is earnestly wished and recommended, by that excellently-learned Lord Verulam, late Lord Chancellor of England, in his prudent Considerations: and, then and there, may endeavour to decide any doubt, that may arise in their several parishes, either concerning the doctrine of their Minister, or scruple in cases of conscience; and may

transact any public business, that may concern their whole division. But, if any such matter or question should arise, as their divided opinions cannot fully determine, it may, under charge of silence, be put over to a more public meeting; which is the Synodal Assembly of the Clergy held twice a year, under the moderation, hitherto, of the Archdeacon. And, if there the question fail of a full determination, it is or may be referred, with like silence and peace, to a Diocesan Synod; which may be held every year once, under the presidency of the Bishop. And, if yet the decision come not home, it may be referred to the determining of a Provincial Synod; or, yet higher, to a National. So as, in these cases of doubts or errors, if men would not be wanting to themselves, nothing needs to be wanting in the state we now stand in, to the safety and happiness of our Church.

For matter of Ordination of Ministers, the former Constitutions of our Church have deeply enjoined the presence and assistance of those, who, by their original institution, are the Presbytery of the Bishop, at and in the examination and allowance of the persons to be ordained: requiring also, the joint imposition of those hands, which attested the sufficiency of the said examinates; not without a severe sanction of two years' suspension, of the act of Ordaining, to pass upon any Bishop or Suffragan, that shall be found failing in any of the particulars. The qualification of those, that are to be ordained, is in our Canons already set forth, with much caution; for their age, their degrees, their abilities, the testimony of their holy conversation: neither need I doubt to affirm, that he, who, besides all other circumstances of education, is able to give a good account of his faith in Latin according to the received Articles of the Church of England, and to confirm the same by sufficient testimonies out of the Holy Scripture, may be thought competently fit, for matter of knowledge, to enter upon the first step of Deaconship: which the wisdom of the Church hath, according to the Apostle's rule, appointed, not without a sufficient distance of time, in way of probation, to the higher order of Ministry; forbidding to give both Orders at once; and requiring, that he, who is ordained Deacon, shall continue a whole year, at least, in that station, except, upon some weighty reasons, it shall seem fit to the Bishop to contract the time limited. And, lest there should be any subreption in this sacred business, it is ordered, that these Ordinations should be no other than solemn; both in respect of time and place: neither ought they to be, nor in some places are, without a public preconization of lawful warning affixed upon the Cathedral-Church door, where the said Ordination shall be celebrated. And, over and besides the charge, that none shall be admitted to be a candidate of Holy Orders, but he, who brings sufficient testimonials of his good life and conversation, under the seal of some College in Cambridge or Oxford, or of three or four grave Ministers; together with the subscription and testimony of other credible persons, who have known his life and behaviour by the space of three years next before: it is well known to you, that, before the act of Ordination, there is public proclama-

tion made to the whole assembly, that, if any man knows any crime or impediment in any of the persons presented, for which he ought not to be ordained, that he should come forth and declare it before any hand be laid upon his head, for his full admission.

Notwithstanding all which care of our dear Mother, the Church of England, if it shall be thought meet, that any further act of trial shall pass upon those which are suitors for Ordination, how easily may it be ordered, that, at the monthly, (or, if need be more frequent) meeting of the Ministers, within the same Presbytery or Deanery, they may be appointed to make trial of their gifts; and undergo such further examination of their abilities, as shall be thought requisite, ere they shall be presented and admitted by the Bishop and his Presbytery to that holy function!

And, whereas it is much stood upon, that it is meet the people, whose souls must have right in him to whose trust they are committed, should have some hand in their consent to that Pastor, by whom they must be fed; it must be said, that, besides their devolution of their right to the Patron, who, as their trustee, presents a Minister for them, it may be no prejudice at all to the power, which by law and inheritance is settled upon the patron, that the person, whom his choice pitches upon, be appointed beforehand to preach, for a trial, to that congregation to which he is so designed: and if, either for his voice or other just exceptions, he be found unmeet for them, that another more fit may be recommended by the said patron to the place; but if, through faction, or self-will, or partiality, the multitude shall prove peevish and fastidious, they may, in such a case, be overruled by just authority.

As for matter of censures, it may not be denied, that there hath been great abuse in the managing of them, both upon ecclesiastical persons and others. Suspension of Ministers, upon slight and insufficient causes, both *ab officio* and *beneficio*, hath been too rife in some places, of latter times: and the dreadful sentence of excommunication hath too frequently and familiarly passed upon light and trivial matters. How happy were it, if a speedy course may be taken for the prevention of this evil! In the conference at Hampton-Court, a motion was strongly made to this purpose; but, without effect. If the wisdom of the present Parliament shall settle some other way, for the curbing of contumacious offences against Church-authority, it will be an act worthy of their care and justice. In the mean time, as for this and all other ecclesiastical proceedings, it may, with much facility and willing consent of all parts, be ordered, that the Bishop shall not take upon him to inflict either this or any other important censure, without the concurrence of his Presbytery; which shall be a means, in all likelihood, to prevent any inconvenience, that may arise from the wonted way of judicature.

As for the co-assession of a Lay-Presbytery, in swaying these affairs of Church-Government, ye well know how new it is; some of you might have been acquainted with the man, that brought it first into any part of this island: and what ground there is for it, either in Scripture or Antiquity, I appeal to your judgment. Surely, the

late learned author of the "Counsel for the Reforming the Church of England," although otherwise a vehement assertor of the French Discipline, ingenuously confesseth, that, "However those Protestants, which live under Popish governors, have done wisely in deputing some choice men, selected out of their congregations, whom they call Elders, to share with their Pastors in the care and management of ecclesiastical affairs: yet, those Protestant Churches, which live under the government of Protestant princes, may, with the safety of those respects which mutually intercede betwixt pastors and people, forbear any such deputation; forasmuch as the supreme magistrate transfers, for the most part, to himself, that, which is the wonted charge of those deputed Elders:" concluding, that "those men do merely lose their labour, who so busily endeavour, on the one side, to disprove the Antiquity of the Lay-Eldership; and, on the other, by weak proofs to maintain, clean contrary to the mind of the Apostle, that the text of St. Paul (1 Tim. v. 17.) is to be understood of Pastors and Lay-Elders." Thus he: with what fair probability, I leave to your judgment.

Neither is it any intention of mine, to meddle with any piece of that government, which obtaineth in other the Churches of God; but only contribute my opinion, concerning the now-to-be-settled affairs of our own.

What shall I need to suggest unto you the dangerous under-workings of other sects? secretly endeavouring to spring their hidden mines, to the overthrow both of the one government and the other; whereof, without speedy remedy, perhaps it will be too late to complain. No doubt, the wisdom and authority of that great Senate, whom ye also serve to advise, will forthwith interpose itself to the prevention of those mischiefs, which the variety of these heresies and sects, though some of them cloaked with the fairest pretences, threaten to this poor Church. It is no boot for me to tell you, that the less disunion there is, the more ground of safety; and, that where the holy purposes of reformation may be effected with the least change, there must needs be the most hope of accordance.

The rest, to the wise application of the powerful and judicious. It is enough for me, to have thus boldly shot my bolt amongst you, and to have thus freely discovered my honest and well-meant thoughts to so able judgments. What I want, in my poor endeavours, shall be supplied with my prayers, that God would be pleased to compose all our miserable distractions, and to put a happy issue to the long and perilous agitations of this woefully tottering and bleeding Church and Kingdom. Which the good God of Heaven vouchsafe to grant, for his great mercy's sake; and for the sake of the Dear Son of his Love, Jesus Christ, the Just! Amen.

September 12, 1644.

PHILALETHIRENÆUS

ΧΕΙΡΟΘΕΣΙΑ:

OR THE

APOSTOLIC INSTITUTION

OF

IMPOSITION OF HANDS,

FOR

CONFIRMATION, REVIVED.

TO ALL

GOD'S FAITHFUL PEOPLE EVERY WHERE,

GRACE AND PEACE.

NOT out of any light affectation, or out of a cross humour of vainly striving against the stream (my witness is in heaven;) but, out of a care to approve my faithfulness to God's Church, have I undertaken this subject. Mine eyes tell me too plainly, that an Apostolical Institution is palpably neglected: and my heart tells me, both how infinitely advantageous and beneficial the practice of it, if duly revived, might be to the Church of Christ; and how extreme losers God's people are, by the want of it. I durst not, therefore, but impart these thoughts to the world, before I leave it: humbly recommending them to the serious consideration of all well-affected Christians; who shall soon find, upon these poor suggestions, how happy it were, if, in this case, we should walk with an even foot, in the mid-way, betwixt Romish Superstition and profane neglect. The God of Heaven make us wise to salvation, *and* guide our feet into the way of peace! *Amen.*

IMPOSITION OF HANDS.

SECT. 1.

It is no small wonder to me, that, amongst all those great wits of the latter times, that have so curiously pryed into all the corners of Apostolical Institutions and practices, I could meet with no one, that hath so much as taken notice of this, of the Imposition of Hands: which yet, all the while, lay so broad open before them, as that the doctrine thereof is, by the Apostle, reckoned amongst the first *principles* of Christian Religion.

Is it, for that men are unwilling to know some truths, whose unpleasing consequences they would be loth to own? or, is it, that they are carried away with so high a prejudice against this practice, by reason of the extreme abuse of it, as that they are afraid to entertain any thoughts concerning it?

However it be, certainly the Spirit of God hath not doubted to place this, amidst the rank of the clearest and most concerning verities; and amongst such, as are essentially fundamental to our Christian profession: joining it together with those main principles of Faith, Repentance, Baptism, Resurrection, and Judgment *.

What shall we say then? Dare any Christian presume to say, that the Apostle, the great and *wise master-builder* of the Church †, mistook the foundation whereon he built? Or, dare any presumptuous soul single this one article from the rest, as merely temporary, when all the rest are granted to be of eternal use? Can there be any time, wherein *faith*, and *repentance from dead works*, shall not be necessary, both for knowledge and practice? Can it be, that *baptism* should be ever out of date? Can the *doctrine of the resurrection from the dead*, and of the *last judgment*, be ever unseasonable and superannuated? How, or why then should that of *Imposition of Hands*, which is indivisibly marshalled with all these, by the blessed Apostle, be shuffled out from the rest, as arbitrary and altogether unnecessary?

SECT. 2.

Taking it then for granted, that the Apostle accounts the doctrine and practice of the Imposition of Hands, to be both of excellent

* Heb. vi. 2. † 1 Cor. iii. 10.

use, and as then of great importance and necessity in the Church of God, let us enquire, in the next place, what is meant by this so requisite Imposition, and of what kind it is.

Besides that extraordinary act of laying on the hand for curing of diseases and infirmities, practised by our blessed Saviour and his Apostles; and for conveying the Holy Ghost, in a miraculous way; in the Primitive times there were three occasions and usages of Imposition of Hands: in cases of, 1. Confirmation: 2. of Ordination: 3. of Absolution and Re-admission of Penitents.

That the first of these is here intended, not only all Antiquity, but all late interpreters, except some few stragglers, do unanimously agree.

Neither indeed can it, with any probability, be taken of either of the other.

Not of Ordination. What should novices have to do with that business, now, in the Primer of their Christianity? Their teachers were only concerned therein: not the Puisnes in that School of Christ.

Not of Re-admission of Penitents; the ceremony whereof, for ought we can find, began not till after the Apostles.

Doubtless, therefore, of Confirmation. For which cause also, as Calvin well noteth *, it is paired together with Baptism, as an ordinary subsequent thereof: so as this practice, thus hinted by the Apostle, and made good (as we shall hereafter shew) by the constant tradition of all following times, is plainly derived even by Mr. Calvin's own confession, from no less than Apostolical Insitution.

SECT. 3.

It hath been the lot of this sacred rite, to fall into ill hands, and to be foully wronged by a double extreme: the one, of Excess; the other, of Defect. The Excess, in a superstitious over-doing, and over-valuing it; the Defect, in a neglective dis-estimation: both which must be clearly evicted and quit, ere we can present this holy ordinance to the beholder, in its native beauty and perfection.

First, then, it is an injurious EXCESS OF RESPECT, that is given to Confirmation, by them, who have advanced it into the rank of Sacraments: forcing upon it that honour, which it never originally affected; and which it utterly, with due modesty, refused to undergo.

To make up a Christian Sacrament, Cardinal Bellarmin himself sticks not to profess three things to be necessarily required †. First, a Promise of grace: secondly, a Sensible Sign; together with a word, whereby that promise is applied: thirdly, a Command from God, enjoining the ministration of it. Now, after all his confident undertaking, where are all, where are any of these to be found, in this business of Confirmation?

* Calv. in loc.

† Bellarm. de Sacram. Confirm. l. ii. c. 2. sect. 2. *Tria requiruntur.*

For the Promise, he tells us of the Comforter, whom our Lord Jesus pre-engaged himself to send; and of that gracious word, at his last farewell, *Ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you;* Acts i. 8. But what is this to the particular act of Confirmation? All this might well have been; and yet no hands imposed, no Confirmation implied. Well might this promise confirm the Apostles, in a confident expectation of some miraculous work to be wrought upon them; but could give no intimation of a new Sacrament to be erected; no specialty of their hands to be employed in an Imposition. That distinction, therefore, of Alphonsus Vivaldus *, That Christ instituted this Sacrament, though not *exhibendo*, yet *promittendo*, is no better than frivolous: unless he can shew, that our Saviour applied that general promise to this special institution; which he shall never be able to perform.

For the Sensible Sign; here were hands indeed laid on, but not with any intention of acting or constituting a Sacrament. And where is the solemn word, whereby that promise is applied, and that sign actuated? Surely, here God is silent: men may speak: for that Set Form, which they bind their tongues unto, "I sign thee with the Sign of the Cross, and confirm thee with the Chrism of Salvation, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost;" whose is it? They dare not father it upon Christ, who is the sole author of Sacraments: it is a device of their own; and, thereupon, subject to much variation of expression, as their casuists stick not to confess.

As for any Command, it is as far to seek, as either of the other. What Scripture can be pretended to carry the least colour of a mandate? It is a poor shift of the Cardinal, instead of a word of injunction, to flap us off with the execution of the act †. It is true, hands were laid on by the Apostles; the Holy Ghost was given: but was this done, with either purpose or charge, to make this a perpetual Sacrament unto the Church? Or, if this were any where to be found; yet what were all this to the warrant of the rites used in the Church of Rome, in the administration of this pretended Sacrament? Wherein, as if the Apostles' act were quite forgotten, there is no Imposition of Hands at all; only some strange and uncouth rites are foisted in, which the Apostles were never guilty of thinking of. For in what Scripture shall we look for the chrism, compounded, as it needs must be, of oil and balsam? Where shall we look for the consignation with the cross in the forehead? for the box on the ear, given to the confirmed? with the rest of the complements, of that pretendedly sacramental action?

So as now, the Cardinal may spread before us the testimony of "Ten Popes, nine Councils, nine Greek Fathers, ten Latin‡," besides middle-aged Authors and Schoolmen, for the avowing of this their Sacrament, and the antiquity of the holy appendances of it; but all these fall too short, for the proof of a true and genuine Sacrament

* Vivald. Candelab. Pur. de Sacr. Conf. Tit. iii.

† *Pro mandato, damus illis mandati executionem.* De Sacr. Confirm. c. 2.

‡ Bellarm. ubi supra.

of the Christian Church. A truth, that was well seen by the quick and piercing eyes of our Alexander of Hales, the father of the Schoolmen, whom they styled, the "Irrefragable Doctor," and the "Fountain of Life:" as also by his acute disciple, Cardinal Bonaventure, whom they have honoured with the title of a Saint: both which flatly deny any such Sacrament, instituted by Christ, or so much as by his Apostles; sending us, for the first rise of it, to a French Council held at Melde, which was not till the year of grace 845 *. So as the Roman Catechism, which from the counterfeit authority of their Fabian would cast their holy Chrism upon Christ himself, and Scotus, who yet suffers for stooping so low as to fetch it from the Apostles, are quite beside the cushion.

SECT. 4.

YET a far more injurious degree of excess it is, that Confirmation is not only ranged together with the Holy Sacraments; but also equalled, and, not without a high and intolerable affront, preferred to Baptism itself †.

Not so much in respect of the dignity of the person, whose hand was wont to be employed in this action; held, commonly and of old, in a key above Presbytery, or as *Primus Presbyterorum*, in the lowest style: as of the virtue and efficacy of the act itself; without which, the eminence of the agent could avail little to the dignifying of the work. We know the very angels are content to condescend to mean offices, for the good of us wretched men: yet those acts, to which they have stooped, have been never the more ennobled in themselves. And, if an Emperor shall be designed to hold a Pope's stirrup ‡, the act is never the less servile, because the agent is royal.

It is not for us, in this case, to stand upon the person: to whom, if it were appropriated, of old, as Jerome speaks, *propter honorem Sacerdotii;* I fear it is now, by some denied, *propter invidiam Sacerdotii.* The case is herein much altered: once, men could have been content, with the Galatians, to have pulled out their own eyes, and to have given them to us; but, in these last times, too many could be content to lose one of their own eyes, that we might lose both ours. However, it were great pity and sin, that so holy an act should lie still, as dead; while we strain courtesy, who should take it up.

But it is not, as I said, so much the dignity of the agent, that is insisted upon; as the power and energy of the act of Confirmation: which is by our Romish Doctors set up, proudly to contest with and

* Alex. Halens. part 4. qu. 24. Sixtus Senens. l. iv. Bibliotheca Sanct. Poss. Appar. Sacr.

† *Confirmat. Sacramentum æquè sacrosanctum ac ipse Baptismus.* Catechis. Austriac.

‡ Lib. Sacrarum Cerem.

overtop the acknowledged Sacrament of Baptism. "If Baptism be yielded to begin our Christendom, Confirmation," they say *, "perfects it:" and all the praises, which they, from their Urban, Melchiades, Clemens, Fabian, and others, yield unto their Confirmation, are understood, as Chemnitius well construes them †, as antithetical; so many derogations from the power of Baptism. "In Baptism," say they, "we are regenerated to life: in Confirmation, we are armed to fight. In Baptism, there is only preparation made for God's in-dwelling in our hearts: in Confirmation, he actually takes up the house-room for himself." Yea, in flat terms, they dare say, "He shall never be a Christian, that is not anointed by Episcopal Confirmation ‡:" and it is the title of one of the chapters of their Decretum, *Manus impositionis sacr. &c* §. "The Sacrament of the Imposition of Hands, is more worthy than the Sacrament of Baptism."

These, and whatever other excesses of titles and prerogatives, have been cast upon this holy institution, to the disparagement of other more noble ordinances, have not a little blemished the face of it, in some undistinguishing eyes.

To which may be added, the over-eager and tumultuous affectation, wherewith it was wont, not very long since, to be prosecuted in some parts, the Western especially ‖, of this Church. It cannot be spoken, with what fervour and violence of desire, that people were wont to sue for this sacred ceremony. What Fair-like confluences have we there seen of zealous ambients! How have we been tired with the importunity of suitors, impatient of either denial or delay! How have we been oppressed with the throngs of the multitude, striving for the first admission! Insomuch, as we have been forced to call for the help of officers to our rescue from that well-meant impetuousness. Yea, so hath that people been formerly devoted to this religious institution, that the want of it was one of the causes of their insurrection, in the days of King Edward the Sixth; falling out, as then, by reason of the absence or willing forbearance of Miles Coverdale, their elected Bishop.

Now I must be pardoned, if I impute some part of this height of zeal in those our modern clients, to an ungrounded over-weening of opinion, which they have conceived of this godly ordinance, traduced unto them by their fore-fathers; whereof, if need were, I could give too sufficient an account to the reader: an error, which, by good counsel, might, in good time, be redressed.

* *Ut plene Christiani inveniantur.* Decret. de Consec. D. S. cap. *Omnes Fideles.*

† Chemnit. Exam. Conc. Trid. cap. de Confirmat.

‡ *Quia nunquam erit Christianus, nisi Confirmatione Episcopali fuerit chrismatus.* Decret. de Consecr. cap. *Jejun.*

§ *Manus impositionis Sacramentum dignius est Sacr. Baptismi.* cap. de his ibid. *Majore veneratione venerandum.* &c. ibid.

‖ Viz. Cornwall and Devon

SECT. 5.

But, leaving the consideration of an excessive over-valuation, whereof, I dare undertake, the greatest part of this nation, at this day, are far enough from being guilty; we descend to that other extreme, of DEFECT; whereof, I fear, there are not too many free.

What an universal neglect is there of this holy duty, in all the Churches that profess Reformation! What a willing forgetfulness of it! as if there had never been any such matter practised in the Church of God; never any such ceremony so much as intimated by any Apostle; never any mention or memory of it, in the succeeding ages: lastly, as if there never had been, never could be, any profitable or godly use of it amongst Christians.

Yea rather, on the contrary, how odious is the very name of it grown to the ears of those, who profess the strictest godliness! How is the practice of it cried down and hooted at, as merely superstitious and antichristian!

Who can but wonder, at this strange partiality? that men, who profess so awful an observance and so strict and punctual imitation of all the Apostolical ordinations and actions, should willingly abandon and carelessly slight one of their prime and most apparent institutions! Fain would I know, what they can say to this irrefragable text. Was there not such a thing in the Apostolic Times, as the Imposition of Hands? Was not the doctrine and practice of it held so useful, as that it was singled out for one of the *principles* of Christian Religion? Is there not as much occasion and need of the use of it, as ever? Was this only a temporary institution, soon after to be abrogated? What need was there then to trouble the heads and to clog the Catechism of Christian Novices *, with a vanishing and now already gasping ceremony? And why is it ranked in the style of Faith, Repentance, Baptism, &c. whose use and practice must be perpetual? Surely, to coop up *the Doctrine of Baptism*, and *Imposition of Hands*, in a parenthesis, as some have poorly devised, is both very unreasonable, and injurious to the Spirit of God; which would have this Scripture to run freely, in all equal relations, to the foregoing and following clauses. What God will have laid open, it is high presumption in any man to enclose.

SECT. 6.

That the Apostles laid their hands on persons formerly baptized, and hereby conveyed unto them the Holy Ghost, is so clear a truth, as none durst ever deny.

But, did not this privilege rest only in them, and die with them? As it could not be bought and sold, according to the profane and

* *Hic respexit ad usitatam Catechism. formulam.* Calv. in Heb. vi. 2.

sacrilegious offer of the wicked sorcerer; so, could it be bequeathed unto and feoffed upon their holy successors?

Surely, we hear our Blessed Saviour, at his parting, say, *Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world;* Matth. xxviii. 20. Those blessed men, to whom these cordial words were spoken, were not to stay long in the world: not to their persons therefore, but to their succession, was this promise both made and verified. Not in respect to those miraculous gifts, which, as persons extraordinary, they both had and conferred (in this singular qualification, they neither had nor could have any successors, in the following times;) but, in respect to those better graces, which, as predecessors to the ordinary Pastors and Overseers of the Church, their ministry should convey to the souls of God's people.

Hereupon it is, that their successors do justly claim a true right to this divine privilege; and find a just warrant for their Imposition of Hands. For the effectual performance whereof, yet, they challenge not any power, by an inherent virtue in themselves, or by any authoritative bequest from or to others; but only, in an humble way of impetration, by their faithful prayers, which are the life of that holy ceremony, according to the practice of the Apostles themselves: who, though miraculously gifted, yet aided still their hand with their tongue; devoutly suing for what they intended to give.

Let no man, therefore, pretend, that, because the miraculous effects of the Apostolical Imposition of Hands are long since ceased, therefore the act is now idle and useless. Divine Institutions are ill measured by sensible operations. There are spiritual and indivisible fruits of holy ordinances, which, as being most proper for them, shall be perpetually produced by them, through the blessing of the Almighty, even when there is no appearance of any outward efficiency*.

Such are they, which proceed from the Imposition of sacred and authorized Hands; if the judgment of a learned Father and eminent Saint may find place with us. "It is not now," saith he †, "as it was: that, by the testimony of temporal and sensible miracles, the Holy Ghost is, by the Imposition of Hands, given; as formerly it was, for the commendation and better setting forth of the then new-moulded faith, and for the enlargement of the new-begun Church. For, who doth now expect, that those, upon whom hands are imposed for the receiving of the Holy Ghost, should suddenly begin to speak with tongues? but, invisibly and secretly, by the bond of peace is the love of God conceived to be thus inspired into their hearts."

The instance, that Bellarmin himself gives to this purpose, is beyond exception ‡. "In the beginnings of the Church, those, that believed, wrought miracles;" as our Saviour foretold his Apostles: now that effect hath long ceased: shall we therefore say, that faith is vain and forceless? far be it from us so to slander that divine

* Grotius. Vindicat. Heb. vi. et Act. viii. Pezelii Resp. ad Catechis. Trid. cap. de Confirmat.

† August. l. iii. de Baptismo. c. 16. ‡ Bellar. Confirmat. l. ii. c. 2.

grace, which still and ever exercises a more excellent power in the believer, in that it quickeneth him to a new life; according to that of the Prophet, *The just shall live by faith.*

Although, then, we presume not to affect the working of wonders, by the imposing of our hands upon the heads of the baptized; yet, why should we not dare to hope, that the solemn laying on of approved hands, seconded by our fervent prayers, shall help to work an increase of grace in the hearts of capable receivers?

Now if any man shall think fit to match this Imposition of Hands upon the baptized, with the anointing the sick with oil, mentioned by the Apostle; James v. 14: which, being both used and required in the Primitive Times, had doubtless a sovereign effect; but now, the power of healing being lost, is no better than a purposeless and vain ceremony: let him know, there is a great difference to be put betwixt both these. That oil was professedly intended and used for a bodily cure only; receiving its virtue from a power above that of nature; and therefore justly ranged amongst those primitive miracles, which continued not ages in the Church: whereas the Imposition of Hands was directed to spiritual ends, and such as were of eternal use and benefit. To which may be added, that the doctrine of anointing with oil had never the honour to be numbered amongst Christian *principles;* which yet is yielded to the Imposition of Hands by the great Herald of the Church.

SECT. 7.

Had the Apostle only by the way so let fall the mention of Imposition of Hands, that no further noise had been afterwards made of it in the Church of Christ, it might perhaps have been supposed some occasional ceremony, not intended for perpetuity: but now, when we find the continuation of both the precept and practice, in the immediately succeeding times, deducing itself through all the ages of the Church, (though, lateward, not without some taint of superstitious interspersions, which are easily wiped away) we have reason to think it was never destined to an abrogation.

Clemens, the fellow-labourer to the Apostles, in that Epistle which he writes to his disciples, Julius and Julianus, makes an honourable commendation of it to all Christians *; charging them to hasten both their Baptism and Confirmation, by reason of the great uncertainty of the time of their dissolution; attributing to it the conveyance of the sevenfold grace of the Holy Spirit to the receiver. I may not conceal, that the credit of this Epistle, amongst the rest, hath undergone question; which, indeed, none of his letters have escaped, as is confessed by Eusebius, save only that to the Corinthians now lately published: but, not to stand upon Turrianus's terms of apology, I must needs say, this one carries simpli-

* Clem. Ep. 4. Julio et Juliano.

city in the face of it; passing under no other style than of "Clemens, Bishop of the City of Rome *: and that, if the authority of it be suspected, yet the age cannot; so as, if not authentical, yet it is not denied to be exceeding ancient.

That story is famous, which is reported by Eusebius †, from Clemens of Alexandria, concerning the young man whom St. John the Apostle, after his return from Patmos, delivered and doubly recommended to the careful custody of a grave Bishop, under a vehement adjuration. The Bishop, saith that ancient and unquestionable author, received the young man to his charge; trained him up in his house; and at last christened him ‡: and, after that, proceeded yet to such height of diligent observance of him; as that, for a singular preservative, he added moreover to him the obsignation with the seal of the Lord (to wit, his Confirmation:) who yet, proving afterward miserably debauched, was by the Apostle graciously reclaimed.

Not to take in our way the full testimonies of Denys the Areopagite and Origen §, that of Tertullian ‖ is most clear: "The flesh is over-shadowed with the Imposition of the Hand, that the soul may be enlightened by the Spirit." And, elsewhere: "Then is the hand laid on; by that benediction, calling in and inviting the Holy Ghost."

How frequent his scholar, the blessed Martyr Cyprian, is in the report of this practice, no man, that hath turned over his Epistles, can be ignorant.

And, that no man may say these, if hundreds more such, are but single witnesses, the Council of Arles, in the time of Constantine the Great, consisting, as Binius numbers them, of two hundred; or, as Ado, in his Chronicle, of six hundred Bishops; ordains, That if any shall return to the Church from their former heresy, they shall be examined concerning the Articles of their Creed: and, if it be found that they have been baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, hands shall be only laid upon them, that they may receive the Holy Ghost ¶.

But, to what purpose should I press my reader with throngs of witnesses, when all those testimonies, which are mis-alleged by Romish authors, whether of Councils, or Fathers, or Doctors, to prove their Confirmation a Sacrament; yet cannot be denied thus much validity, as to prove there hath ever been a Confirmation? If they have unjustly contended to impose a wrong title upon the Imposition of Hands; yet, it is no less clear, that there was Imposition, than that there were Hands to be imposed: and, if they have palpably corrupted that wholesome institution with the intermixtures of their own misbecoming devices, this can be no more prejudice to the true original purity of it, than it can derogate from

* *Clemens, Urbis Romæ Episcopus.* † Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. iii. c. 20.
‡ Ἐφώτισε. § Dionys. Eccl. Hierar. c. 2. Orig. Hom. 8. in Levit.
‖ Tertul. de Resur. Carnis et lib. de Baptismo. ¶ Concil. Arel. sub Sylvest. Can. 3.

a beautiful face, that it was once besmeared with a foul liniment: wipe off the filth, and the face is still itself.

It is true, that some of their additional ceremonies came in betimes; but late enough to disprove their pedigree from any Apostolic authority. Others of them (as clapping on the cheek the cross of the thumb, treading on the toe, filleting the forehead for seven days, and the like) may justly seem to be no less vain than new; and to serve only to confirm us in the lightness and indiscretion of their founders.

Casting aside, therefore, all those fopperies, wherewith time and weak superstition have clogged this holy ordinance, let us look at it in that native (and thereupon most comely) simplicity, wherein it passed from the hands of the blessed Apostles; and in that plain and holy dress, wherein they, by the guidance of the Good Spirit of God, wherewith they were inspired, left it to the entertainment of the ensuing world.

SECT. 3.

THAT our Saviour laid his Sacred Hands on the children, that were brought unto him, in way of benediction; and that his Apostles laid their hands on persons, that had been baptized, for conferring on them the Holy Ghost *; it is most evident: neither can it be doubted, but that their successors in the pastoral charge of the Church laid their hands likewise upon the formerly baptized; otherwise, had not this been familiarly known both in the practice and use of it, Imposition of Hands had never been recorded for a point of the Ancient Catechism of Christ's Church †.

The succeeding hands, then, were also imposed: but, to what purpose? Surely, no man can think the end of this act could in them be other than holy and spiritual. As they, in their calling, succeeded those Prime Founders of the Church; so this act also succeeded theirs: though not in giving the visible graces of the Spirit, which in them was miraculous; yet in obtaining an increase of invisible grace to the receiver, as theirs also more effectually did.

For, certainly, we shall grossly mistake this whole act, if we shall conceive it to have been only a dumb or dead ceremony; completed in the motion of a hand and touch of a head. There was, withal, a life and vigour put into it, by the zealous prayer of the godly pastor and congregation, which might not return to him without a blessing.

Neither was it otherwise, of old. When the Patriarch Jacob laid his hands upon Ephraim's and Manasses' heads, it was not with-

* Acts viii. 17. Acts xix. 6.

† Neophytorum στοιχεῖα, &c. Auretius, in locum. *Tradebantur ergo ista Catechismi initia brevibus et paucis, tanquam præcipua religionis nostræ capita.* Beza in Heb. vi. 2.

out a fervent apprecation: *God, before whom my fathers, Abraham and Isaac, did walk; the God, which fed me all my life long unto this day; the Angel, which redeemed me from all evil; bless the lads!* Gen. xlviii. 15, 16, 17. It was not the bare hand of Moses laid upon Joshua, that could replenish him with *the Spirit of Wisdom*, without his prayers: Deut. xxxiv. 9. Yea, our Blessed Saviour himself, to whom *all power* was *given in heaven and in earth*, when he touched the dumb man, and said, *Ephphtha*; he looked up into heaven, as thence fetching his cure: Mark vii. 34. The Apostles, when the Seven elected Deacons were presented unto them, did not, without solemn prayer, lay their hands upon them: Acts vi. 6. When Barnabas and Saul were separated by the charge of the Holy Ghost, to the great work of God, to which they were designed, hands were laid on them; but, withal, prayers were made for them: Acts xiii. 3. So, in this very case, when the baptized Samaritans should be confirmed by Peter and John, their hands were laid on with prayers: Acts viii. 15. These, these are they, which gave virtue to the hands; which, certainly, without these, being but flesh, could have no spiritual operation upon the soul: but, being thus seconded, could not but be available to the furtherance of grace in the receiver.

This is the practice, which holy Cyprian tells us was successively continued in the Church: who, speaking of the Samaritans baptized by Philip, and confirmed afterwards by the Prayers and Imposition of the Hands of the fore-mentioned Apostles, adds *Quod nunc quoque &c:* "Which is still," saith he *, "practised amongst us, that those, which are baptized in the Church, are, by the Governors of the Church, presented unto us; and, by our prayers and laying on of our hands, receive the Holy Ghost, &c."

It is utterly needless to cite any further proof of this point; or any particular attestation to the act of Confirmation, done with great consent and allowance in the Primitive Times; when St. Jerome, in his Dialogue against the Luciferians, having said, that, by the Imposition of authorized Hands, the Holy Ghost was still conveyed to the baptized, adds †; "Dost thou ask me where this is written? In the Acts of the Apostles. But, if there were no authority of Scripture at all for it, the consent of the whole world to this point, might well challenge the force of a precept." Thus he.

Since, therefore, it is undeniably certain, that, after the miraculous gifts were ceased, yet still this practice of Imposition of Hands was, with the general approbation of the Christian Church, continued to succeeding ages, I ask when and why it ceased. Have we any warrant for banishing it out of the Church of God? Have we any just ground of reason to forbear and discontinue the use of it? Have we less need of grace or confirmation, than our forefathers? Or, is the power of God's ordinance abated, and now languisheth,

* Cypr. de Hæreticis Baptizandis, ad Jubaianum.

† Hieron. Dialog. adversus Lucifer. Cited also by Bellarm. de Confirm. l. ii.

with age? Or, are we less qualified to perform this gracious act, than our predecessors?

Surely, the Church of England, which, to her eternal praise and honour be it spoken, hath ever been studiously careful to maintain all Apostolical Constitutions and Practices above all her Reformed Sisters, hath not failed to hold out this holy ordinance; and to recommend it, in the most ancient, simple, and inoffensive form, to all her obedient children. Neither do we find, that the present times, though too full of distraction and quarrel, have ever declared any opposition to or dislike of that never-interrupted, never-disallowed institution: so as we have just reason to think, that it both should and doth continue in its full right and vigour.

SECT. 9.

But, lest the discontinuance of the act, together with some prejudice of the otherwise affected, should have worn out of the minds of men the memory of that laudable and godly practice, it will not be amiss to recal unto our thoughts the wise and exemplary order, wherein that holy rite was enjoined to be administered.

First, therefore, having removed away all the trash of superstitious and frivolous appendances, as the Cross, the Chrism, the Stripe, the Fillet, and the rest; as aiming only at the original simplicity of that religious ceremony: secondly, having removed away all opinion of a Sacrament, for which the Church of Rome hath unjustly struggled; and, therewith, disclaimed all derogation from the power and virtue of Baptism: and, thirdly, having solemnly professed against the misconceit of an absolute necessity of this rite to salvation in them, which die after Baptism, before hands can be laid upon them:—the Church of England hath piously ordered the Imposition of Hands so to be administered, as may be to the greater edification of those that are to receive it; and therefore hath ordained, that none should be confirmed, but such, as can give account of having learned the Articles of the Faith, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and that initiatory Catechism which is purposely appointed for their preparation.

Wherein this Church hath judicially, and not without good ground both of reason and religion, reformed that common error and abuse of the Church of Rome, which commonly casts away their Confirmation upon babes in the cradle of their first infancy. For, though some of their Doctors are willing to limit this act unto the age of their puberty, which is the twelfth year; others, to the seventh *; that so the child may at least remember, though yet he understand not, what was done to him: yet the most are of opinion, that there is no cause to defer their Confirmation till they come to the use of reason, and do practise accordingly: so as

* Concil. Aurelian.

Alphonsus Vivaldus * tells us, that commonly, in Spain, all children of two or three years old are wont to be confirmed; and Petrus à Soto, and Cassander †, professes it to have been the ancient order of the Church, that, forthwith after their Baptism, children should also receive their Confirmation. In which point, I cannot but allow the moderate determination of Cardinal Bellarmin ‡; who tells us, that, when persons of ripe age come to be baptized, the same day, together with Baptism, they receive both Confirmation and Eucharist: but, when they are baptized, being infants, the other two are justly deferred till the receiver attains to the use of reason; since, as he truly resolves, neither of them are necessary for infants, and both of them are received with more fruit and greater reverence by those which are come to a mature age. But, though he come home to us, in matter of time; yet the Church of England goes beyond him, in the qualification of the persons: in whom he, as holding grace given by the very work wrought, professes not to require that measure of knowledge and preparation, which we call for and presuppose in those, who shall be admitted to the Imposition of our Hands; upon this ground, that the Ancients stood not upon catechisms and examinations in the laying on of their hands in the Primitive Times, but conferred their Confirmation upon infants: whereat no man can wonder, that knows they were also wont of old, upon a weak misprision, to cram the Blessed Eucharist into the mouths of infants; to the due participation whereof, notwithstanding, we know a competent measure of knowledge and self-examination ought to be required. Doubtless, if a meet time be fit to be stood upon, much more a meet ability of understanding: so as, in this point, I may safely appeal to any well-informed conscience, whether the Church of England have not chosen the better part; and, with great judgment, reformed a palpable defect in the Roman profession.

SECT. 10.

And, certainly, the considerations, whereupon this Church professeth to be led into this just and pious resolution, are such, as may well become the gravity and godly care of our gracious Mother: which the Rubric § thus expresseth:—

First, because that when children come to the years of discretion, and have learned what their godfathers and godmothers promised for them in Baptism, they may then themselves, with their own mouth and with their own consent, openly before the Church, ratify and confirm the same; and also promise, that, by the grace of God, they will evermore endeavour themselves faithfully to observe and keep such things, as they by their own mouth and confession have assented unto.

* Vivald. ubi suprà. † Cassand. Consultat. de Confirm.
‡ Bellar. l. ii. de Confirm. c. 7. sect. ult.
§ Liturgy of the Church of England. Rubric before Confirmation.

Secondly, forasmuch as Confirmation is ministered to them, that be baptized, that, by Imposition of Hands and Prayer, they may receive strength and defence against all temptations to sin and the assaults of the world and the Devil; it is most meet to be administered, when children come to that age, that, partly by the frailty of their own flesh, partly by the assaults of the world and the Devil, they begin to be in danger to fall into sundry kinds of sin.

Thirdly, for that it agreeth with the usage of the Church in times past; whereby it was ordained, that Confirmation should be ministered to them, that were of perfect age, that they, being instructed in Christ's religion, should openly profess their own faith, and promise to be obedient to the will of God *.

Now let any reader, let any adversary say, whether any determination could be more holily-rational, or more evidently conducing to the furthering of the welfare and salvation of Christian souls, in this case, than this, which our Mother, the Church of England, hath, upon sad and serious deliberation, fixed upon: which, if it had been accordingly executed, with that constant care and fidelity as it ought, would certainly have prevented many foul and monstrous exorbitances in matter of doctrine, and many horrible enormities in the practice of men's lives; with both which, we are now miserably pestered and overrun.

When the party then is, upon due examination, found fit both for age and knowledge, he is to be, in due season, presented to the Imposition of Hands; which is ordained to be performed with such holy comeliness and such vigour of devotion, as, be it spoken without envy, the Church of England may be herein well proposed as a pattern to all the Christian Churches in the world. Doubtless, if there be any Church under heaven, that hath continued the Apostolical institution and practice of the Imposition of Hands in the native simplicity and purity thereof, it is the Church of England †.

SECT. 11.

But, that we may not think the Church of England, though more eminent in this point than her other sisters, goes alone in her judgment and practice of Confirmation by Imposition of Hands, let us see the free and full astipulation of other famous Divines and Churches to her, in both these.

Philip Melancthon, as in behalf of the Churches of Saxony, hath thus ‡: *In ritu Confirmationis, fiebat &c:* "In the rite of Confirmation, there was of old an explication of doctrine: wherein

* *Non nisi adultiore ætate, ut fiat, nil prohibet hanc ob causam ut parentibus, susceptoribus, et Ecclesiarum præfectis detur occasio pueros de fide quam in Baptismo professi sunt diligentiùs instituandi et admonendi.* Cassand. Consult c. de Confirmat.

† "Imposition of Hands with prayer, which was the old and pure ceremony o Confirmation." Fulke in Rhem. Acts viii.

‡ Melanct. Confess. Saxonnic. Eccle cap. de Confirmat. et Unctione.

every one was to recite the sum of Christian Doctrine, and openly to profess his detestation of all, both heathen and heretical phrensies; and that he will be and ever remain a true member of the Church, and not depart from the true belief which he then professed. This custom was profitable, both for the instruction of men, and for the retaining of them, in the true acknowledgment of God and his truth."

Flac. Illyricus thus *: *Porro, autem, impositionem manuum &c:* "But, further also, they had wont of old, in the beginnings of the Church, to use Imposition of Hands, after a more accurate instruction in the Catechism, with public and fervent prayer, that they might obtain for them the grace of the Holy Ghost; as we read it was done to the Samaritans; Acts viii. And I believe that so they were wont, in the Primitive Church, to remove those, which were novices, from the *Catechumeni*, to the rank of those auditors which were allowed to be of greater maturity; that so now it might be lawful for them, as those that were judged worthy, to partake of the Holy Communion."

Learned Chemnitius, as for the Protestant Churches in general, thus †: *Nostri sæpe ostenderunt, &c:* "Our Doctors have often shewed, that the rite of Confirmation might very well, setting aside those unprofitable and superstitious traditions and indeed such as are contrary to the Scriptures, be thus made use of; even according to the consent of the Holy Scripture, viz. That those, which are baptized in their infancy (for such is now the estate of the Church) when they come to the years of discretion, should be diligently instructed in a certain and simple Catechism of the Doctrine of the Church: and, when they shall be thought to have in some good sort attained to the understanding of those principles, that then they should be presented to the Bishop and the Church: and there, the child, which was baptized in his infancy, should, first, by a short and plain admonition be put in mind of his Baptism; wherewith, how, why, and into what he was baptized; what, in that Baptism, the whole Trinity conferred upon him and sealed unto him, namely, the covenant of peace, and the compact of grace; how that there he made a public renouncing of Satan, a profession of his faith, and a promise of holy obedience: secondly, that the child himself should, before the congregation, make a proper and public profession of this doctrine and faith: thirdly, that, being interrogated of the chief points of Christian Religion, he should give answer unto them all: and, if he fail in his understanding of any of them, he should be better instructed in them: fourthly, he should be admonished, and, by this profession, should declare, that he utterly dissents from all heathen, heretical, fanatical, and profane opinions: fifthly, that there should be added a grave and serious exhortation out of the Word of God, that he persevere in that covenant, which he hath made in Baptism; and

* Mat. Flac. Illyr. Gloss. in Heb. vi. de Confirmat.

† Chemnit. Exam. Concil. Trident.

in that faith and doctrine, which he hath there professed: sixthly, that public prayer be made for those children, that God, by his Holy Spirit, would vouchsafe to govern, conserve, and confirm them in this profession: at which prayer, without all superstition, Imposition of Hands may be used: neither would such a prayer be in vain; for it is grounded upon the promises made, of the gift of perseverance, and the grace of Confirmation. Such a fashion of Confirmation would yield much profit to the edification both of the younger sort and of the whole Church, and would be agreeable both to the Scripture and to purer Antiquity: for, in the Apostolical Imposition of Hands, that there was an exploration of doctrine and a profession of faith, the history doth manifestly witness; Acts xix. 1—6. Of the exhortation to perseverance, and confirmation by the word in the doctrine and faith once professed, there are examples of the Apostolic Church, Acts xiv. 22. xv. 32. xviii. 23. And, that public prayer was used, the history testifies, Acts viii. 15. So also of the examination and profession of faith and doctrine in Confirmation, the Seventh Canon of the Council of Laodicea and the Eighth Canon of the Council of Arles do sufficiently speak." Thus he.

Reader, I have thus, at large, transcribed the testimony of this worthy author: for that it gives both so full an attestation to the solemn Confirmation hitherto used in the Church of England; and withal lays forth the grounds of this holy practice, fetched from the blessed Apostles, and from Scripture itself. Judge, now, whether there could be a better commentary upon that Form, which our godly forefathers have transmitted unto us; and our Church hath lately both prescribed and recommended to her dutiful children.

Hemingius, that great light of Denmark, for his own judgment and the Danish Church's, hath thus*: *Purior Ecclesia, secuta Apost. tempora, &c.*: "The purer Churches, following the Apostles' times, when the children of Christians began to be baptized, had this fashion: That the children, being instructed in the Catechism, should be publicly brought forth into the sight of the Bishops, and there be interrogated concerning the Articles of their Faith; and should there, with their own voice, confirm the vow, that was in their name made in their Baptism: and that action, from a part of it, was termed Confirmation; and that whole action consisted of an examination, a solemn confirmation of the vow made in Baptism, the prayer of the Bishop, and the Imposition of Hands. This custom was exceeding profitable, and conduced much to the retaining of their former confession and concord: for, neither was it easily found, that any man would depart from that doctrine, which he had, by his solemn vow, ratified and confirmed." And, soon after, "In our Churches," saith he, "the substance of the ancient Confirmation is retained, all Popish superstitions being abolished; for our Bishops, in their Visitations, do publicly examine the younger sort in the Articles of their Faith, and in the doctrine of the Sacra-

* Dr. Nich. Hemingius Syntag. c. 22. v. *Votum.*

ments; and do then confirm them in the same, by instruction and exhortations."

For the judgment of the French Church, both concerning the ancient use of Confirmation and of the laudable practice of it for the present, we need no other witnesses, than he, who is the just glory of it, Mr. Calvin; who tells us *, *Hic mos olim fuit, &c:* "This was the manner of old, that the children of Christians, after they were grown up to some good age, were presented before the Bishop; that they might fulfil that duty, which was required of those, who, at a riper age, offered themselves to Baptism: for they sat amongst those, that were appointed to be catechised, till they, being rightly instructed in the mysteries of faith, could be able, before the Bishop and the people, to render a confession of their belief. Upon the ending of their childhood, or in the entering of their youth, they were again by their parents brought to the Bishop; and were examined by the Bishop, according to that form of Catechism, which they then had, which was both certain and common. And, that this action, which ought otherwise in itself worthily to be held grave and holy, might carry in it so much the more reverence and dignity, there was also therein used the ceremony of the Imposition of Hands. So the child, after the approbation of his belief professed, was dismissed with a solemn blessing." Thus he. And could that eminent author, if he had been retained Advocate for the Church of England, better have set forth her fashion of confirming, and her perfect conformity herein to the ancient Apostolical practice? Justly may I call it so, by warrant of the same author; who, commenting upon this text of the Hebrews, hath thus †: *Transactâ infantiâ, &c.:* "Their infancy past over, being instructed in their belief, they offered themselves to catechizing: but then, another symbol or sign was used, which was the Imposition of Hands. This one place," saith he, "abundantly testifies, that the original of this ceremony was derived from the Apostles." Lastly, that it may appear how well he approved this practice, *Nos quoque &c* ‡. "We also could well and worthily wish, that this rite were restored to the Church every where; whereby children, after the public confession of their faith made, might be offered up to God: and this would be a well-beseeming approbation of their catechizing." And, yet more fully in his "Institutions," thus §: *Utinam, verò, morem hunc &c:* "Would to God, we might retain that fashion, which I admonished you formerly was used amongst the ancient Christians, before this abortive counterfeit of a Sacrament sprang up; that there should be a catechism of all the heads of religion, which without all controversy are agreed upon, &c. That the child, at ten years of age, should tender himself to give a public confession of his faith, &c. This discipline, if it were at this day in force, there would be amongst Christian people a greater agreement in matter of faith: neither

* Calv. Instit. l. iv. c. 19. † Calv. Com. in Heb. vi.
‡ Calv. de Verâ Reformandæ Ecclesiæ Ratione. § Calv. Instit. l. iv. c. 19.

would there be so great ignorance and rudeness, as is amongst many: neither would some be so readily carried away, with new and strange doctrines." Thus he.

Tell me now, Reader, whether, in the judgment of this eminent Divine, whose authority is justly wont to sway so much with all Reformed Churches, we have not great reason, to plead for the continuance and enforcement of holy Confirmation; and to bless God for the guiding of our wise predecessors, into those safe ways, which others complain to have missed; and earnestly to desire, that this religious and beneficial action might be so reverently and zealously performed, as may most conduce to the edification of God's Church.

SECT. 12.

To the careful endeavour whereof, though I might urge many motives, yet I shall take up with these following; not more few in number, than considerable in weight.

The First shall be the agreement and contesseration, both in judgment and practice, with the Primitive Church: to whose example, doubtless, the nearer we draw, the more we shall approach towards purity and perfection.

Now, by the confession of all Divines, both Romish and Reformed, there was a Confirmation by Imposition of Hands, in all the first ages of the Church: and, that the manner of performing it was the true pattern of ours, I appeal to the witness of those Protestant authors, which I have formerly cited; and am ready, if need were, to second it with many more.

And why, my Dear Brethren, should we think it fit or safe, to leave so gracious an example; and to walk alone in our own ways, untracked, untrodden with the holy feet of our first and surest guides? Where the practice began sensibly to degenerate, in adulterating the ordinance with superstitious additions, both of rites and opinions, there we have justly declined it; and do, with the zealousest professors, cry down the gross abuse of that godly institution to the pit of hell, whence certainly it came: but shall we, upon this pretence, cast off that gracious act of religion, which was sent us from heaven by the hands of the Apostles? What if we cannot second our Imposition of Hands with sensible wonders, as the Apostles did? else, as Oecumenius well observes, Simon Magus could not have seen that the Holy Ghost was given by them: though we cannot work miracles, yet we can pray; and our prayers have the same spiritual effects with theirs: neither did the ordinary Pastors, that succeeded those blessed Apostles, expect any other issue of their hands imposed; yet still imposed their hands: and whether should we affect to be like them, in acting and approving the laying on of hands; or to some hesternal teachers, that refuse and disallow of it?

The common plea of those gainsayers is, the cessation of those

miraculous gifts, which were, in the Apostolic Times, by their only hands bestowed; (others, in great numbers, had the Holy Ghost: none gave it, but they:) whereupon they argue, as they think strongly, that, the effect ceasing, the cause is useless. Whom I send to our learned Fulke for satisfaction. "There is," saith he, "another kind of Imposition of Hands, besides that miraculous one, mentioned Heb. vi. 2. whereof there may be perpetual use in the Church: which is the same which St. Austin calls nothing else but prayer over a man; and whereof he speaks Tract 6. on the first Epistle of John, &c." And, soon after: "We acknowledge Imposition of Hands, with prayer, that they, which were so taught and instructed, might receive strength of God's Spirit, so to continue." So he. This is that only, which we profess and glory to imitate; as being well assured, that the faithful prayers of godly Pastors and Christian Congregations can never either be out of date or acceptation.

SECT. 18.

The Second Motive shall be, the great benefit, which accrues to the Church of God by the use of this ordinance.

Which I would rather to express in the elegant and solid terms of learned Hooker, than in my own. "By this means," saith he*, "it came to pass, that children, in expectation thereof, were seasoned with the principles of true religion, before malice and corrupt examples depraved their minds: a good foundation was laid betimes, for direction of the course of their whole lives: the seed of the Church of God was preserved sincere and sound: the Prelates and Fathers of God's Family, to whom the care of their souls belonged, saw, by trial and examination of them, a part of their own heavy burden discharged; reaped comfort, by beholding the first beginnings of true godliness in tender years; glorified him, whose praise they found in the mouths of infants; and neglected not so fit an opportunity, of giving every one fatherly encouragement and exhortation; whereunto Imposition of Hands and prayer being added, our warrant for the great good effect thereof is the same, which Patriarchs, Prophets, Priests, Apostles, Fathers, and Men of God have had for such their particular invocations and benedictions, as no man, I suppose, professing truth and religion, will easily think to have been without fruit." Thus he. And, surely, these are so excellent fruits of this work of Confirmation, that we shall not need to seek out for more.

Yet I may not pass over a serious and important passage of a late writer †: who, in a profitable and well-laboured Discourse of the Doctrine and Practice of Pedobaptism, taking a hint from Cal-

* Hooker Eccles. Pol. l. v. 66.

† Mr. John Brinsley, Preacher at Yarmouth. Doctr. and Practice of Pedobaptism pp. 76, 77, 78, &c.

vin, as he well might, to prove the high antiquity of baptizing of infants, by the primitive practice of their Confirmation, which is, under the name of Imposition of Hands, coupled together therewith*; and, having well made out his argument, by the received distinction of *Catechumeni*; takes occasion to set forth that ordinance, in the primitive institution of it; recommending it, with those grave authors fore-mentioned, to be of singular use, if it were restored to the original purity; and recounting the benefits, that might arise therefrom, instanceth in these following: by this means the neglected exercise of catechizing would be brought into life and credit: secondly, the unity of faith would be maintained: thirdly, parents would be quickened up to a further care of the religious education of their children: fourthly, children themselves would be put on to seek after knowledge: whereto he addeth two others, not hinted formerly by any author; fifthly, that, by this means, persons ignorant or scandalous might be kept out from communion with the Church, in the sacred ordinance of the Lord's Supper; and so the stumbling block of mixed communion removed: sixthly, that, by this means, the difference of the times about the formality of a Church-Covenant, in receiving-in of members, as they call them, might be compromised and taken up; there being here the substance of what is there contended for, and that better bottomed, as he conceives, than the former. All which, as they are exceeding weighty and worthy of sad consideration, so, methinks, this last should be held fit to be listened unto, by our brethren of the Church-way; who may easily see how, by but the admission of a truly Apostolical Institution, they may effect that, which, not without greater difficulty to be achieved, they project and desire.

SECT. 14.

THE Third Motive shall be, the mischiefs and inconveniencies, which follow upon the neglect and want of this holy ordinance; which do plainly appear, as the right serves to set forth both itself and the wrong, both in the privation of those benefits which we have fore-specified, and in the seizure of those manifold evils which have sensibly ensued.

1. For, while this institution is let fall, we see catechizing of children, than which nothing can be conceived more profitable and necessary in God's Church, is grown utterly out of fashion.

2. And, what woeful distractions of opinions, what horrible paradoxes of contradiction to the Articles of Christian Faith, have been and are daily broached to the world, what good heart can but tremble to consider? Certainly, it was not without great reason, that our wise and learned King James, of blessed memory, when complaint was made to him of the growth of Popery in his time,

* So Deodati, on the place

returned answer, that all this was for the want of catechizing: for, surely, if the younger sort were soundly seasoned with true knowledge of the grounds of religion, they could not be so easily *carried away with every wind of doctrine.*

3. How cold and careless are parents generally grown, of breeding their children in a religious way; for that they know they neither are nor shall be ever called to any account of their knowledge or proficiency!

4. How utterly regardless are the children themselves, of so much as a verbal learning the principles of religion, which shall never be required of them, to the shame of their ignorance or unperfectness; being, in the mean time, wholly taken up with vain toys and idle impertinencies!

5. With what bold and sinful ignorance, do too many of the promiscuous multitude thrust themselves upon God's Table! Which might be clearly avoided, if the prudent and godly order of our Church were duly observed: that none should be admitted to the Communion, but those, that have been Confirmed *; none Confirmed, but those, who are able to give account of the Catechism set forth by the Church, containing the main grounds of Christian Doctrine, viz. the Belief, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Sacraments.

6. Lastly, how lawlessly vicious are the lives of too many; which might have been, in all likelihood, somewhat restrained, if, in the entering of their youth, they had been publicly engaged themselves to God and the congregation, to renew their Baptismal Covenant, in renouncing the World, the Devil, and the Flesh; and solemnly promising to do their utmost endeavour to keep God's holy will and commandments, and to walk in the same all the days of their life!

In the account of most of these great inconveniences, I am seconded by Master Calvin himself; who plainly imputes to the want of this discipline, so much quarrel in matter of belief, so much ignorance and rudeness in too many, and so fearful distractions with new and wild opinions set abroach every where in the world †.

So as, whether we consider the convenience and honour of our conformation to the Primitive Church of Christ, or the great profit that ariseth from the due observation of this ordinance, or the no small inconveniences and mischiefs which ensue upon the neglect of it, we have great reason to wish, that it may be happily, in the purity of it, restored to the Church of God.

SECT. 15.

In the mean time, let no man think to choke me with the objection of the disorder, and utter inefficacy of this ordinance, as it was lately wont to be practised in our Church.

* Rubric after the Order of Confirmation. † Calv. ubi supra Instit. Lib. 4. c. 19.

I may not deny, that, in too many places, there was fault enough, even on both parts; both of the giver and receiver.

For the one, Mr. Hooker gives a grave and modest touch of reproof. "No," saith he *, "there is no cause we should doubt of the benefit: but, surely, great cause to make great complaint of the deep neglect of this Christian duty; almost with all them, to whom, by right of their place and calling, the same belongeth. Let them not take it in evil part: the thing is true: their small regard hereunto hath done harm in the Church of God." Thus he.

Neither can I but justify his gentle reprehension. The Fathers of the Church generally failed in the zealous prosecution of this so beneficial a work: being, I suppose, discouraged, with either the coldness or adverseness of too many of their charge; into whose thoughts, some otherwise-affected teachers had instilled a strong prejudice against this institution. Hereupon, having eye enough to their own peace, they were content silently to let fall the frequent and regular performance of that, which their hearts allowed.

Afterwards, in the beginning of King James's reign, they were quickened with this Synodical Constitution †:—"Forasmuch as it hath been a solemn, ancient, and laudable custom in the Church of God, continued from the Apostles' times, that all Bishops should lay their hands upon children baptized and instructed in the Catechism of the Christian Religion, praying over them and blessing them, which we commonly call Confirmation; and that this holy action hath been accustomed in the Church in former ages, to be performed in the Bishop's Visitation every third year; We will and appoint, that every Bishop, or his Suffragan, in his accustomed Visitation, do, in his own person, carefully observe the said custom, &c."

Upon this Canon, the Bishops, generally, were not indiligent, in performing this part of their charge; insomuch as had there been a correspondent forwardness, both in the people and in their brethren of the Ministry, who are by the Canon ‡ charged with the care of preparing and procuring the presentation of such persons as are meet to be admitted to Confirmation, this service had certainly been accomplished with good effect, and was by divers of them done accordingly.

But, soon after, divisions grew on: the authority of Ecclesiastical Superiors began to abate in the minds of men; and there wanted not, who suggest it to be a piece of piety, to dislike and decry this, which they termed a superstitious, ceremony. So as now, there wanted heads, on which hands should be imposed: while yet, in some places of the remoter Dioceses, this Episcopal Benediction was, in the other extreme, sought with so too much heat, as that it was not possible to be given otherwise, than in a breathless and tumultuary way; as I formerly intimated.

* Hooker Eccles. Pol. l. v. of Confir. 66.

† Can. et Const. Eccl. Can. 60. ‡ Can. et Const. Can. 61.

It is not, then, for us to say, how a holy service is performed; but how it should be. What errors pass in any godly administrations ought not so much to disgrace the act, as to invite an amendment. And, let me be bold to say, that were this institution carefully and punctually acted on all parts, according to the rules prescribed by the Church of England, there could be no doubt of a plentiful blessing from heaven, to be poured down upon that so sacred and religious ordinance.

Wherefore, Dear Brethren, laying aside all unjust prejudice, that may arise, either from the persons interested, or from the abuse of the thing, or discontinuance of the practice, let us resolve, both reverently to esteem and humbly to submit to an institution, no less than Apostolical; and expect the heavenly benediction of Him, who is the great *Bishop of our Souls;* 1 Pet. ii. 25. To whom, with the Father, and the Holy Spirit, be all praise, honour, and glory, for evermore.

AMEN.

FOR

EPISCOPACY AND LITURGY.

We cannot be too wary of or too opposite to Popery and Antichristianism: but, let me admonish you, in the fear of God to take heed, that we do not dilate the name and imputation of these too far.

For, I speak it with just sorrow and compassion, there are some well meaning and seduced souls, that are, by erroneous teachers, brought into the opinion, that the sacred form of the government of the Church, and the holy forms of the public devotions and prayers of the Church, and all the favourers of them, are worthy to be branded with the title of Popery and Antichristianism.

For the first, my heart bleeds in me to think, that that calling, which was instituted by the Apostles themselves, and hath ever since continued in the Universal Church of Christ without interruption to this day, should now come under the name of Popery. I speak of the calling: if the persons of any in this station have been faulty, let them bear their own burden; but, that the calling itself should receive this construction in the opinion of well-minded and conscionable Christians, is justly most lamentable. I beseech you look back upon the histories of former times: look but upon your Acts and Monuments; and see whether any have been more expensive, either of their ink or their blood, against the tyranny of Popery and Superstition, than the Bishops of this Church of England: insomuch as the Reverend Dr. Du Moulin, in his public Epistle, professes that the Bishops of England were they, to whom this Church is beholden for the liberty and maintenance of the Protestant Religion in this kingdom. And, in this present age, how many of us have written and are content and ready to bleed, for the sincerity of the Gospel! If there be any, therefore, in this holy order, whose lips have hanged towards the onions, and garlic, and fleshpots of Egypt, let them undergo just censure: but, let the calling and the zealous and faithful managers of it be acquitted before God and men.

For the latter, I see, and mourn to see, that many good souls are brought into a dislike and detestation of the Common Prayers of the Church of England, as mere Mass and Popery. Woe is me, that error should prevail so far with good hearts! I beseech you,

for God's sake, and your souls' sake, be rightly informed in this so material and important a point.

I see there is herein a double offence: one, of them, which dislike the prayers, because they are set forms; the other, that dislike them, because they are such set forms.

For the former: I beseech them to consider seriously, whether they ought to think themselves wiser and perfecter, than all the Churches of God, that ever have been upon the earth. This I dare confidently say, that, since God had an established Church in the world, there were set Forms of Devotion. In the Jewish Church, before and since Christ; in the Christian Church, of all ages; and, at this very day, all those varieties of Christians in the large circle of "Christianography," that have their set Forms of Prayers, which they do and must use; and in the Reformed Churches, both of the Lutherans, and France, and Scotland; it is no otherwise: yea, Reverend Mr. Calvin himself, whose judgment had wont to sway with the forwardest Christians, writing to the Protector of England, Anno 1548. hath these words: *Quod ad formulam precum attinet et rituum Ecclesiasticorum valdè probo, ut certa illa extet à quâ Pastoribus discedere non liceat in functione suâ, &c.* And, adding three grave and solid reasons for it, concludes thus: "So, then, there ought to be a set Form of Catechism, a set Form of Administration of Sacraments and of Public Prayers." And why will we cast off the judgment, both of him and all the Divines of the whole Christian World, till Barrow and Browne, in our age and remembrance, contradicted it; and run after a conceit, that never had any being in the world, till within our own memory?

For the latter: there are those, who could allow some Form of set Prayers; but dislike this of ours, as savouring of the Pope and the Mass, whence they say it is derived. Now I beseech you, Brethren, as you would avoid the danger of that woe of calling good evil and evil good, inform yourselves thoroughly of the true state of this business. Know, therefore, that the whole Church of God, both Eastern and Western, as it was divided; both the Greek, and Latin Church under which this island was wont to be ranged; had their Forms of Prayer from the beginning; which were then holy and heavenly compiled by the holy Fathers of those first times. Afterwards, the abuses and errors of Popery came in by degrees; as Transubstantiation, Sacrifice of the Mass, Prayers for the Dead, Prayers to Saints: these poisoned the Church, and vitiated these Holy Forms, while they continued; but, when Reformation came in, divers worthy Protestant Divines, whereof some were noble Martyrs for religion, were appointed to revise that form of service, to purge out all that Popish leaven that had soured them, to restore them to their former purity; leaving nothing in that book, but that, which they found consonant to godliness and pure religion.

If any man will now say, that our Prayer-Book is taken out of the Mass, let him know rather, that the Mass was cast out of our

Prayer-Book, into which it was injuriously and impiously intruded: the good of those prayers are ours, in the right of Christians; the evil, that was in them, let them take as their own. And, if it should have been as they imagine, let them know, that we have departed from the Church of Rome but in those things, wherein they have departed from Christ: what good thing they have is ours still: that Scripture which they have, that Creed which they profess, is ours; neither will we part with it, for their abuse. If a piece of gold be offered us, will we not take it, because it was taken out of the channel? If the Devil have given a Confession of Christ, and said, *I know who thou art, even Jesus, the Son of the Living God;* shall not I make this confession, because it came out of the Devil's mouth? Alas! we shall be herein very injurious, both to ourselves and to God, whose every holy truth is.

This, then, is the Form, which hath been compiled by learned and holy Divines, by blessed Martyrs themselves; who used it comfortably, and blessed God for it. But, if the quicker eyes of later times have found any thing, which displeases them, in the phrases and manners of expression, or in some rites prescribed in it, let them, in God's name, await for the reforming sentence of that public authority, whereby it was framed and enacted; and let not private persons presume, to put their hands to the work, which would introduce nothing but palpable confusion. *Let all things be done decently, and in order.*

Shortly, my Brethren, let us hate Popery, to the death: but, let us not involve within that odious name those Holy Forms both of administration and devotion, which are both pleasing unto God, and agreeable to all Christianity and Godliness.

POLEMICAL WORKS.

PART THIRD.

ON

THE FIVE POINTS

VIA MEDIA:

THE WAY OF PEACE:

IN THE

FIVE BUSY ARTICLES,

COMMONLY KNOWN BY

THE NAME OF ARMINIUS.

TOUCHING

1. PREDESTINATION.
2. THE EXTENT OF CHRIST'S DEATH
3. MAN'S FREE-WILL AND CORRUPTION.
4. THE MANNER OF OUR CONVERSION TO GOD.
5. PERSEVERANCE.

WHEREIN IS LAID FORTH SO FAIR AN ACCOMMODATION OF THE DIFFERENT OPINIONS, AS MAY CONTENT BOTH PARTS AND PROCURE HAPPY ACCORD.

BY JOSEPH HALL, DD. DEAN OF WORCESTER.

TO THE

KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY:

THERE needs no prophetical spirit, to discern, by a small cloud, that there is a storm coming towards our Church: such a one, as shall not only drench our plumes, but shake our peace. Already do we see the sky thicken, and hear the winds whistle hollow afar off, and feel all the presages of a tempest; which the late example of our neighbours bids us fear.

It boots not, to persuade your Majesty to betake yourself to your chariot, to outride the shower; since your gracious compassion would not be willing to put off the sense of a common evil.

Rather, let me take boldness to implore your Majesty's seasonable prevention. Only the powerful breath of your Sovereign Authority can dispel these clouds, and clear our heaven, and reduce a happy calm.

In the mean time, give leave to your well-meaning servants, to contribute their best wishes to the common tranquillity. I see every man ready to rank himself unto a side; and to draw, in the quarrel he affecteth: I see no man thrusting himself between them; and either holding or joining their hands for peace.

This good, however thankless, office, I have here boldly undertaken; shewing, how unjustly we are divided, and by what means we may be made and kept entire: a project, which, if it may receive life and light from your gracious eyes and shall by your royal command be drawn into speedy practice, promiseth to free this noble and flourishing Church from a perilous inconvenience.

Let it be no disparagement to so important a motion, that it falls from so mean a hand; than which, yet, none can be more sincerely consecrated to the service of your Majesty and this Church, the mutual happiness of both which, is dearer than life to

Your Majesty's most humble,

and faithful devoted Subject and Servant,

JOSEPH HALL.

THE

FIRST ARTICLE,

OF

GOD'S PREDESTINATION.

1. WHATSOEVER God, who is the God of Truth, hath engaged himself by promise to do, the same he undoubtedly hath willed, and will accordingly perform *.

2. There is no son of Adam, to whom God hath not promised, that, if he shall believe in Christ, repent, and persevere, he shall be saved †.

3. This general and undoubted will of God must be equally proclaimed to all men through the world, without exception; and ought to be so received and believed, as it is by him published and revealed ‡.

4. All men, within the pale of the Church especially, have, from the mercy of God, such common helps towards this belief and salvation, as that the neglect thereof makes any of them justly guilty of their own condemnation §.

5 Besides the general will of God, he hath eternally willed and

* "We must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scriptures; and, in our doings, that will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God." Article of the Church xvii.

† *Est generalis et conditionata voluntas, seu generalis promissio Evangelica, &c. docens promissiones divinas sic amplectendas esse, ut nobis in Sacris Literis generaliter propositæ sunt.* D. Overal. de v Artic. in Belgio Controversis. Art. 1.

‡ *Est quidem decretum hoc annuntiativum salutis omnibus ex æquo, et indiscriminatim promulgandum.* Theol. Britan. Dordrac. in Actis Synodi in Theribus Heterodox. Thes. 1.

§ *Gratiam communem et sufficientem in mediis divinitus ordinatis, si homines Verbo Dei Spirituique Sancto deesse noluerint, &c.* D. Overal. Artic. 1.

In Ecclesiâ, ubi, juxta promissum hoc Evangelii, salus omnibus offertur, ea est administratio gratiæ, quæ sufficit ad convincendos omnes impœnitentes et incredulos, quod, suâ culpâ voluntariâ et vel neglectu vel contemptu Evangelii, perierint, et oblatum beneficium amiserint. Theol. Britan. Dordrac. de Art. 2. Thes. 5.

decreed, to give a special and effectual grace to those, that are predestinate according to the good pleasure of his will; whereby they do actually believe, obey, and persevere, that they may be saved: so as the same God, that would have all men to be saved, if they believe and be not wanting to his Spirit, hath decreed to work powerfully in some, whom he hath particularly chosen, that they shall believe, and not be wanting to his Spirit in whatsoever shall be necessary for their salvation *.

6. It is not the pre-vision of faith, or any other grace, or act of man, whereupon this decree of God is grounded; but the mere and gracious good-will and pleasure of God, from all eternity appointing to save those, whom he hath chosen in Christ, as the head and foundation of the elect †.

7. This decree of God's election is absolute, and unchangeable, and from everlasting ‡.

8. God doth not either actually damn or appoint any soul to damnation, without the consideration and respect of sin §.

THE SECOND ARTICLE,

OF CHRIST'S DEATH.

1. God, pitying the woeful condition of man, fallen by his free-will into sin and perdition, sent his own Son, that he should give himself as a ransom for the sins of the whole world: so as there is no living soul, that may not be truly and seriously invited, by his faith to take hold of the forgiveness of his sins and everlasting life, by the virtue of this death of Christ, with certain assurance of obtaining both ‖.

* *Deinde, in secundo loco, ut succurreret humanæ infirmitati, &c. voluisse addere specialem gratiam magis efficacem et abundantem, quibus placuerit communicandam, per quam non solùm possint, sed etiam actu velint, credant, obediant, et perseverent.* D. Overal. Art. 1.

"He hath constantly decreed by his counsel secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those, whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour: wherefore they, which be called according to God's purpose by his Spirit working in them in due season, they, through grace obey the calling, they be justified freely, they be made sons of God by adoption, they be made like the image of his only begotten Son Jesus Christ, they walk religiously in good works, and at length by God's mercy they attain to everlasting felicity." Art. xvii.

† *Non ex præscientiâ humanæ fidei aut voluntatis, sed ex proposito divinæ voluntatis et gratiæ, de his, quos Deus elegit in Christo liberandis et salvandis.* D. Overal. Art. 1.

‡ *Particulare decretum absolutum.* D. Overal. ibid.

"Predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby, before the foundations of the world were laid, he hath constantly decreed, &c." Art. xvii.

§ *Deus neminem damnat, aut damnationi destinat, nisi ex consideratione peccati.* Theol. Britan. Dordr. Artic. 1. de Reprob. Thes. 5.

‖ *Deus, lapsi generis humani miseratus, misit Filium suum; qui seipsum dedit pretium redemptionis, pro peccatis totius mundi.*

Nemo mortalium est, qui non potest verè et seriò per Ministros Evangelii vo-

2. Upon this infinite merit of Christ's death, is grounded that universal promise and covenant of the Gospel, offering remission and salvation to all men, through the whole world, if they be not wanting to the receipt thereof *.

3. Notwithstanding this infinite merit of Christ's death, the fruit and benefit thereof doth not accrue to all men; but to those only, who do apply the virtue of his death by faith †.

4. Those, within the Church especially, that do not reap this benefit by the death of Christ, perish manifestly by their own default: forasmuch as God hath ordained, that, wheresoever the gracious promise of the Gospel shall be preached, there shall be and withal ordinarily so much supernatural grace offered together with the outward means, as may justly convince the impenitent and unbelieving, of a wilful neglect, if not a contemptuous rejection ‡.

5. Besides this general promise of the Gospel, God hath decreed to give a special, more abundant, and effectual grace unto his elect; whereby they may be enabled, certainly and infallibly, to apply unto themselves the benefit of Christ's death; and do accordingly believe, and persevere, and attain salvation §.

THE THIRD AND FOURTH ARTICLE,

OF MAN'S CORRUPTION, HIS FREE-WILL, HIS CONVERSION TO GOD, AND THE MANNER OF IT.

1. MAN'S will, since the Fall, hath of itself no ability to any spiritual act: every good motion of it must come from the grace of God

cari ad participationem remissionis peccatorum et vitæ æternæ, per hanc mortem Christi. Theol. Brit. Dordr. de 2 Art. Thes. 3

* *In hoc merito Christi fundatur universale promissum Evangelicum, juxtà quod omnes in Christum credentes remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam re ipsâ consequantur.* Theol. Britan. Dordrac. ibid. Thes. 4.

† *Illud pretium, quod solutum est pro omnibus, et quod omnibus credentibus certò proficiet ad vitam æternam, non proficit tamen omnibus, &c.* Theol. Brit. Dordr. de Art. 2. Explic. Thes. 3.

‡ *Constat Christum proponendo Evangelium, etiam illam gratiam internam administrâsse, quæ hactenus sufficiebat; ut ex eo, quòd non acceptarent vel rejicerent Evangelium, justè coargui possint infidelitatis.* Theol. Britan. ibid. in explicat. Thes. 5.

In Ecclesiâ, et ubi salus omnibus offertur, ea est administratio gratiæ, quæ sufficit ad convincendos omnes impœnitentes et incredulos, quòd, suâ culpâ voluntariâ et vel neglectu vel contemptu Evangelii, perierint. Ut suprà.

§ *Suppositâ morte Christi pro omnibus hominibus, et intentione Dei conditionatâ de gratiâ promissionis Evangelicæ generali, addit intentionem Dei specialem, de applicando beneficio mortis Christi per gratiam magis abundantem et efficacem absolutè, certò et infallibiliter solis electis sine præjudicio reliquorum.* D. Overal, ibid. Art. 2.

preventing, accompanying, following it: yea, naturally, it is inclinable to all evil *.

2. There is not, therefore, in the will of the natural man any active power to work his own conversion. In the regeneration, God infuseth a new life: he quickeneth the will, by making it good †.

3. There are yet certain foregoing acts, that are pre-required to the conversion of a man, and they are both inward and outward ‡.

4. Outward: as to go to the Church, to sit reverently, to hearken to the Word spoken: in these, we have freedom of will, either way §.

5. Inward: as the knowledge of God's will, the feeling of our sin, the fear of hell, the thought of deliverance, some hope of pardon: for the grace of God doth not use to work upon a man immediately by sudden raptures, but by meet preparations; informing the judgment of his danger, wounding the conscience by the terrors of the Law, suppleing it by the promises of the Gospel. These inward acts tending towards conversion are, by the power of the Word and Spirit of God, wrought in the heart of a man not yet justified ‖.

6. Those, whom God thus affects by his Word and Spirit, he doth truly and seriously call and invite to faith and conversion ¶.

7. Those, whom he hath thus affected and called, he forsakes not, neither ceaseth to further in the way to their conversion; till, through their willing neglect or repulse of this initial grace, he be forsaken of them **.

8. These foregoing inward acts, wrought by the Word and Spirit, both may be and are many times, through the fault of the rebellious will, choked and quenched in the hearts of men; so as,

* *Omnes consentiunt liberum arbitrium nihil boni posse sine gratiâ præveniente, comitante, subsequente; ita ut gratia teneat principium, medium, et finem, in conversione, et fide, et omni opere bono.* D. Overal. ibid. Art. 3.

† *In voluntate scilicet lapsâ, est potentia passiva, ad esse hoc supernaturale extrinsecùs adveniens recipiendum; non autem activa, ad idem, vel per se vel cum alio, producendum.* Theol. Brit. de Artic. 3 et 4. Thes. de Conversione 2.

Ipsam voluntatem bonam faciendo vivificat. Epist. Synod. Episc. Afric. cit. ibid.

‡ *Sunt quædam opera externa ab hominibus ordinariè requisita, priusquam ad statum regenerationis aut conversionis perducantur.*

§ *Quæ ab iisdem quandoque liberè fieri, quandoque liberè omitti solent; ut adire ecclesiam, audire Verbi præconium, et id genus alia.* Ibid.

‖ *Sunt quædam effecta interna ad conversionem seu regenerationem prævia, quæ, virtute Verbi Spiritûsque, in nondum justificatorum cordibus excitantur: qualia sunt, notitia voluntatis divinæ, sensus peccati, timor pœnæ, cogitatio de liberatione, spes aliqua veniæ.* Ibid. Thes. 2.

Non solet gratia divina homines perducere per subitum enthusiasmum; sed, multis prævis actionibus, ministerio Verbi subactos et præparatos. Ibid. in Explic. Thes. 2.

¶ *Quos Deus, mediante Verbo, per Spiritum suum hunc in modum afficit, eos, ad fidem conversionémque verè et seriò vocat et invitat.* Theol. Brit. ibid. Thes. 3.

** *Quos ita afficit Deus, non deserit, nec desistit in verâ ad conversionem viâ promovere; priusquam ab illis, per neglectionem voluntariam aut hujus gratiæ initialis repulsam, deseratur.*

after some knowledge of divine truth, some sorrow for sin, and desire and care of deliverance, they fall off to the contrary, and give themselves over to their own lusts *.

9. Yea, the very elect of God do not so carry themselves in these foregoing acts, but that they do ofttimes justly deserve, for their neglect and resistance, to be forsaken of God: but, such is his special grace and mercy to them, that he, notwithstanding, follows them effectually with powerful helps, till he have wrought out his good work in them †.

10. When the hearts of his elect are thus excited and prepared by the foregoing acts of grace, God doth, by his secret and wonderful work, regenerate and renew them; infusing into them his Quickening Spirit, and enduing all the powers of their soul with new qualities of grace and holiness ‡.

11. Upon this conversion, which God works in the heart, follows instantly our actual conversion to God; while, from our new changed will, God fetches the act of our believing and turning to him: he gives that power, which the will exercises: so as it is, at once, both our's and God's; our's, in that we do work; God's, in that he works it in us §.

12. In working upon the will, God doth not overthrow the nature of the will; but causeth it to work after its own native manner, freely and willingly: neither doth he pull up by the roots that sinful possibility, which is in our nature to resist good motions; but doth sweetly and effectually work in man a firm and ready will to obey him: his grace is so powerful, that it is not violent. It is true, that, while our natural concupiscence reigns in us, we have not only a possibility but a proneness to resistance; which yet is, by the gracious and effectual motion of God's Spirit, so overruled, that it breaks not forth into a present act; for God works in us to will,

* *Hi præcedanei effectus virtute Verbi Spiritúsque, rebellis voluntatis vitia suffocari ac penitùs extingui possunt, et in multis solent; adeò ut nonnulli, in quorum mentibus, virtute Verbi Spiritúsque, impressa fuit aliqualis notitia veritatis divinæ, dolor de peccatis suis, aliquod desiderium, et aliqua cura liberationis, mutentur planè in contrarium, veritatem rejiciant, et odio habeant, concupiscentiis suis se tradant, in peccatis occalleant.* Ibid. Thes. 5.

† *Ne electi quidem ipsi in his præcedaneis ad regenerationem actibus ita se gerant unquam, quin ut, propter negligentiam et resistentiam suam, possint justè à Deo deseri et derelinqui: sed ea est erga eos Dei specialis misericordia, ut, quamvis &c. Eos tamen iterùm iterùmque urgeat Deus; nec desistat promovere, donec eosdem gratiæ suæ prorsùs subjugaverit, ac in statu filiorum regeneratorum collocaverit.* Theol. Br. ibid. Thes. 6.

Gratiam speciálem et efficacem, ad salutem certò perducentem, his, quos Deus, ex beneplacito suo gratioso, elegit, propriam profitetur. D. Overal. in Art. 3. Sent. 3.

‡ *Deus animos electorum suorum, prædictis gratiæ suæ actibus excitatos, et præparatos intimâ quâdam et mirabili operatione, regenerat; et, quasi de novo, creat; i. fundendo Spiritum Vivificantem, et omnes animæ facultates novis qualitatibus imbuendo.* Theol. Br. de Convers. Thes. 1.

§ *Prædictam conversionem sequitur actu nostra conversio actualis; Deo perficiente ipsum actum credendi et convertendi, ex mutatâ voluntate: quæ acta adeò agit et ipsa convertendo se ad Deum et credendo; hoc est actum suum vitalem, simul eliciendo.* Ibid.

that is, not to resist: yea, the very will to resist, is, for the time, taken away by the power of grace *.

13. God doth not always so work in the regenerate, that he doth ever take from them this will to resist; but sometimes suffers them, through their own fault, to give way to their own sinful desires: for, howsoever, in those principal acts which are absolutely necessary to salvation, the grace of God works powerfully in the elect, both the will and the deed, in his own good time; yet, in some particular acts, he thinks good, for his own holy purposes, to leave the best men sometimes to themselves; who do, thereupon, grieve his Good Spirit by a recoverable resistance †.

OF THE FIFTH ARTICLE,

OF PERSEVERANCE.

1. EVEN among those, which belong not to the election of God, there are some, that are enlightened by supernatural knowledge, and give their assent to the truth of the Gospel, receiving the same with some joy; and, from that knowledge and faith, find some change in their affections and lives: who yet, howsoever they may pass in the judgment of charity, never attained to that hearty renovation, which is joined with justification, nor yet to the immediate disposition thereunto; and, therefore, were never in the true state of the adoption of sons: these may utterly fall away from that grace, which they have professed ‡.

* *Divina hæc actio non lædit voluntatis libertatem; sed roborat: neque tamen extirpat radicitùs vitiosam resistendi possibilitatem, sed et pravitatem ad resistendum motibus Spiritûs Sancti; sed hæc resistibilitas, propter efficacissimam et suavissimam motionem gratiæ, nequit in actum hic et nunc erumpere: hujc gratiæ resisti nequit, quia primùm operatur velle; id est, non resistere* &c. Ibid. in Explic. Thes. 2. *Deum cùm voluerit et quibus voluerit gratiam tam abundantem, tam potentem, aut congruam, aut alio modo efficacem concedere, ut quamvis possit voluntas ratione suæ libertatis resistere, non tamen resistat, sed certò et infallibiliter obsequatur.* D. Overal. in Artic. 4.

† *Deus hominem conversum et fidelem non ita semper movet ad bonos actus subsequentes, ut tollat ipsam voluntatem resistendi; sed quandoque permittit illam, vitio suo, deficere à ductu gratiæ, et in particularibus multis actibus concupiscentiæ suæ parere.* Theol. Br. Ibid. Thes. 3. *Oportet semper discrimen statuere, inter illos actus principales sine quibus salus electorum non constat, et particulares subsequentes actus* &c. Ibid. in Explic.

‡ *Quibusdam non electis conceditur quædam illuminatio supernaturalis, cujus virtute intelligant ea, quæ in Verbo Dei annuntiantur, esse vera; insùperque assensum præbent minimè simulatum. In iisdem, ex hâc cognitione et fide, oritur affectuum quædam mutatio, et morum aliqualis emendatio: non-electi, huc usque progressi, ad statum tamen adoptionis et justificationis nunquam perveniunt.* Theol. Br. de 5. Art. Thes. 1, 2, 3, 4. *Unde constat, eos nunquam re ipsâ pertingere ad illam mentis et affectuum mutationem et renovationem, quæ cum justificatione conjuncta est; imò nec ad illam, quæ proximè præparat ac disponit ad justificationem.* Ibid. in Explic. 4. Artic.

2. The true believer and regenerate hath no immunity or privilege, whereby he is secured from falling into those horrible sins, which are committed by others *.

3. While he continues in these sins, he runs into the displeasure of God, and is in the guilt of damnation; so as he neither can nor ought to persuade himself other, than that, abiding in this state impenitent, he is obnoxious to eternal death †.

4. Howsoever such a one stands, by his own desert, in the state of damnation; yet those, who are soundly rooted in a true and lively faith, lose not all their right to the inheritance of heaven, neither can either totally or finally fall from grace and perish everlastingly: but, by the special and effectual favour and inoperation of God, are kept up, and enabled to persevere in a true and lively faith; so as that, at last, they are brought to eternal life ‡.

These are the Articles of Accord, which whosoever holdeth and resteth in, my soul betwixt him and his harms, in the ignorance of further particulars. Let there be a thousand parcels and atoms of truth contained in these heads, there needs no more be known; perhaps, not all these: let there be no fewer errors, in misholding those other manifold shreds of opinion; yet these are no rubs in our way to heaven.

And if now, having consented in these chief specialties, we will needs fall out about immaterial inferences, we are like to quarrelous brethren; who, having agreed upon the main division of their inheritance, fall out about some heaps of rubbish. Away with this unquiet spirit from us, that profess Christians. What should these mattocks and hammers sound in the Living Temple of the Holy Ghost?

Men, Brethren, Fathers, help. Who sees not a dangerous fire kindling in our Church, by these five fatal brands? which, if it be not speedily quenched, threatens a furious eruption; and shall, too late, die in our ashes. That crafty Devil, that envies our peace, takes this perilous season to distract us; that so we might fall as a prey to a common enemy. It is not yet too late to redress this evil. A few pailsful may yet seasonably extinguish this weak flame, which time will make headstrong and irremediable.

Let me boldly say, it is not disputation, it is not counter-writing,

* *Idem regeniti ac justificati quandoque suo vitio incidunt in atrocia peccata.* Ibid. Thes. 3. de Persever.

† *Indignationem Dei paternam incurrunt, damnabilem contrahunt,* &c. Ibid. *Ita ut, dum in eo statu impœnitentes persistunt, nec debeant nec possint aliter sibi persuadere, quàm se esse morti obnoxios.* In Explic. ejusd. Art. *Talis peccator stat merito suo damnandus.* Theol. Br. ibid. Thes. 5.

‡ *Jus ad regnum non tollitur,* &c. *Jure regni hæreditario excidere non potest.* In Explic. Art. 6. *Tertia sententia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ ponit, cum Augustino, credentes quidem communiter posse à gratiâ et fide, per carnis infirmitatem et tentationis, recidere et etiam deficere: sed addit illos credentes, qui secundum propositum vocati sunt, quique in fide vivâ solidè radicati fuerint, non posse totaliter aut finaliter deficere et perire; sed, per gratiam Dei specialem et efficacem, ita in fide verâ et vivâ perseverare, ut tandem ad vitam æternam perducantur.* D. Overal. in Art. 5.

that can quench it. These courses are but the bellows, to diffuse and raise these flashes to more height and rage. We saw it in the practice of our neighbours: never did that Belgic quarrel grow to extremity, till after the solemn conference before the States at the Hague, which was intended to appease it.

There is no possible redress, but in a severe Edict of restraint, to charm all tongues and pens, upon the sharpest punishment, from passing those moderate bounds, which the Church of England, guided by the Scriptures, hath expressly set; or which, on both sides, are fully accorded on.

If any man herein complain of an usurpation upon the conscience and an unjust servitude, let him be taught the difference, betwixt matters of faith and scholastical disquisitions. Those have God for their author: these, the brain of men. Those are contained in Scriptures; either in express terms, or irrefragable consequences: these are only deduced thence, by such crooked inferences, as cannot command assent. Those do mainly import our salvation: these, not at all. Those are for the pulpit: these, for the schools. In those, the heart is tied to believe, the tongue must be free to speak: in these, the heart may be free, the tongue may be bound. Of this latter sort are the points we have now in hand; besides and after the accorded particulars: which how unfit they are for popular ears, and how unworthy to break the peace of the Church, shall appear in the difficulty of the questions, in the unimportance of the ill raised differences.

For the former, we need no other judge than St. Austin himself, who calls this question of Predestination, whereon the rest depend, *Quæstionem difficillimam, et paucis intelligibilem:* "a question most difficult, and which but few can understand." What need we any other witness, than the learnedest followers of Arminius; who, in their Epistle to Foreign Divines, confess, that "it hath seemed good to the Most Wise God to involve these mysteries in obscurity, and in an ambiguity of places seemingly contradictory *." And, some pages after, they profess to subscribe to the judgment of all Divines, both ancient and modern, that "these questions of Predestination, being perplexed, thorny, and troublesome through their obscureness, may, without all detriment of salvation, be either unknown or discussed †." Neither was that comparison of Strigelius amiss, who likens the place of predestination in Divinity to the Cossick Rule in arithmetic. But what an idleness were it to prove the danger of the passage through these sands and rocks, when we see the shipwrecks! Where ever did the great Doctor of the Gentiles cry *O altitudo*, but, in this point? To fall upon these discourses, then, in popular auditories, what were it other, than to teach algebra to those, that yet know not their figures; or to turn

* *Visum Sapientissimo Numini obscuritate quâdam, et locorum ambiguitate, involvere hæc mysteria.*

† *Hæc ipsa de Præd. perplexa, spinosa, et obscuritate suâ molestissima.* Ibid.

them loose into a perilous sea, who know neither coast, nor card, nor compass?

But, were the knowledge of these differences as necessary as it is hard, the difficulty should but whet our appetite and encourage our industry. What if it appear there is as little use as ease, in the common canvasses of them; and that, when the noise of passion is stilled on both sides, so as each will but hear other speak with just favour and moderation, our variance shall be proved less material, than may be worthy of the war of brethren.

This shall be made good in our following discourse: which I entreat both parts, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to examine without prejudice; as that, which proceeds from a heart sincerely devoted to truth and peace. The Judge of all Hearts, before whom I stand, knows with what honest intentions to the welfare of this noble Church, with what freedom from all partial affections, with what indignation at these unseasonable troubles, with what zeal of the common tranquillity, I put my hand to this too necessary, if thankless, task. Who can tell, whether God did not purposely send me to be a witness of these quarrels abroad, that I might be able to speak a word in season for their appeasing at home?

That we may distinguish the parts without any aspersion, I shall crave leave to call the followers of the tenet of the Synod of Dort, Defendants: the other, which vary from these, following the steps, either of acute Arminius, or of our learned and judicious Bishop Overal, Opponents.

The Netherlands are out of our way in this quarrel: yet for the nearness, both of the place and cause, let us touch there in our passage.

Now, then, let us take a short survey of the particular differences; and call each part to the nearest verge of an accord.

THE first is the point of PREDESTINATION: concerning which, three things are wont to be questioned. 1. The Motive or Ground. 2dly. The Object. 3dly. The Order of it.

1. For the First: both parts hold there is no other impulsive cause of God's decree of election or reprobation, than the free-will and pleasure of the Almighty.

Only, the one part holds, that God's decree looks at faith and infidelity, as conditions in those, who are to be chosen or refused*: the other easily grants, that no man is elect but the believer, no man reprobate but the rebellious and unbeliever; although they

* *Neque fidem neque infidelitatem causam esse impulsivam decreti Dei, sed liberrimam Dei voluntatem, volentis hujus misereri, illius non misereri: damus tamen fidem et infidelitatem conditiones esse, sine quibus, nec hunc salvare, nec illum præterire, ex puro puto beneplacito visum fuit Deo.* Epist. Remonstr. ad Ext. p. 38.

will not put these as fore-required conditions into the act of God's decree.

Why should the mere supposal of a condition be worth their quarrel; since it is yielded on all hands, that, in God's decree of our justification, he looks at our faith, as a necessary condition required thereunto, without any derogation to the perfect freedom of that his gracious decree? If faith may be granted not to be in our own power, but that it is the gift of God, there can no main inconvenience follow upon this tenet, that God, in our election, had an eye to our qualification with that faith, which he would give us *.

Thus the Belgic Defendants: "If they grant," say they †, "that God works in us faith and perseverance, there is no cause, why they should contend with us; for, it follows, that God could not foresee more good in man, than he decreed to work in him, as his elect one."

Now hear how close the Opponents profess to come. "The question is not," saith Corvinus ‡, one of their learnedest authors, "whether God, when he chose man, considered him, as who, by the power of nature, without the help of grace, should believe: but, whether God considered him, as now believing by the gift and grace of God." "This is it," saith he §, "which Arminius teaches; who acknowledges faith to be the pure pute gift of God."

Would we not now think both parts agreed? The Defendants do but desire, that faith may be granted to be the mere gift of God: the Opponents profess to grant it. What do they now pretend to stick at? a needless scruple?

Faith is considered, say the Opponents, as "a gift of God:" but, whether proceeding "from his election," or "from another will of his," this, saith Corvinus ‖, is the question. But why should this question trouble their peace, or what can this subtlety afford, able to countervail a public unquietness; while it is agreed by them, that God foresees nothing in us, but the faith of his own giving? Let the Schools care for the rest.

Some will, perhaps, suspect a secret fraud in this so liberal grant of the Belgic Opponents, that faith is the mere gift of God: and

* *An quisquam dicere audebit Deum non præscisse quibus esset daturus, ut crederent; aut quos daturus esset Filio suo, ut ex iis non perderet quenquam.* Aug. de Bono Persev. c. 14.

† *Priùs si dicant Deum in nobis fidem et perseverationem operari, nihil est, cur nobiscum certent; sequitur, enim, Deum in homine non potuisse plus hom præscire, quàm ipsemet in eo, ut electo suo, efficere decrevit.* Contra Rem. in Colloq. Hag. p. 26.

‡ *Quæstio est, non utrum Deus, cùm hominem eligit, &c: sed, an cùm consideraverit, ut jam credentes dono et gratiâ Dei, &c.*

§ *Hoc dicit Arminius; qui fidem agnoscit purum putum Dei donum.* Jo. Ar. Corvin. a versus Tilen. p. 32.

‖ *Equidem Arminius agnoscit fidem Dei donum esse; sed donum in eligendo prærequisitum, et non ex electione, sed aliâ Dei voluntate datum.* Ibid. Corv. p. 54. How faith is granted to be a fruit of election to grace, see Remonstr. Script. Dogmat. Declar. Sent. 1. p. 9.

some will, perhaps, imagine, that it might be a word, which dropped casually from their tongue, whereof they might after repent.

But, for this latter, let Johannes Arnoldus, their best advocate, speak for all. "That faith is the gift of God and is wrought in us by his power, we have," saith he *, "a thousand times confessed in our conference at the Hague."

For the other, I take not upon me, either their procuration, or their patronage: this work were both busy, and impertinent. Much perplexed traverse of consequences, affirmed and denied, goes to this task. Let it be their part, to make good their protested sincerity in that assertion; which, for peace sake, I gladly report from them at the best: and this piece of the quarrel shall receive a fair mitigation. Only, I must needs say, that, in the contentions of brethren, it is far more equal to receive their own best constructions, than to urge and obtrude upon them disavowed implications.

Surely, there is need, both of wisdom and charity, in the discerning of opinions concerning this point.

To hold, that faith is so the gift of God, as that it is given to all them, whom God foresaw would dispose themselves by the good use of their free-will to receive it, and who should improve the powers of nature to their utmost, is no better than Pelagian; whose exploded word was of old, that grace is given according to merit.

To hold, that faith is so the gift of God, as that it is therefore only not given to all, because all will not receive it, for that God calleth all and gives unto all men sufficient helps to believe if they will, and goes no further, and therefore that according to the prevision of our free co-working with this sufficient grace his decree determines of us, is but somewhat better than Pelagian.

To hold, that faith is so the gift of God, as that he doth not only give common and sufficient helps to men whereby they are made able to believe, if they will, but so works in them by his grace that they do by the power thereof actually believe and conceive true faith in their soul—this is fair and orthodox.

And, even to this, do the Belgic Opponents profess to come up, in their late dogmatical writings †: which how fitly it holds suit with their other tenets, let it be their care to approve unto the Church of God. I am sure an ingenuous constancy to this position might be a fair advantage taken for peace.

2. For the Second: the question is, upon what point of man's estate we should fasten the decree of Predestination: while the one

* *Fidem esse Dei donum, et potentiâ ejus in nobis effici, millies in eâdem collatione confessi sumus.* Jo. Arnol. Resp. ad notas Bogermani, part. II. c. 7.

† *Electionis, verò, quæ ad gratiam est fructus, &c. Beneficio illorum mediorum, quæ per gratiam suppeditantur, homo non tantùm potens redditur ad credendum, sed actu etiam credit et fidem concipit, &c. Beneficio illius solius gratiæ, in omnibus qui credunt, ea ingeneretur et efficiatur.* Remonstr. Scripta Dogm. Declar. Sent. circa I. Artic.

part holds man fallen, the object of this decree; the other, man believing or incredulous.

What reason is there this should raise so loud a strife, since we do willingly wink at the rest of the differences of like nature concerning this point? For, there are six several opinions about the object of Predestination: while some take it to be man, indefinitely and commonly considered: others hold it to be man, that was to be created: others, man, as he was creable, fallible, saveable: others, man created; but as in his pure naturals: others, man fallen; which is the most common tenet: lastly, others, man, as believing or disobeying the call of God. Why should these two last be brought upon the stage with so much profession of hostility, while the other four are passed over by a willing connivancy on all hands; and the authors of them, whose reputation so small a mote is not thought worthy to disfigure, go away with meet honour in the Church of God? There is none of the four first, which, upon some straining, may not yield harsh and unpleasing consequences; and yet are let go, without the mischief of a public division.

I must boldly say, reserving my judgment concerning this point to myself, that, if this supposed faith may be yielded the mere gift of God, as formerly, I cannot discern any so dangerous inconvenience in this branch of the opinion, as should warrant the breach of the common peace.

3. As for the Order, what do we brawling about our own conceits? We all know there is but one most simple act of God, in this his decree; wherein, therefore, there can be neither precedency nor posteriority.

If we now, for our understanding's sake, shall so express this one act of God, as that, while we vary in the explication, we are confounded in our own senses, what do we, but fight with our own shadows?

That God requires faith as necessary to salvation, is granted of all: but, in what place it comes into his decree, there is the doubt.

One part makes four distinct acts of God's decree, wherein the general purpose of mercy to mankind through his Son Christ Jesus to save believers, and the gift of necessary means for the attaining of faith, comes before the special decree of saving those particulars, whom he foresaw would believe, repent, persevere: and, contrarily, the other makes fewer decrees in a contrary order; placing the decrees of particular election to life before the ordination of the means tending thereunto; so as faith and perseverance issue from this special decree of choosing individual persons to life.

Why should we be distracted, in the abstractions of our own making; and not rather rest, silent and wondering, in the acknowledgment of the simplicity of that one act of the Infinitely Wise God, who doth, *uno intuitu*, see man creable, created, fallen, redeemed, believing; which our shallow capacities shall in vain labour to comprehend? Surely, it were the better posture of our hands, to have one of them laid upon our lips, the other lifted up for admiration; than to employ them in buffeting each other, for

an invincible ignorance or misprision of that, which our finite nature can never admit us to know. O God, what do we search or quarrel to miss those ways of thine, which are past finding out?

That we may consider all these jointly together, that God hath set apart certain particular persons to save them by Christ and by faith in him, not because he forsaw they would believe, but of his mere grace only according to his good pleasure, and that this decree is eternal and unchangeable, is agreed on by both sides. This description the Belgic Opponents grant to be so wide a shoe, that it will serve their foot also *.

And why, then, should either part seek or care for any other last? Surely, a Christian needs not either search or know any more.

Now comes in a scholastical quirk, to trouble the peace of men's hearts and brains: whether God have set apart these certain singular persons, as persons singular without all respects to any other considerations; or, whether his decree looked at them, as invested with those qualities, which he meant to give and foresees as given †.

Doubtless, to make men capable of salvation, there is faith, repentance, good works, perseverance in good, actually required of God. But these necessary dispositions are ranged under the execution of God's decree. These he requires: these he gives: these he works: these he decrees to work in his. Why should we be scrupulous in what place they come into the holy purposes of God, which we grant cannot be missing in our way to heaven? Why do we not rather labour to be such, as he requires; that we may enjoy what he hath promised, and pre-ordained for us?

What say the Belgic Defendants? "Neither did we ever say, that those singular persons, whom God chose from all eternity, were to be considered without respect to Christ and faith in him; but have ever roundly professed, that the merits of Christ and faith in him are considered of God in this election of individual persons, as means, whereby he hath decreed to bring them to salvation ‡."

See, then, how narrow this difference is. God hath decreed, by these means to bring men to salvation: yet these fall not into his decree of ordinary choice to salvation. They are in the execution of his decree, and in the decree of his execution: they are not in the decree of his election. Let these be undoubted truths, as they are; yet what need the souls of quiet Christians be racked with so

* *Quod aiunt contra Rem. Deum ab æterno certas quasdam personas segregasse ut eas per Christum perque fidem in ipsum salvaret, non quia præviderat illas creditaras, sed ex merâ tantùm gratiâ secundum beneplacitum suum, sed et hoc decretum Dei esse æternum et immutabile, &c. Hæc descriptio ita laxa est, ut etiam et nostram pedem admittat.* Coll. q. Hag. p. 81. Remonstr. Vindic. 1. Art.

† *Sed si personas certas vel singulares intelligant tanquam singulares, ac perinde extra Christum et fidem consideratas, id verò pernegamus.* Rem. ibid. p. 83.

‡ Contra. Rem. *Neque nos unquam diximus, singulares illas personas, quas Deus ab æterno elegit, planè extra Christum et fidem esse considerandas; ut qui semper et tantè professi sumus, merita Christi, fidem in ipsum, in electione istâ singularium personarum adhò spectari, et haberi pro mediis, quibus eos Deus statuit ad salutem perducere.* Colloq. Hag. contra Rem. p. 140.

subtle questions? It well befits the Schools to examine these problems; but, for common Christians, it doth not so much concern them to enquire, how the order of God's decree stands in our apprehension of that one simple act of the divine understanding or will, as how it is in respect of the execution. Here comes in our main interest, in these eternal councils of the Almighty, which draws from us a due care and endeavour, to be capable of this promised salvation, and to avoid the ways of death. Could we be persuaded, to take more from that speculation, and to add more to this practice, it would be much happier for us.

Neither is this election, according to the plea of the Opponents, made ever the more uncertain by this pre-requisition of our faith: since they profess to teach it supposed in our election, not as a condition, whose performance God expects, as uncertain; but as a gift, which God, according to his eternal prescience, foresees in man, present and certain: as the decree of sending Christ into the world did not depend upon a conditioned and uncertain expectation of what man would do, or would not do; but upon the infallible notice of God, who foresaw man, as presently sinning or fallen: so as the election of God is not suspended upon the mutability of man's will; but upon the infallible certainty of the foreknowledge of God, to whose eyes our faith, and perseverance, is not more doubtful than future, and whose prescience hath no less infallibility than his decree. If, therefore, God may have the sole glory of this work in the gift of that faith which he foresees, and our election hazards no certainty, as they profess to hold, what is there, that should need to draw blood in this first quarrel?

But, what need I labour to reconcile these opinions, which have no reason to concern us? The Church of England, according to the explication of R. B. Overal, goes a midway betwixt both these. For, while the one side holds a general conditional decree of God to save all men if they believe, and a particular decree of saving those whom he foresaw would believe; and the other side, not admitting of that general conditionate decree, only teaches a particular absolute decree to save some special persons, for whom only Christ was given, and to whom grace is given, irresistibly, all others being by a no less absolute decree rejected: our Church, saith he, with St. Austin, maintaineth an absolute and particular decree of God to save those whom he hath chosen in Christ, not out of the prescience of our faith and will; but out of the mere purpose of his own will and grace: and that, thereupon, God hath decreed to give, to whom he pleaseth, a more effectual and abundant grace, by which they not only may believe and obey, if they will; but whereby they do actually will, believe, obey, and persevere without prejudice to the rest, to whom he hath also given gracious offers and helps to the same purpose, though by their just fault neglected.

What can the Synod of Dort, in this case, wish to be said more? Indeed, withal he addeth a general conditionate will of God, or a general evangelical promise of saving all, if they do believe: since God doth will and command, that all men should hear Christ and

believe in him; and, in so doing, hath offered grace and salvation unto all: declaring how well these two may agree together, That, first, God hath propounded salvation in Christ to all if they believe, and hath offered them (within the Church especially) a common and sufficient grace in the means that he hath mercifully ordained, if men would not be wanting to the Word of God and his Holy Spirit; and, That, to ascertain the salvation of man, he hath decreed to add that especial, effectual, and saving grace unto some: neither of which truths can well and safely be denied of any Christian: only the sound of a general and conditionate will, perhaps, seems harsh to some ears; whereto yet they should do well to inure themselves, since it is the approved distinction of worthy, orthodox, and unquestionable Divines.

Zanchius, in his book de Prædest. Sanct. hath it *in terminis*, with a large exposition. "That God willeth some things absolutely," saith he *, "it is manifest, and plainly confirmed by Scriptures: so, he absolutely willed the world should be created and governed: so, he absolutely willed, that Christ should come into the world, and die for the salvation of his elect. He wills also absolutely, that the elect shall be saved; and, therefore, performs to them all things, that are necessary to their salvation." "That the same God willeth some things conditionally, the Scriptures also teach us: for, God would have all men to be saved, if they would keep the Law, or believe in Christ; and, therefore, I call that first an absolute will, this latter a conditional †." And, in the next leaf, to the same purpose, he saith ‡, "It is also true, that God would have all men to be saved in his revealed and conditionate will; scil. if they would believe in Christ and carefully keep his law: for by this will no man is excluded from salvation and knowledge of the truth." So Ambrose interprets that place of 1 Tim. ii. 4. "He *would have all to be saved*," saith he, "if themselves will: for he hath given his law to all; and excepts no man, in respect of his law and will revealed, from salvation." For the further allowing whereof, the same Zanchius cites the testimonies of Luther, Bucer, and others. Neither doth it much ablude from this, that our English Divines at Dort call the decree of God, whereby he hath appointed, in and by Christ to save those that repent, believe, and persevere, *Decretum annunciativum salutis omnibus ex æquo et indiscriminatim promulgandum* §. Sect 3.

* *Deum velle quædam absolutè manifestum esse, et Literæ Sacræ confirmant: etenim voluit mundum creari, &c.*

† *Eundem Deum velle quædam conditionaliter, docent itidem Sacræ Literæ: vult enim, omnes salvari, si velint implere Legem, aut in Christum credere; proinde illam priorem voco absolutam voluntatem, hanc verò posteriorem conditionalem.* Opusc. p. 291.

‡ *Cæterùm illud tamen verum est, Deum velle omnes homines salvos fieri voluntate scil. revelatâ et conditionali; nimirùm, si velint in Christum credere et ejus legi servandæ studere: hâc enim voluntate nemo à salute et cognitione veritatis excluditur, &c.* Ibid. p. 285.

§ "The Declarative decree of salvation, to be equally and indifferently proclaimed unto all men." Act. Syno. in Thes. &c.

Surely, it is easy to observe, that we are too fearful of some distinctions, which carry in them a jealousy of former abuse; and yet, both may well be admitted in a good sense, and serve for excellent purpose: as, that, if we labour, for our better understanding, to explicate the one will of God by several notions of the antecedent and consequent will of God; which Paulus Ferrius, a Reformed Schoolman, approves by the suffrages of Zanchius, Polanus, and other Orthodox Divines, to look at it a little running, as that, which gives no small light to the business in hand.

As there is wont to be conceived a double knowledge of God: the one, of mere understanding, whereby he foreknows all things that may be; the other, of vision or approbation, whereby he foreknows that which undoubtedly shall be: so there is a double will to be conceived of God, answerable to this double knowledge; an antecedent will, which answers to the mere understanding, whereby God wills every possible good without the consideration of the adjuncts appertaining to it; a consequent will, answering to the knowledge of approbation, whereby, all circumstances prepensed, God doth simply will this or that particular event, as simply good to be, and which is thereupon impossible not to be. The one of these is a will of complacency; the other, of prosecution: the one is, as it were, an optative will; the other, an absolute. In the first of these, God would have all to be saved; because it is, in a sort, good in itself, in that the nature of man is ordainable to life, and man hath by God common helps seriously offered for the attaining thereof: neither can we think it other than pleasing to God, that his creatures should both do well and fare well. In the latter, he willeth some of all to be saved; as not finding it simply good, all circumstances considered, to extend this favour to all: this appears in the effect; for, if God absolutely willed it, it could not fail of being. Neither doth ought hinder, but these two may stand well together; a complacence in the blessedness of his creature, and a will of his smart: for, both that, which we will in one regard, we may not will in another, as we may wish a felon to live as a man, to die as a malefactor; and, besides, the possibility of one opposite doth not hinder the act of another, as he that hath power to run perhaps doth sit or lie.

Learned Zanchius, methinks, gives at once a good satisfaction, as to this doubt, so to the ordinary exception, whereat many have stumbled, of the pretended mockage of God's invitations, where he means not, as some have misconceived, a serious effect. "In the parable of the Gospel," saith he *, "those, which were first bidden to the marriage-feast, and came not, were they therefore mocked by the king, because he only signified unto them, what would be acceptable unto him, and what was their duty to perform? and yet he did not command them to be compelled, as he did the second guests to come to the wedding. Surely no: yet, in the mean time, there was not the same will of the king, in the inviting of the first, and of the second; for, in these second, there was an absolute will

* De Nat. Dei. l. iii. c. 4.

of the king, that they should without fail come, and therefore he effectually caused them to come; in the former, he only signified, and that fairly and ingenuously, what would be pleasing to him." Thus he. The entertainment of this one distinction, which hath the allowance of orthodox and learned authors, to be free from any danger or inconvenience, would mitigate this strife: since it is that, which the Opponents contend for; and which the Defendants may yield, without any sensible prejudice.

As for the envy of that irrespective and absolute decree of Reprobation, wherewith the Defendants are charged, it is well taken off, if we distinguish, as we must, of a negative, and positive reprobation; the latter whereof, which is a pre-ordination to punishment, is never without a respect and pre-vision of sin: for, although by his absolute power God might cast any creature into everlasting torment, without any just exception to be taken on our parts; yet, according to that sweet providence of his which disposeth all things in a fair order of proceeding, he cannot be said to inflict or adjudge punishment to any soul, but for sin, since this is an act of vindicative justice, which still supposeth an offence. If this be yielded by the Defendants, as it is, wherein also they want not the voices even of the Romish School, what needs any further contention? especially while the Defendants plead, even those that are most rigorous, that, upon the non-election of some, damnation is "not causally but only consecutively *" inferred. Sure I am, that, by this, which is mutually yielded on both parts, all mouths are stopped from any pretence of calumniation against the justice of the Almighty; and we are sufficiently convinced of the necessity of our care to avoid those sins, which shall otherwise be rewarded with just damnation.

Let this be enough for the First Article. Less will serve of the rest.

Concerning the extent of christ's death, the Belgic Opponents profess to rest willingly in those words of Musculus: *Omnium peccata tulit, &c:* "He hath borne the sins of all men, if we consider his sacrifice according to the virtue of it in itself; and think, that no man is excluded from this grace, but he, that refuses it. *So God loved the world, that he gave his Only Begotten Son, to the end, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life;* John iii. 16. But, if we respect those, which do so believe, and are saved; so, he hath *borne* only *the sins of many.*" Thus he. Neither will the Opponents yield any less. What is this other, than the explication of that usual distinction, which we have, whether from St. Austin or his scholar Prosper, of the greatness of the price, and the propriety of the redemption †? that, equal to all; this, pertaining but to some. That common word seems enough to the Belgic

* *Non causaliter, sed consecutivè.* Perk. de Prædest.

† *Magnitudinem pretii distinguit à proprietate redemptionis.*

Opponents *: "The price of Christ's blood is sufficient to save all:" and, if this may serve their turn, who can grudge it? Contrarily, while they do willingly grant, that, in respect of the efficacy of power, Christ died not for all; and that Christ was given only with this intention of his Father, that the world should no otherwise be saved by his Son, than through faith †; what need we urge more?

Both will grant, that the apothecary's shop hath drugs enough for the cure of all diseases; which yet can profit none, but those, that are willing to make use of them. Both will accord in this position, which B. Overal commends, as in effect the words of worthy Mr. Calvin: So Christ died for all, that there is no man, if his incredulity did not hinder him, but were redeemed by his precious blood: neither is there, as is willingly confessed by the Defendants, any man living, to whom, it may be singularly said, Christ died not for thee ‡. Seeing, therefore, whole mankind doth but result of singular and individual men, why should we fear to say unto all, that Christ died for them?

Now what should we stand upon a niggardly contestation of words, where so much real truth is mutually yielded? Who can think, there can be any peril to that soul, who believes thus much? The rest, to the Schools.

But, whatever have been the nice scruples and explications of foreign Divines, we have no such cause of strife, if we admit that, which our learned Bishop commends for the voice of the Church of England; who, having laid down the two extreme opinions of the opposite parts, brings in the Church of England as sweetly moderating betwixt both: that she, supposing the death of Christ for all men, and God's conditionate intention of the general grace of his evangelical promise, adds moreover the special intention of God, to apply the benefit of Christ's death, by a more abundant and effectual grace, absolutely, certainly, and infallibly, to the elect alone, without any diminution of that his sufficient and common favour; which, as we see, so yields to both parts what they desire, as that, in the mean time, it puts upon both what they are not greatly forward to admit: yet that, which it puts upon them, may be admitted, without any complaint, except perhaps of excess of charity; and that, which is yielded, is abundantly enough for peace.

These Articles are like to links of a chain, whereof one is rivetted within another. The order of God's decree would not be stiffly stood upon, if our faith and perseverance foreseen by him be clearly ascribed to God, as his mere and only gift.

But now, the Defendants are jealous of some encroachments upon

* Colloq. Hag. p. 161.

† *Christum pro multis duntaxat, et non pro omnibus mortuum, quoad efficaciam virtutis, &c.* p. 171.

‡ *Nulli hominum singulariter annuntiatur, Christum pro ipso mortuum non esse.* Col. Hag. p. 155.

the glory of God's only act in our CONVERSION; in that, they apprehend it, according to the tenet of the adverse part, left in our power to entertain or reject the good motions of his Spirit tending thereunto.

Whereto the Opponents answer, that they are studiously careful to ascribe unto God the sincere glory of our conversion: professing, that they do not teach, as hath been usually objected to them, that God gives man only proffers of power to believe, which his own freedom may either accept or refuse; but teaching openly, if their words may carry belief, that God gives him the whole power of believing, by the illumination of his mind and vivification of his will; yet so as that, in the mean time, God, while he gives this new power to believe, doth not take away the natural LIBERTY OF THE WILL, whereupon the man, whose will is renewed, both may work according to the power of that renovation, and may not work according to the radical freedom of his will, both may use his new power as a spiritual man, and not use it in part as a natural man: wherein they urge the distinction, betwixt the power and the liberty of our Free-will; confessing, that, in this state of sin, the will hath no power at all to that which is good; but that it hath, meanwhile, a natural liberty, whereby it can incline to evil: the new power, that is given to man, doth not make him cease, either to be a man, or a man in part.

Man hath it not, therefore, from any power of nature, that he can believe: that is merely from the grace of God: but, still, he hath it from the remainders of himself, that he can will not to believe. Neither do the Opponents profess to say other concerning the first act of conversion, than the Defendants themselves say concerning the progress thereof: wherein they teach, that a renewed man hath freedom of will both to good and evil; and yet stand for the mere and all only power of grace, not occasionally, but causally working the will to good.

And, if this must be yielded in the proceedings of our regeneration, what so great importance is there, either way, in yielding it to the entrance? I do not enquire into the truth of this point: I enquire into the weight. Surely, these questions of the concurrence of the Spirit of God with ours, so as neither the will is necessitated on the one side nor flattered with a wild liberty on the other; and, how far necessity may stand with freedom; and, what kind of necessity may be here admitted; are points fit to be ranged amongst the deepest problems of the Schools, and not fit to torture the ears of popular auditories.

For the main point, it must needs be said, no man can speak more fully against the natural power of man's Free-will and abilities in spiritual things, than the Belgic Opponents: professing, that, "of himself and his own powers, man can do nothing:" that "the beginnings, proceedings, endings of faith and conversion are owing to mere grace*:" that "no good can come from us, un-

* *Ad nauseam usque inculcamus, nihil ex se aut suis viribus hominem posse:* τὰ πρῶτα, τὰ μεσα, τὰ ὑστατα, *fidei et conversionis gratiæ deberi, &c.*

less we be enabled by the preventing, accompanying, subsequent grace of God *."

It is the word of Arminius, cited by our late learned Bishop of Salisbury †: "Give what you will to grace, so you hold it not irresistible." Nothing is here stood upon, but the manner of the working of grace upon the hearts: wherein, if both parts would hear and understand each other with favour, the controversy would be found little other than verbal. For the part, that most constantly teaches the forceableness of conversion, holds "such a kind of actuating the will, as doth no whit hurt or infringe the liberty thereof; yea, rather, which profits it ‡." And, while they speak of an irresistible act in turning us, they mean not such an act, as cannot be at all resisted, if we would: but, such a one, as the will, through God's gracious inclination, would not wish to resist; for that, their will to resist is so overcome by the sweet motions of God's Spirit, that now vieldance is made powerfully voluntary. In which sense, the very Jesuits themselves confess an irresistibility: Bellarmin, Suarez, Valentia §, and others, granting it as impossible there should not be a conversion, where there is an effectual grace; as that there should not be a conversion, where there is a conversion.

Now, whether this irresistibleness be out of a consequent supposition, as the Jesuits; or out of an antecedent, as the Dominicans, with many of ours; or whether this powerful influence into the will be by way of a physical or moral motion; they are subtleties fit for Schools, not meet to trouble the heads of ordinary Christians. It is enough for us to know, that we will to consent, because God works this will in us strongly; yet sweetly, and by an omnipotent facility: so as no free-will of ours resists God's will to save us; as St. Austin, pithily.

To dispute then of the power of that will to resist, which God hath made willing to yield, what is it, but to strive about the passage of those sheep, which neither are bought, nor ever shall be?

"Man is, in a marvellous manner, drawn to will by him, that knows to work inwardly in men's hearts: not, that they should believe, whether they will or no, which is impossible; but, that of unwilling they should be made willing;" saith St. Austin ‖.

True, God makes us willing of unwilling, and so we resist not: but how doth he make us willing? whether by an irresistible man-

* *Nusquam hominem boni quicquam agere dicimus, nisi gratiâ præveniente, concomitante, subsequente adjutum instructúmque.* Rem. Epist. ad Ext. pp. 62, 63.

† D. Abbot. Exerc. 2. ex Arm. Declar. ad Ord. *Omnia gratiæ ascribantur, modò ne statuatur irresistibilis.*

‡ *Quicquid sit, constanter docent omnes hunc modum actuandi liberum arbitrium ejus libertati nihil nocere; imò, maximè proficit illam.* Paul. Fir. Spec. Schol. p. 487.

§ Valent. Disp. 8. q. 3. p. 4.

‖ *Trahitur ergo, miris modis, ut velit, ab illo, qui novit intùs in ipsis hominum cordibus operari: non, ut homines, quod fieri non potest, nolentes credant, sed, ut volentes ex nolentibus fiant.* Aug. contr. 2. Epist. Pelag.

ner of working in us or not? This, say the Opponents, is the main question. Surely so, as that, to use Aquinas's word, the will is impelled, though not compelled; so as that, though there is, in the nature of the will, a freedom and capacity of agreeing or dissenting, in respect of itself; yet, as it is for the present moved and actuated, by the effectual inclination of the Almighty, now it so sways one way, as if it had for the time put off the power of refusing.

What need we then trouble ourselves with these upstart terms of Resistible and Irresistible? Let it content us, that the gracious inoperation of God effectually draws the heart of man to will, to receive, to entertain the happy motions of his Good Spirit to our renovation. If we yield not this to God, we yield nothing; and, if we give him this, he will not quarrel with us for more.

But, what place soever these differences have found in foreign Schools and Pulpits, ours have reason to be free; if we shall listen to that wise and moderate voice of our Church, which our forecited reverend author commends unto us: who, after the relation of the two extreme opinions resteth in this, *medio tutissimus:* that men are so stirred and moved by grace, that they may, if they attend thereunto, obey the grace, which calleth and moveth them; and that they may, by their free-will also resist it: but, withal, that God, when he will and to whom he will, gives such an abundant, such powerful, such congruous, otherwise effectual grace, that, although the will may, in respect of the liberty thereof, resist; yet it resists not, but doth certainly and infallibly obey: and that thus God deals with those, whom he hath chosen in Christ, so far as shall be necessary to their salvation. Whoso cannot sit down quietly in this decision, methinks should be no friend to peace.

And, if any man stumble at the first clause, as at the threshold of this sentence, let him know, that our Divines at Dort have, in effect, said no less *: while, having yielded to man's free-will in those external works which are required of us before our conversion, and supposing certain effects in the way to our conversion which are wrought by the power of the Word and Spirit in the hearts of men not yet justified, add further; that those, whom God thus affects by his Word and Spirit, those he doth truly and seriously call and invite to faith and conversion; and that Christ, in his death, not only founded his evangelical covenant, but hath also obtained of his Father, that wheresoever this covenant shall be published, there also should ordinarily such a measure of grace be administered, as should be sufficient to convince all impenitent and unbelieving men of neglect or contempt; and, lastly, that whom God thus affects, he forsakes not, nor ceaseth to promote in the way of their conversion, till he be first forsaken of them by a voluntary neglect or contempt of this initial grace.

But, what need any proof hereof, while that clause speaks but of

* Theol. Brit. Dord. de Art. 2. Thes. 5.

a common grace; and the persons, to whom this liberty is ascribed, are such, as by that learned Bishop are contra-distinguished to them, which are truly called according to the purpose of God? Let us go, but so far, as these two guides will jointly lead us, it will be bootless to *quarrel about any further discovery.*

Concerning the Fifth Article, of PERSEVERANCE, the Belgic Opponents, at first, spake timorously: professing not absolutely to hold a possibility of the total or final defection of true believers; only suspending their opinion, and rather inclining to the affirmative: but, afterward, they grew to a strong resolution of that, whereof they formerly but doubted.

In whose writings, yet, when a man shall come to read, "that a man may and ought to be certain of his own eternal salvation; that the only grace of God is the supernatural cause of Perseverance, which makes our will both able and willing to persevere *;" he would think there need no more words; that this quarrel were at a happy end.

But, when he shall see them flying off into the distinctions, of certainty for the present and certainty for the future; and dividing this latter into absolute and conditionate, disclaiming the one and establishing the other; so as this certainty walks still in even paces with Perseverance, and we can only be sure of salvation if we continue in faith and piety, but we cannot be sure we shall continue in either; and hear them conclude it to be both laudable and profitable for a Christian to nourish these doubts in himself; now, he might as easily be induced to think, that these ends can never meet.

And, yet, the Opposites strain hard for an accordance, while they distinguish of faiths; and yield it fit to consider a faithful man's estate, in respect of himself, his own weakness, and Satan's frauds; and in respect of the firm promises and supportations of a faithful God: in regard of the former, granting it more than possible, that he should utterly fall away from God; but, in regard of the latter, fastening their persuasion upon the unremoveable rock of their assurance.

But, what need I launch forth into this foreign deep? Those opponents, which Perseverance meets with in our Church, either are or should be of a softer temper: maintaining only such falling away from grace, as Reverend B. Overal stateth for the doctrine of the Church of England; whose last moderation, in this point, is worthy to be written in letters of gold. Having first set down the two contrary tenets of the opposite parts, he now brings in the Church of England thus, with St. Austin, defining, as from a Celestial Chair.—That believers, as in common acception, may, through infirmity of flesh and power of temptation, depart and

* *Hanc nostram esse sententiam profitemur, hominem de salute æternâ certum esse posse et debere; solam Dei gratiam esse perseverantiæ causam supernaturalem, quæ facit ut voluntas nostra perseverare et possit et velit.* Rem. Ep. ad Ext. p. 75.

fall off from grace and faith once received: but, those believers, which are called according to the purpose of God, and which are soundly rooted in a lively faith, can neither totally nor finally fall away and perish everlastingly; but, by the special and effectual grace of God, do so persevere in a true and lively faith, that at last they are brought unto eternal life.

Now, what wise Christian can make dainty of admitting so necessary and just a distinction; since common experience tells us there are many meteors, that, for the time, shine like bright stars over our heads, which, ere long, we find under our feet resolved into a base and slimy slough? What heart can desire a more full and satisfying determination; wherein both sides have their own, and we quietly enjoy what is true in both? When thus much is mutually yielded, let him be branded for an enemy of peace, that will further contend.

Now, when the Christian Reader hath seriously perused these differences; especially as they are propounded and arbitrated by that grave Professor and Prelate of our Church on the one side, and those other our learned and worthy Divines on the other side; let me appeal to his better thoughts, what he finds here worthy of a public division. Well may the Schools pick hence matter enough for their Theological Problems; but what should either the pulpit or the press do with these busy and bootless brabbles?

My Brethren, let our care be to study and preach Christ, and him crucified: to work the souls of men to faith, repentance, piety, justice, charity, temperance, and all other heavenly virtues; that they may find cordial testimonies, in themselves, of their happy predestination to life, and their infallible interest in the precious blood of their Redeemer. Let us beat down those sins in them, which make them obnoxious to everlasting damnation, and strip them of all comfortable assurances of the favour of God. Let us not undiscreetly spend our time and pains, in distracting their thoughts with those scholastical disquisitions, whereof the knowledge or ignorance makes nothing to heaven. The way to blessedness is not so short, that we should find leisure to make outroads into needless and unprofitable speculations. Never treatise could be more necessary, in this curious and quarrellous age, than *De Paucitate Credendorum*. The infinite subdivisions of those points, which we advance to the honour of being the objects of our belief, confound our thoughts and mar our peace. Peaceable discourse may have much latitude, but matter of faith should have narrow bounds. If, in the other, men will abound in their own sense, always let unity of spirit be held in the bond of peace. Since God hath given us change of raiment and variety of all intellectual provisions, as Joseph said to his brethren, let me to mine, Let us *not fall out by the way*. Now, by the dear bonds of brotherhood, by our love to our common mother the Church, by our holy care and zeal of the prosperous success of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus, let us all compose our hearts to peace; and rest ourselves

in those common truths, which sober minds shall find abundantly sufficient, whether for our knowledge or salvation.

I have done. And, now, I make no other account, but that it will fall out with me, as it commonly doth with him, that offers to part a fray: both parts will, perhaps, drive at me, for wishing them no worse than peace. My ambition of the public tranquillity shall willingly carry me through this hazard. Let both beat me, so their quarrel may cease. I shall rejoice in those blows and scars, which I shall take for the Church's safety. Men's fingers do so itch after the maintenance of their own opinions, that they can hardly contain themselves from flying upon the fairest moderation of any umpire. Yet, I may safely profess, that herein I have carried myself so indifferently, that, as I have hid my own judgment, so I have rather seemed partial against my own resolutions.

If any man object, that I have not fully stated the questions on both sides, and drawn my accorded propositions out of the heart of those tenets, which both parts will yield to be their own in an adversary's sense, without waving any consequences that shall be deduced therefrom: let him receive answer to the former of these, that it were a fit task for him, that intended a full tractation of the points controverted, and is already too much done by others: my drift is only to pick out of both what may sound towards concord: he, that would describe the way to some remote city of mark, thinks it not needful to map out before the traveller every town and village of all the shires, through which he should pass; but only sets down those, that lie in his road. To the latter, that it is a more strict rule, than needs to be put upon an agent for peace: for, as it is but just, on the one side, that every man should be allowed to be his own interpreter, and prejudice and ill-will can never make good gloss; so, on the other side, it is lawful and meet for moderate minds, to make their best use of those savoury and wholesome sentences, which fall from the better mood of an adversary.

Such, so far, as they come home to me, shall gladly reconcile him to me: let him look how, in the rest, he can be reconciled to himself. Very shame shall, at the last, drive such a one, if he be ingenuous, from incompatible propositions. In the mean time, the good, that he offers, I will not refuse; and leave the evil to his avoiding: as a man, that meets with a slack debtor, will not be unwilling to take what small sums he can get, till either more may come in, or he may conveniently sue for the rest. It is good to hold the ground we have got; till, by the power of truth, we can recover more.

Not that I could readily take up with the palpable equivocations of an Arius or Pelagius. No wise chapman will suffer himself to be paid with slips. Truth and Falsehood will necessarily descry themselves. Neither is it hard for a judicious reader, to discern a difference betwixt yielding and dissembling. Where I see a man constant to himself in a favourable assertion, I have reason to construe it, as a fair coming-off towards reconcilement. If nothing

but the rigour of opinions shall be stood upon, what hope can there be of peace?

To shut up, therefore: if what I have here meant well be as well taken and well improved, I shall have comfort in the quieting of many hearts and many tongues: if not, at least I shall have comfort in the quietness of mine own heart; which tells me I have wished well to the Church of God: to whose awful sentence I do most humbly submit myself, and these my poor endeavours; professing myself ready to eat whatsoever word she shall dislike, and desirous to buy her peace even with blood.

Now the God of Peace incline the hearts of men, as to zeal of truth, so to love of peace! And, since we are fallen upon those points, which are disputable to the world's end, as we see in the practice both of the Romish and German and Netherlandish Churches, the same God compose the minds of men to a wise moderation, and bind up their lips in a safe and discreet silence; that, if our brains must needs differ, yet our hearts and tongues may be ever one!

AMEN.

A

LETTER

CONCERNING

FALLING AWAY FROM GRACE.

MY GOOD MR. B.

You send me flowers from your garden, and look for some in return out of mine. I do not more willingly send you these, than I do thankfully receive the other. I could not keep my hand from the paper, upon the receipt of your letters; though now in the midst of my attendance.

As my desire of your satisfaction calls me to write something, so my other employments force me to brevity; in a question, wherein it were easy to be endless.

I am sorry, that any of our new Excutifidians should pester your Suffolk; although glad in this, that they could not light upon a soil more fruitful of able oppugners. It is a wonder to me, to think that men should labour to be witty, to rob themselves of comfort. Good Sir, let me know these new disciples of Leyden, that I may note them with that black coal, they are worthy of: troublers of a better peace, than that of the Church; the peace of the Christian soul.

They pretend Antiquity. What heresy doth not so? What marvel is it, if they would wrest Fathers to them, while they use Scripture itself so violently?

For that their first instance of Hymeneus and Alexander, how vain it is, like themselves! Nothing can be more plain, than that those men were gross hypocrites: who doubts, therefore, but they might fall from all that good, they pretended to have? what is this, to prove that a true child of God may do so? "But," say they, "these men had faith and a good conscience:"—True: such a faith and goodness of conscience, as may be incident into a worldly counterfeit. "Yea, but," they reply, "a true justifying faith:"—I think such a one as their own: rather, I may say these men deserve not the praise of Hymeneus's faith; which is nothing, in this place, but

orthodox doctrine. How oft doth St. Paul use the word so, to his Timothy! 1 Tim. iv. 1. *In the latter times, some shall depart from the faith;* interpreted in the next words, and shall give *heed to spirits of error, and doctrines of devils:* and, 2 Tim. iii. 8., he describes his false teachers by this title, *reprobate concerning the faith;* which I think no man will expound of the grace, but the doctrine. "Yet," say they, "there is no necessity binds us to that sense here:"—but the scope of this place, compared with others, may evince it. That, which follows, plainly points us to this meaning: *that they might learn not to blaspheme.* Their sin was, therefore, an apostacy from the doctrine of the Gospel, and casting foul aspersions upon that profession; so that an opposition to wholesome doctrine was their *shipwreck.* They except, yet: "*A good conscience* is added to this faith: therefore, it must needs be meant of justifying faith:"—Do but turn your eyes to 1 Tim. iii. 9. where, as in a commentary upon this place, you shall find faith and good conscience so conjoined, that yet the doctrine, not the virtue of faith is signified. St. Paul describes his Deacon there, by his spiritual wealth: *Having the mystery of faith in pure conscience.* No man can be so gross, to take *the mystery of faith* for the grace of faith; or for any other, than the same author, in the same chapter, calls *the mystery of godliness.* It is, indeed, fit that a good conscience should be the coffer, where truth of Christian doctrine is the treasure: therefore, both are justly commanded together; and, likely, each accompanies other in their loss: and that of Irenæus is found true of all heretics; *sententiam impiam, vitam luxuriosam, &c.* "Yea, but Hymeneus and Alexander had both these then, and lost both:"—They had both in outward profession, not in inward sincerity. That rule is certain and eternal, *If they had been of us, they had continued with us.* Nothing is more ordinary with the Spirit of God, than to suppose us such as we pretend; that he might give us an example of charity in the censure of each other: of which kind is that noted place, Heb. x. 29. *And counteth the blood of the testament, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing;* and those usual eulogies, which are given to the Churches, to whom the Apostolical Letters were directed. This place, therefore, intends no other, but that Hymeneus and Alexander, which were once professors of the Christian doctrine, and such as lived orderly in an unblameable and outwardly holy fashion to the world, had now turned their copy; cast off the profession, which they made; and were fallen, both to looseness of manners, and calumniation of the truth they had abandoned.

For that other Scripture, Rom. viii. 12, 13. no place can be more effectual to cut the throat of this uncomfortable heresy. St. Paul writes to a mixed company: it were strange, if all the Romans should have been truly sanctified: those, which were yet carnal, he threats with death; *If ye live after the flesh, ye shall die:* those, which are regenerate, contrary to the wicked paradox of those men, he assures of life; *If ye mortify the deeds of the flesh by the Spirit, ye shall live.* How doth he exclude *the spirit of bondage to fear,*

which these good guides would lead in again! How confidently doth he aver the inward testimony of God's Spirit to ours; and ascribes that voice to it, which bars all doubt and disappointment; and tells us by the powerful assurance of this Abba we are sons, and if sons heirs, coheirs with Christ! Let them now go and say, that God may disinherit his own son, that he may cast off his adopted. "But," say they, "to the same regenerate persons he applies these two clauses; and saith, at once, *ye have received the Spirit of adoption*, and yet, *if ye walk after the flesh ye shall die*:—What follows of this commination? any assertion of the possibility of apostacy in the regenerate? Nothing less: these threats are to make us take better hold, and to walk more warily: as a father, that hath set his little son on horseback (it is Zanchy's comparison) bids him hold fast, or else he shall fall; though he uphold him the while; that both he may cause him hereby to sit fast, and call the more earnestly for his supportation. But the scope of the place plainly extorts a division of carnal men and regenerate: the threats are propounded to the one; the promises and assurance, to the other; and, therefore, no touch from hence, of our uncertainty in a confessed estate of renovation.

For that Matt. xii. 43. the *apodosis* or inference of the parable might well have stopped the mouths of these cavillers: for you shall find in the end of it, *So shall it be with this wicked generation.* I suppose no man will be so absurd, as to say these Jews had formerly received true justifying faith: how should they, when they rejected the Messiah? and yet, of them, is this parable spoken, by our Saviour's own explication. Maldonate himself, a learned and spiteful Jesuit, can interpret it no otherwise. *Ideo Christus hoc dixit, ut doceret pejores esse Judæos, quàm si nunquam Dei legem et cognitionem accepissent:* and, to this purpose, he cites Hilary, Jerome, Beda: and this sense is so clear, that, unless the seven devils had found harbour in the dry hearts of these men, they could not so grossly pervert it.

Quench not the Spirit: 1 Thes. v. 19. will never prove a final or total extinction of saving grace. The Spirit is quenched, when the degrees of it are abated; when the good motions thereof are, by our security, let fall. We grant the Spirit may be quenched *in tanto*, not *in toto:* or, if we should so take it as they desire, I remember Austin parallels this place with that other to Timothy, *Let no man despise thy youth;* not, saith he, that the Spirit can be quenched, or that contempt can be avoided: but that, in the one, we may not endeavour to do that, which may tend towards this wrong to the Spirit; and, in the other, that we should be careful not to do that, which may procure contempt. The place, I remember not directly; but *numeros teneo, si non verba teneram.* But, in all likelihood, that place sounds quite another way: as may appear by the connection of it with those two sentences following; as if he should have said, "Discourage not the graces, that you find in any of your teachers: despise not their preaching: try their doctrines."

And now what is this, to the falling from grace? Which of us do

not teach the necessity of perseverance? *He* only *that endures to the end shall be saved. Be faithful to the death, and &c.* But he, that hath ordained we shall be saved, hath ordained our perseverance, as a mean to this salvation; and hath appointed these sharp advices, as the means and motives of our perseverance: so as he, that shall be saved, shall also endure to the end; because *no man plucks them out of my hand*, saith Christ.

How evidently doth the Spirit of God proclaim our certainty against these doubt-mongers! Every where is he as full of assurance, as these men of discomfort. *He, that is born of God, sinneth not; neither can sin, because he is born of God, and the seed of God remains in him;* 1 John iii. 9. What an invincible and irrefragable consolation is this! The seed of life is sown in the hearts of the elect. Though they could be dead to themselves, yet to God they cannot.

And what a supposition is that of Christ, that, if it were possible, the very elect should be deceived? Matt. xxiv. 24. *Desponsabo te mihi in perpetuum;* Hos. ii. 19: and a thousand of this strain; which your exercise in those holy leaves hath, I doubt not, abundantly furnished you withal.

Hold fast, then, my Dear Friend, this sure anchor of our undeceivable hope; and spit in the face of men or devils, that shall go about to slacken your hand. Let these vain spirits sing despair to themselves: for us, we know whom we have believed.

Thus hath my pen run itself out of breath, in this so important a demand; and much ado have I had to restrain in. Neither would I give you one hour's intermission to my answer: which I know your love cannot but accept, as that, which proceeds from a heart zealous both of God and you.

CLARISSIMO VIRO

D. BALTASARI WILLIO,

S. THEOLOGIÆ D.

ET IN BREMENSI ECCLESIA PROFESSORI CELEBERRIMO,

GRATIAM AC PACEM.

Si quam mihi misisti schedulam, censores tui perlegissent, Frater admodùm Reverende, non opus fuisset, ut ego judicium hoc meum qualecunque, interponerem. Facilè profectò illi, si quis pudor, quam tibi temerè objectârunt calumniam, et ultrò revocassent. Tanto, enim, cum candore animi, tamque irrefragrabilibus indiciis, te ab illis sive criminationibus, seu verò impactæ hæreseos suspicionibus quibuscunque, in hisce chartis liberasti; ut, post hujusmodi apologiam, ipsa non habeat invidia, quod tibi deinceps objicere possit. Ede literas tuas: responso meo parces. Quandoquidem, tamen, meam de quibusdam commentariorum tuorum locis sententiam ita ardenter desideras, non possum non tibi in re tantillâ satisfacere. Hoc, verò, inprimis ora obturet cavillantium, quòd ejusmodi elegeris operis tui patronos: alios profectò quæsivisses, si in Arminii, nedum Socini, castra transfugere voluisses: non D. Poliandrum, Walæum, Thysium, Triglandium, sidera pridem in Dordraceno cælo conspicua; quorum insuper censuris ista tua tam modestè subjeceris, aut probanda, aut, si foret opus, corrigenda.

Loca, quæ offendiculo fuisse ais, examinavi sedulò. Nihil prorsùs est in primâ præfatione tuâ, quod vel obtorto collo trahi possit ad heterodoxam aliquam gratiæ divinæ universalitatem stabiliendam. Sed et illa in Zachar. iv. ejusdem omnino censûs, nihil habent errori alieni affine: ostendunt tantùm manifestum gratiæ divinæ, succedentibus seculis, erga Ecclesiam suam, in luminis salvifici expansione ampliore clariore que, specimen et incrementum; quo quid verius cogitari potest? Conquirunt profectò et fingunt istic errores malevoli, non inveniunt.

Absolutam Prædestinationem negat præfatio posterior; sed, eo sensu, quo clarissimus collega tuus, D. Lud. Crotius, Syntagmatis p. 978: non sine respectu ad ipsam decreti executionem. Decreti,

inquis, electionis, fundamentum Christus est; conditio salvandis implenda, fides: et salvandis, dixisti, implenda; non, in eligendis, prævisa et prærequisita. Quis sanus aliter dixerit?

Quæ de Reprobatione definiisti, non alia sunt quàm quæ à Theologis Dordracenis ex professo tradita sunt. Nec, enim, aliud est, Deum ex absolutâ voluntate neminem excludere à gratiâ et æterno exitio destinare, quàm, Deum neminem absque intuitu peccati damnare voluisse: culpam ergo reprobationis in mortalium pertinaciâ et incredulitate hærere tutissimè verissimèque determinâsti. Analysin quod spectat loci illius celeberrimi ad Rom. ix. norunt Dordraceni omnes, me non monuisse modò, sed et pro concione publicâ obnixè etiam efflagitâsse, ut ad hoc ipsum examen tota de prædestinatione controversia revocaretur: ab utrâque authorum litigantium parte tentatum est hoc palàm, subque prælo non uno; quo autem successu, silere mavelim. Certè, dum alii rigidiorem sectantur viam, in absolutam Dei potestatem voluntatémque, absque ullâ ratione peccati, rejicientes plurimorum perditionem; alii, libertatis humanæ parasiti, ita sui juris faciunt homines ac si nulli omnino decreto subjicerentur: utrinque satis periculosè peccatur: deseritur, medium tenens, veritas; quæ, tamen, à moderatis quibúsque ingeniis officiosè colitur. Quod tu dum facis, tutò profitere te Synodi Orthodoxæ Dordracenæ Theologis, nullatenùs adversari: quoties, enim, quàmque rotundè celeberrimi illi Doctores professi sunt, Deum neminem damnare aut damnationi destinare, nisi ex consideratione peccati! Ut Britanni nostri; Artic. 1. Thes. 5: sed et fratres Hassiacos multis hoc argumentis comprobâsse palàm est: nec qui Theologorum omnium accuratiùs expressiùsve istud docuerunt, quàm Bremenses vestri: nec abludit ipsa Synodi vox, quæ, reprobationem ipsam definiens, præteritos eos esse ait, quos, ex liberrimo, justissimo, irreprehensibili, et immutabili beneplacito, in communi miseriâ, in quam se suâ culpâ præcipitârunt *. Præteritionem, derelectionémque (Synodi verba agnoscimus,) ac, deinde, æternæ propter suam infidelitatem et alia peccata punitionis decretum, quis sanus inficietur? Distinctionem illam, inter negativam reprobationem, sive non-electionem; et positivam, sive præparationem pœnæ eorum, qui, in statu corruptionis relicti, judicium sibi meritissimum accersunt, quis non libenter agnoscat? Resistere nos nimis sæpe gratiæ divinæ, ad conversionem nostram nos importunè satis invitanti urgentíque, quis neget? Modò concedatur et illud; esse quandam peculiarem gratiam, sive per Dei sapientiam sive per ejus potentiam, administratam; cui homo, qui per eam vocatur, non resistit, et quæ à nullo duro corde respuitur: quod tu, cum Theologis Leydensibus, ut et illi cum S. Augustino, rectissimè asseruisti. Sed quid ego telam tuam retexo? Oculatus oportet ad-

* As there has been but one edition of this Epistle, the words necessary to the proper structure of this sentence must be left to conjecture. It is evident, that *relinquit Deus*, or some words of like import, are wanting in the close: and these words occur in a similar sentence, in the last piece in this volume.

EDITOR.

versarius sit, qui in hisce novem de reprobratione sectionibus, quicquam invenerit, quod veritati divinæ, sanctáeque charitati, non sit omni modo consentaneum.

Mitior Paulo fortasse videri potest illa, quæ de Sacræ Cænæ privatâ administratione moveri lis solet: quæ, tamen, etiam Ecclesiis nostris, nescio quas turbas fecerit. Hic scilicet unus est, ex Quinque illis Articulis Perthanis Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, à doctissimo regum Jacobo VI. pridem propositis, multorum exindè calamis satis supérque agitatus: præter nostros, doctissimus Episcopus Berchinensis, post illum, D. Johannes Forbesius, aliíque Theologi Aberdonenses, ingenia hîc sua, magnâ cum laude, exercuerunt. Certè miror ego, quâ tandem freti ratione, privati quidam Theologi, saluberrimo huic sed et antiquissimo receptissimóque in Ecclesiâ mori, sese opposuerint. Unquam ne vetuit hoc privatim fieri Christus, aut Apostolorum quisquam? *Facite hoc*, inquit Christus. Factum præcepit: non meminit loci. Institutio ipsa salutaris est: temporis locíve circumstantia ita inter ἀδιάφορα meritò collocanda, ut tanti Sacramenti essentiæ nihil quicquam præjudicare debeat. Quòd si locum spectare velimus curiosiùs, in cænaculo cœpit Cæna Sacra, non in templo; intráque privatos, ut tu probè monuisti, lares, ab Apostolis discipulísque, pro temporis ratione, celebrata. Synaxis est: quis nescit? ideóque Ecclesiæ Dei haud paulò congruentior: si qua, tamen, postulet necessitas, sive multorum communis sive privata postulantis, nulla dari potest ratio, cur Christianis animis, præsertim cum morbis mortéque ipsâ conflictantibus, ita gratum et efficax remedium non ultrò suppeditetur. Ἐφόδιον est, sanctis Patribus: lasso, igitur, jamque in extremis agenti viatori, petenti insuper, quâ tandem pietate denegetur? De tanti hujus Sacramenti virtute, Christianus esse nequit qui ambigat: non potest, igitur, non pium esse tam salutaris Sacramenti desiderium; cui, ut tempestive satisfiat, caverunt, præter citatos à te Patres authorésque probatissimos, Concilia etiam non pauca: Nicenum illud Oecumenicum, Can. 13. Carthaginense Quartum, Can. 76, 78. Vasense, 1. Can. 2. alia. Inter Ecclesias verò Reformatas à te commemoratas, certè nostræ Anglicanæ non alia unquam fuit, seu lex, seu praxis, (utpote quæ hanc sibi regulam semper figendam sensuerit, toties à scitissimo Rege Jacobo inculcatam) nihilo longiùs à Romanâ discedere Ecclesiâ, quàm illa à se, à primigeniâ puritate discessisse deprehendatur. Graviter, ergo, piè, ac prudentur quæstionem tu hanc, si quid ego judicare possum, pertractâsti; remque totam tantâ cum moderatione ac cautelâ determinâsti, ut mirum sit, si quis vestrorum deinceps, in tam sano verèque theologico judicio non acquiescat.

Breviter, de re totâ sic habeto. Consilium illorum, qui declarationem hanc tuam, ut váldè piam, Ecclesiáeque Dei perutilem, edendam, jurísque publici faciendam censent, non possum ego non calculo me summopere comprobare. Non parùm è re fuerit Ecclesiæ, ut hujusmodi extet exemplar candoris et equanimitatis Christianæ: ut, moderato qui sunt animo, habeant quod tenere de-

beant ; et, qui temerè maluerint contradicere, post δευτέρας tandem Φροντίδας videant, quod erubescere debuerint. Deus, Pacis Author, Ecclesiam suam totam in concordi veritate stabiliat !

Vale, Frater Venerande,

A conservo tuo fideli

ac benevolo,

JOS. EXON.

Dat. è Pallatio
Nostro Exon.

REVERENDO IN CHRISTO FRATRI, VIRO CLARISSIMO,

D. LUDOVICO CROCIO,

S. THEOLOGIÆ D.

ET IN ILLUSTRI SCHOLA BREMENSI PROFESSORI,

GRATIAM AC PACEM.

QUAM nobis olim Dordrechtum conciliavit amicitiam, mi Croci, eam et recolere sæpius, et modis quibuscúnque fovere, quidni senescentibus cordi sit? Video te solum ex collegis tuis superstitem; evolâsse reliquos, cælùmque cum terrâ jam diu commutâsse. Nos, verò, quamdiu hîc sumus? Fælices, interea, qui temporis hoc quantulumcúnque benè agendo terimus: quod certè dum facimus, invidiam vel comitem, vel saltem asseclam, fato quodam sustinere necesse habemus. Pergant porro nostræ patientiæ præcones *εἶπειν πᾶν πονηρὸν ῥῆμα*, modò *ψευδόμενοι*: beatos nos hoc modo facient, dum vellent miseros.

Legi, quantum pro tempore licuit, Syntagma tuum: egregium profectò opus, et te dignum. Loca à te notata perpendi seriò. Ut liberè loquar quod censeo, occurrebant mihi multa paulò enucleatiùs quàm ab aliis Theologis fieri solet, in magno hoc Prædestinationis mysterio explicata: *ἑτεροδόξα* verò illa, quæ tibi à quibusdam objici quiritaris, quâ tandem ratione hinc elici possint, nullus comperio.

Primum illud caput, verè profectò aureum, de principiis humanæ salutis, probè, uti par est, pensitatum et intellectum, ab omni te impácti erroris suspicione facilè liberârit. Utcunque, enim, universalem Dei *Φιλανθρωπίαν* solito pleniùs dilucidiùsque depinxeris, (quæ quidem nunquam poterit, me judice, nimiùm deprædicari) cùm tamen triplicem illam universalis dilectionis limitationem insuper addideris, omne amoves Pelagianismi, Huberismíque à tuâ sententiâ periculum: nec enim communis illa Dei misericordia, quâ humano præsertim generi benè vult et benè placet, quicquam præjudicat speciali illi benevolentiæ ac amori, quo electos suos gratiosissimè prosequitur. Fratribus quidem omnibus multiplicat Joseph fercula, Benjamini verò חמש ידות. Tuta sunt hîc omnia: dum nos nihil nobis tribuamus, Dei misericordiæ, in Christo filio suo, totum salutis et

destinandæ et impetrandæ negotium, acceptum ingenuè feramus? Quis, verò, tibi illa odiosa exprobraret nomina, quæ tu ubique conspuis et detestaris?

Hæret apud me illud, fateor, aliquantum, et explicatione quâdam videtur indigere, quod capite 6. de Gratiâ Vocationis, sect. 16. occurrit: ubi, formulam fœderis gratiæ expositurus, ais, Peccatum primorum parentum, atque adeò et peccatum originis, tanquam opus Diaboli, hactenus destructum, ut Satanas propterea nullum jus et potestatem in homines habeat; ita ut propterea nemo necessariò damnandus sit, nisi nova peccata accedant, quibus homines fiant gratiæ incapaces, ac denuò in plenam servitutem et possessionem Satanæ redeant. Semper, enim, mihi, sed et aliis visum est, promissum illud de serpentis capite à semine mulieris conterendo, intelligi de victoriâ quam semen illud benedictum reportârit sibi ac electis suis: ut planiùs loquar, non universali quâdam destructione peccati originis, quasi nullum jus in homines habitum, sed in suos electos nullum; neque de originali illo peccato tantùm, sed et de omnibus quibuscúnque Satanæ molitionibus construi debere: invidiam tibi forsan aliquam creet ille locus; donec uberiore aliquâ interpretatione vindicetur. Quod ergo paginâ sequente subinfers, Justificationem vitæ ita vi mortis Christi in omnes homines transisse, ut libertatem et jus ad vitam æternam consecuti sint, nisi per novam inobedientiam et peccatum gratiam illam amittant, hoc planè animo à te scriptum censeo, ut de solâ possibilitate sub fidei habendæ conditione istud intellexeris. Eò profectò se extendebat virtus vivificæ illius mortis, ut qui credunt à reatu originalis peccati certò liberentur: utque, non obstante peccato sive originali sive actuali quocunque, et jus ad vitam et vitam ipsam consequantur: utque reconciliabilitas quædam humani generis eò usque, hâc ratione, obtineretur, quò quisque mortalium, modò resipiscere sic credere possit, salutem adipiscatur: id quod tu ipse ubique videris inurere.

Nihil ergo certius est, quàm, quod mox subjicis, Christum omnium hominum salutem aliquo modo quæsivisse, omnibúsque ad eam aliquo modo profuisse: quæsivit hoc certè Beneficentissimus Servator; quòdque non invenerit in homines ipsos, non in Redemptorem cudenda est hæc faba: quî potest ergo salus esse quibusdam simpliciter impossibilis, quam ille, quem penes est, omnibus, sub conditione seriò obtulerit; et reapse præstare, modò ipsi sibi non deforent, paratus sit: impossibilis modò, sed et certa: quis hîc non tacitè ac humiliter acquiescat? Sententiam hanc vestram, meminimus nos clarissimum D. Martinum collegam tuum J. M. in Synodo Dordracenâ thesibus suis illic exhibitis apertè plenèque explicâsse, ut mirum sit suboriri modò quenquam, qui vos illi suffragrantes tam serò erroris insimulet. Breviter quoque oculos conjicio: illud video; et in hâc desinam censurâ, nisi lectori charitas deesset, non deforet scripto fides.

Præfationem tuam quod attinet, quæ de Septem Asiaticis Ecclesiis commentari libuit (quâ in re concinit tibi, uti video, doctissimus collega tuus, D. Willius, passim, in suis et Prolóquiis et Commentariis) laudo equidem, velut ingeniosè satis, neque sine proba-

bili aliquâ veri specie à vobis dicta: solidè tamen, et ad mentem evangelici scriptoris exarata, concedere nequeo. Illas, etenim, Ecclesias Septem esse typos quosdam historico-propheticos succedentium sibi ab illo ævo Ecclesiæ conditionum, quis largiatur? Tale profectò aliquid Brightmannus noster, aut Parkerus vigilans somniârit: nollem vobis tantis viris excidisse; cùm palàm sit, Spiritum Sanctum eas ipsas illius temporis Ecclesias, sed et earum Episcopos, singulariter notâsse. Personalia sunt, ilicet, quæ Pastori cuique objiciuntur; nec ad cætum integrum, multò minùs ad typicas nescio quas successiones, detorquenda. Sed et incurrunt in se invicem, quæ de unâquâque Ecclesiâ prædicantur: nec cuiquam istarum soli distinctè competere possunt; ut per omnia tenere nequeat illa, quam imaginamur, analogia. Aurea scilicet illa et apostolica ætas, quam per Ephesianam Ecclesiam figurari vultis, uti non perdiderat, quantum nobis innotuit, charitatem suam primam; ita, non prorsùs immunis fuit, ab illis persecutionibus, quæ seculis sequentibus efferbuerunt. In Smyrnensi illâ ferreâ, metallorum enim similitudine quâdam hæc omnia illustrare maluisti, synagogæ Judeorum jam tum Christianismo infestissimæ, non Ethnicorum furores designantur. Polemicam, verò, Pergamensem quod spectat, ipse Antipas Martyr, eo tempore sine dubio notissimus, nominatim, velut recentissimæ memoriæ, celebratur; ut certo certius sit de re dudum præteritâ locutum, cum Spiritu, evangelistam: nec de illo ævo, cui tu istud confers, verè prædicare potest, *Nomen meum retines, non negâsti fidem;* cùm totus ferè orbis ad Arianismum desciverit. Thyatirensi devotæ ac religiosæ, quæ à Carolo Magno ad Carolum Quintum interjecta est, quam nullo jure imputatur, quod patiatur Jezebelem Prophetissam (Hildebrandinam nempe ut tu interpretaris dominationem) seducere servos Dei; quasi in Ecclesiæ illius, impotenter adhuc delitescentis, potestate fuisset, Romanæ Ecclesiæ tyrannidem jam tum impedire aut coercere. Sardensis illa sive politica, quæ a Carolo Quinto hucusque extenditur, non tam Episcopalis est ais, quam Principalis: memineris tamen hæc Angelo, id est Episcopo, non principibus dicta fuisse: illud verò visne ut meritò competat Protestantium cætui, *Nomen habes quod vivas, sed mortuus es?* moribunda corrobores? Absit ut hæc tam gravia nostris aggeramus! Nolo singulis insistere: præter scopum enim hæc omnia, da veniam, Colendissime Frater, libertati huic meæ: non possum tibi in illâ Asiaticarum Ecclesiarum interpretatione, re non admodum gravi, consentire.

Utcunque, verò, præmissæ hæ fidem apud me parùm invenerint, conclusionem tamen tuam ex animo amplector et exosculor: hinc nempe sumptâ occasione, tempestivè ad concordiam Ecclesiis Evangelicis suadendam dilaberis. Hoc ego tibi ac tuis imprimis gratulor: hoc precor: hoc urgeo. Certè, qualiscunque tandem fuerit illa Sardensis, utinam, O utinam, Ecclesia Dei nostro hoc ævo ad pacem se publicam, non seposito interim veritatis studio, unanimiter componeret. Video, equidem, et gaudeo vos professores, doctissimos celeberrimósque, Bremenses pium hoc Deoque angelis et hominibus gratissimum opus promovere paratissimos esse. Id quod,

non modò ex Duræo meo, studiosissimo tanti beneficii parario, gratulabundus accepi; sed ex scriptis insuper vestris facilè persentisco.

Dolet mihi interim, quod videam, præter iniquam temporum conditionem, quorundam pervicacem φιλαυτίαν sacrosanctum hoc cæptum aliquantum remorari: humanum profectò est quod isti sapiunt. Ita nempe dediti sunt quidam, vel suis vel præceptorum suorum opinionibus, partiúmque studiis pertinaciter fovendis, ut ne verba quidem, rebus quantum libet salvis, indulgere velint publicæ paci ac charitati. Sanè, qui sic affecti sunt, ubi pretium unitatis evangelicæ planè videntur nescire, ita aliquando sine dubio sentient quid sit ἐν προσωπολημψίας ἔχειν τὴν πίστιν, et Ecclesiam Dei suis manibus λογομαχίαις usque inquietare. Certè, si quod in Synodo Dordracenâ propositum fuit et à Theologis exteris fervidè satis expeditum, pariter obtinuisset: præcepta jam diu fuisset omnis hæc, quæ modò vobis negotium facessit, contendendi ansa.

Memineris tu probè, mi Croci, ubi me nimis iniqua valetudo invitum ab illo doctorum virorum consessu abripuisset, incidisse quæstionem, non herclè intempestivam, Sessione 132, de rejectione duriorum quarundam et incommodiorum locutionum, quæ in nonnullis Reformatorum Doctorum scriptis passim reperiuntur; quæ infirmioribus scandalum, adversariis calumniam, subministrare solent. Britanni nostri Theologi toti in eo erant: sed et Hassiaci, et vos etiam Bremenses, sani hujúsce consilii rationibus paulò acriùs urgendis non defuistis. Potiora ne dicam an plura vicerunt suffragia, non disputo: certè, rejectio illa phrasium incommodarum pro tempore rejecta est, saltem omissa; ne quid pateretur orthodoxa authorum, ita vel duriùs vel imprudentiùs locutorum, doctrina: præsertim cùm, præter alias rationes, plurimi essent ex iis loquendi modis, qui dextrè ac commodè, modò charitas adhiberetur, explicari possent. Nempe sederunt ibi aliqui, de Ecclesiâ Dei aliàs benèmeriti Theologi, qui in hoc genere nonnihil fortè peccaverunt: præter alios etiam melioris notæ primipilos, modò μακαρίτας, quorum existimationi hâc ratione paululùm indulgere visum est. Absit verò, ut ego tot tantorúmque Theologorum, quorum memoriam revereri soleo, judicium vellicare ausim! Utinam, tamen, fas enim mihi erit etiam tam serò optâsse, charitatis pietatísque publicæ ratio, eò usque apud doctissimos viros clarissimos fratres nostros valuisset, ut, inter doctrinæ orthodoxæ incolumitatem et phrasεων incommodarum periculum, inter quorundam authorum existimationem et communem Christianæ Reipublicæ indemnitatem, paulò accuratiorem distinctionem adhibuissent.

Quid, enim? Opus ne habet orthodoxa doctrina hujusmodi fulcris? Annon eò magis constat illa sibi et honorem suum eò magis inviolatum servat, quo ab illis intutiorum locutionum excessibus liberior prodierit? Nonne palàm est hujusmodi durisculas loquendi formas non paulum præjudicii creâsse veritati? Pacem verò publicam vel ex imo turbâsse, quis non videt? En modò non sine causâ calumniari videntur adversarii, nos admisisse rerum illarum solœcismos, qui tam incommodis locutionum modis videntur inuri. Hinc causa Dei non parum patitur et damni et opprobrii.

Sint, verò, ex illis loquendi formulis, quædam ab ipso Spiritu Sancto in Sacris Literis aliquando usurpatæ: hinccine sequetur, ut quæ per sacram quandam hyperbolem exprimere voluit Deus, ea nos simplici sensu, velut axiomata theologica, tutò propinare possimus Orbi Christiano? Et parentes et animam nostram odîsse nos jubet alicubi Deus: novimus quo sensu utrunque: jam, si quis, hâc authoritate fretus, absolutè simplicitérque docuerit officium esse Christiani cujúsque abdicare parentes, suam ipsius animam proculcare, satin' sanus videbitur? Cultellum aliquando gutturi applicare, jubet, per Solomonem, Spiritus: quisquamne sobrius hoc proprio et literali sensu faciendum suaserit? Indurare corda et excæcare oculos dicitur Deus: nos hæc ipsi velut propria quædam et immediata effecta tribuemus: suus ergo relinquendus est Deo loquendi modus: quod ille figurato quodam sermonis excessu exprimere maluit, non nobis illico trahi debet in simplicis enuntiationis exemplar.

Sint harum phrasewv aliquæ, quas sano sensu ipsi censores admiserint: sint plurimæ, quæ dextrè ac commodè, modò charitas adhibeatur, explicari possint: atqui, interim, de sano illo sensu, inter partes lis erit vel maxima; et charitas hæc, ubi lites incalescere cœperint, ubi locum invenit? Certè, qui litigare mavolunt, non solent ita benignè cum adversariis agere, ut sensum, si quis sit, controversæ propositionis commodissimum eruere velint. Sic, ergo, loqui tutum est, ut qui cavillari studet, si fieri possit, locum non habeat, ubi aut uncum aut pedem figat. Medeatur, verò, huic malo charitas.

Quæro, tamen, jam meritissimò, utiliùsne tollendis an commodè interpretandis hisce formulis, sese charitas exercuisset? Puteus est non procul à viâ; profundus, et itineranti periculosus: gratiúsne opus fecerit viatori, qui illum rudere ac lapidibus adobruat, an qui jusserit incolas monere illàc transeuntes ne se incauti præcipitent? Morbus mihi minitatur: novi quo pharmaco possim ejus dolorem lenire tandem; et mortis, alioqui fortè secuturæ, periculum evadere: consultúmne mihi erit sinere, ut malum hoc ingruat et ingravescat, cui tempestivo potuissem remedio occurrisse?

Ego certè si res ageretur mea, curarem cum primis noxios humores sive corrigi sive opportunè expurgari; et ea diaca deinde, quibus natura contra hostes impetum corroboretur, subministrari. Sic et in illis, quæ Ecclesiæ periculum intentant, sive erroribus, sive parùm tutis dogmatibus, sive malesanis locutionibus, factum oportuit; et ita, proculdubio, fecissent gravissimi illi doctissimíque Theologi, si istum, quem modò cernimus, tollerantiæ exitum, jam tum prævidere potuissent. Ubi, enim, illi hâc ratione paci publicæ litatum voluerunt, contrà evenit, jurgiorum ac discordiarum semina, quod maximoperè dolendum est, hinc inde, per agros Ecclesiæ infeliciter jacta, ubique pullulâsse: neque deerit unquam, si quid ego hariolari possum, contentionum materia, donec ista litium infausta seges authoritate publicâ radicitùs evelli possit: quod uti fiat, exorandi sunt orbis domini, ut, conventu doctorum Theologorum tempestive habito, communi consilio, interveniente ipsorum imperio, tollantur ista, sive calami sive mentis, σφάλματα qualiacunque.

Quod dum fieri possit, monendi rogandíque sunt doctissimi quíque viri, fratres nostri charissimi, eoùsque uti paci studeant omnes, ut, posthabitâ verborum curâ, rebus ipsis componendis operam suam toti impendant. Id nimirum solicitos nos habet, ut veritas Dei in cordibus hominum, nobis suaseribus, locum invenire possit. Hoc, verò, si quo suaviore ac blandiore modo effici queat, nonne multò gratius aptabiliúsque foret, quàm ut, rigidiore ac duriusculâ agendi ratione, bilem scandalúmve infirmiori cuique moveremus? Ulcus meum qui leviore tractaverit manu, modò non minùs citò sanaverit, dignus est quem amiciùs excipiam.

At at, nisi in re ipsâ paulùlùm hæreremus non ita nimiùm de verbis laborare pretium operæ duceremus. De ipsis quidem, fateor, notionum quarundam momentis, aliquid litigii est: sed, quod vix cernat oculatus arbiter, vix curet pacificus. Ad eundem video exitum veritatis theologicæ tendere utriúsque partis sententiam; non sine aliquo, interim, in viâ, discrimine: non est quòd de unoquoque vestigio nimiùm soliciti simus, quin post passûs unius alteriúsve divertiunculam idem omnino stadium emetimur. Mollior placet huic semita; illi, calcata vel silicea: recta ducit utraque ad metam eandem: quis istic jurgio locus? quòd si sua cuique, uti fit, placuerit sententia, nec quis cedere velit alteri paulò aliter animi sui sensum exprimenti, litésque adhuc inter partes infeliciter contimentur.

Illud ego fratribus meis cum primis suaserim, quod in omnibus hujus generis controversiis tutissimum utilissimúmque semper expertus sum, ut ad generaliores quasdam enuntiandi formulas confugiamus; neque ultra terminos ita fixos, sinatur alterutrius partis discursus evagari. Quod de doloso communiter dici solebat olim, liceat mihi de pacifico dicere; versatur ille in generalibus. Nec quid pensi habet ad specialissima quæque descendere: nempe, ex imis illis conceptuum humanorum fractionibus ac divisiúnculis, nimiò quàm accuratis, oriri solent discordiæ, inter illos, qui vel de proximis rerum capitibus perpacatè consentirent. Hâc profectò ratione, plurimæ, quibus Orbis Christianus miserè conflictatur, lites sopirentur.

Cautè tamen istic, et non sine summâ fide ac sanâ discretione procedendum est; ne, fortè, dum paci nimiùm intenti sumus, veritatis integritatem vel violemus vel iniquè supprimamus. Ubi, ergo, de ipsis Christianæ Fidei capitibus, deque summâ religionis quæstio est, nihil non urgeri debet, in quo salus vertitur hominis Christiani: nihil istic non momentosum, et quovis dignum certamine videri debet. Sed, ubi de dogmatibus quibusdam ferè adiaphoris, deque tricis, uti fit, scholasticis à salutis sive spe sive periculo longè alienis, disputatur, non est quòd nimis anxiè singula disquiramus, et de minimis quibúsque opinionum apicibus curiosiùs contendamus: sat erit in generalioribus quibusdam exprimendi modis conspirâsse.

Quòd si qui sint opinionum suarum paulò tenaciores, qui de levissimis quibúsque controversiarum particulis veluti pro aris ac focis digladiari malunt, valde expediens fuerit, illud unum præcipuè accurare, ut isti, moderatis quibúsque agendi rationibus, si fieri possint, convincantur. Inter quas nulla mihi, seriò cogitanti, occurrit pro-

babilior, quàm ut certæ quædam figantur regulæ dogmaticæ, irrefragabiles illæ quidem, et utrique parti in confesso; ad quarum veluti examen utrorumque sententiæ reducantur exigantúrque.

Certum est, enim, vera quæque ubique συναληθεύειν. Quæ, ergo, inter se comparata, ab indubitatè veris dissonare deprehenduntur, in falsi suspicionem justissimè incurrunt.

Ut in hisce, quas modò sub manibus habemus controversiis, sunto, si placet, hujusmodi.

1. Fieri non potest, ut voluntatis Dei, quæ omnium causa est, causa detur ulla: nempe hoc foret, præter curiosam quandam insolentiam, ultra infinitum procedere.

2. Etsi Deus justè uti potuisset jure suo absoluto in creaturas suas, secundum ordinatum tamen jus ac revelatum, procedere et solet et vult.

3. Cùm Deus sit ipsa essentialis bonitas, sapientia, justitia, adeòque omnis bonitatis, sapientiæ, justitiæ fons et scaturigo, nihil potest ab illo fluere, quod non perfectè bonum, sapiens, justúmque sit: in illius, ergo, εὐδοκία humillimè acquiscere debemus creaturæ.

4. Sed et hinc necessariò sequitur, nihil boni inesse posse creaturæ, nisi quod ab ipso, boni omnis principio, inditum fuerit, et ab ipso derivatum.

5. Sed et hoc insuper; Deum non esse authorem peccati. Illud solebat offendiculi sæpe prætendere D. Tilenus, hospes olim meus, jam tum mutatæ infeliciter sententiæ reus, quorundam nostrorum rigore, aliquid hîc in Deum conjici, Sanctissimo ipsius Numine indignum; protestatus, interea, omnia se paratum concedere, modò Dei bonitas et justitia hâc in re integra et illibata conservaretur. Absit, verò, ut quis Christianus aliter aut sentiat aut loquatur! Omnes in hanc sententiam pedibus imus unanimiter: reus peragatur blasphemiæ, qui, cum Florino, contrà hiscere ausit.

6. Deum neminem damnare, nisi propter peccatum: damnatio, enim, actus est punitivæ justitiæ; punitio, autem, culpam supponit; quis, enim, justus plectat innocentem?

7. Deùm seriò invitare omnes ubicunque terrarum ad fidem et penitentiam; et, sub illâ conditione, ad salutem: non eo solùm animo, ut inde fiant inexcusabiles, hoc enim nihil sonat philanthropicum; sed, ut, verè si jussa præstiterint, assequantur quod gratiosè proposuit.

8. In re prædestinationis nihil nobis negotii esse debet cum arcanis Dei consiliis; sed, secundum revelatam ejus voluntatem, de nobis alísve judicandum: ita ergo nos gerere debemus in totâ vitæ nostræ institutione et in operando salutem nostram, acsi nulli occulto Dei decreto subessemus. Quid ad te, O Homo, quod in cœlo statutum est? Fac tu quod Sanctissimus et Justissimus Creator Redemptórque tibi injunxit faciendum, non potes non tutus et salvus esse: aliàs, frustrà es, qui tibi salutem polliceris. Sic itaque fidei, pœnitentiæ, bonísque operibus danda est opera, quasi ab illis unicè penderet salus, et immunitas ab omni reprobationis periculo: sic cavenda infidelitas, omnísque legis divinæ certa lubénsque violatio, acsi, sepositâ quâvis absconditi decreti ratione, damnatio istinc se-

queretur: qui secùs fecerit, et à priori de æternâ sui conditione judicium feret, miserè abutetur secretis Dei consiliis, quæ silenter debuisset revereri.

9. In actibus ad conversionem prævîis, bonísque motibus quos Spiritus Dei ingerit etiam nondum renatis, Deus neminem deserit, priusquam deseratur ipse: solâ, ergo, culpâ suâ ad regenerationem seriò invitati gratiâ ulteriore destituuntur; et, spontaneâ infidelitate et contumaciâ, pereunt.

Sed video me longiùs quàm mihi proposueram excurrisse. Vide quò me provexerit pacis amor, ut ego ista tibi, Theologo exercitatissimo, suggererem: huic tu præsumptioni ignosces; et, si quid erraverit festinatio mea, comiter monstrabis. Perges, denique, benè velle huic, quam tantopere boni omnes expetimus, paci: et Duræum nostrum, fidissimum ejus proxenetam, omni amore ac studio, quod facis, prosequi; et, mutuis insuper precibus, piisque officiis, beare,

Tuum in Christo fratrem

ac *σύνεργον* fidelissimum,

JOS. EXON.

CLARISSIMO VIRO, THEOLOGO GRAVISSIMO,

D. HERMANNO HILDEBRANDO,

AD

STI. STEPH. ECCLESIÆ BREMENSIS PASTORI VIGILANTISSIMO,

SALUTEM AC PACEM.

Incumbat mihi licèt plus modò quàm cui ferendo par sim oneris, Reverende admodum in Christo Frater, non potui tamen committere, ut votis tuis tam piis, tam pacificis, deesse viderer. Ipse curabo, ne nihil respondeam: ignosce tu, si breviùs.

Declarationem tuam Trium Articulorum in conventu Cleri Bremensis prælectorum, gravem illam quidem, moderatam, solidam, verèque orthodoxam, quantâ potui cum curâ perlegi, clausulásque singulas pensitavi sedulò.

Quòque accuratiori trutinæ singula subjecerim, eò magis subiit

animum, mirari quid illud tandem sit, quod parùm æquis apud vos censoribus displicere possit; aut ubi demum lateat illud, de quo quosdam ais immanè quantum conqueri, Pelagianismi sive (quod horribilius dictu) Socinismi virus. Fallor, si qua istic occurrat phrasis, aut verò syllaba, quæ vel ex ipso sacro Scripturarum fonte, vel ex sanctorum Patrum rivulis, vel denique ex aliorum probatissimorum authorum (præsertim verò Theologorum Dordracenorum) situlis, parùm petita sit.

Absit, verò, ut quis istorum cuiquam tam prodigiosæ opinionis crimen impingere ausit! Cautiùs tu, quidem, et paulò molliùs exprimere maluisti hæc divinæ veritatis arcana, quàm rigidiores quidam, sani licèt, Theologi solent: quam tibi, sive prudentiam sive moderationem, ex animo gratulor.

Ilicet hæc recta est ad Christianam concordiam via. Hoc est, quod vox clamantis in deserto præconiata est olim, parare semitam Deo Pacis, aspera in vias planas redigere. Ambulent alii, si volunt, per dumos salebrásque: complanemus nos, quantum possimus, sacros hosce calles; ut, libero ac inoffenso pede, cœlum versus progredi liceat. Quantumcumque sanè operæ huic negotio posuerimus, arduum satis comperiemus hoc iter: non est quòd nos viam insuper silice sternamus aut vepribus.

Nesciunt profectò qui ista criminantur, nesciunt, quantum de templo Dei mereantur illi, qui seu saxa seu trabes fabricæ huic exædificandæ dolare ac levigare norunt; modò id, præsertim, absque nimio malleationis strepitu fieri possit: quod gravitatem tuam admodum prudenter istic allaborâsse sentio.

Quod ad rem ipsam attinet, quisquam ne Sanæ Theologiæ candidatus est, qui meritò mortis Christi limites quosdam suos figendos censeat? Nempe omnipotens est, infinitácque virtutis ille Dei Filius: quibus ergo redimendis, et carnem induere et sanguinem suum effundere voluit; iis ut non sufficiat, quod sibi præstituit, universis, quàm nimis sonare videtur ἀθεόλογον.

Generi autem humano redimendo et ἐισάρχεσιν et mortem suam intendisse Benignissimum Mundi Redemptorem, quoties quàmque expressè docet Scriptura! Cùm verò nemini sano displicere possit hæc Spiritûs Sancti, ubi in Sacris Literis occurrit, phraseologia, quî fit quòd nostro transcripta calamo parùm arrideat?

Illa certè distinctio, inter (ipso quidem actu) sufficientiam, efficientiámque mortis Christi; inter meritum ex unâ parte, et effectum eventúmque Theanthropicæ illius redemptionis ex alterâ; inter pretium λύτρου infiniti, et salutarem ejus applicationem; ita et vera et necessaria est, ut absque illâ fieri non possit, quin perperàm de Magno Mundi Salvatore, deque mysterioso redemptionis negotio, sentiamus.

Certè, ita pro omnibus mortuus est Christus, ut parùm interea prosit omnibus ad salutem.

Non illo ergo in sensu pro omnibus mortuus est Christus, quo doctissimus Paræus*, cui concinunt et Theologi Palatini †, vocem

* D. Par. Judicio de v. Art. Art. 20. † Sent. Palat. Theol. Art. 2. Prop. 4.

interpretatur: ubi ait mori pro aliquo propriè esse, morte suâ aliquem à morte liberare; seu ita mori alicujus loco, ut ipse vivat. Eo quidem modo, hæc loquendi formula, non meritum modò, sed et efficaciam universalem effectúmque commune mortis Christi complecteretur; quod nemo sanus, cum Hubero, illi, quantum libet salvificæ, attribuendum judicârit: hoc verò quod non fiat, hominum certè culpa fit, non Servatoris. In cælesti hoc meritorum gazophylacio, sat repositum est thesauri, redimendis tot mundorum myriadibus, quot sunt hominum capita: quòd si qui ita sint vel socordi vel præfracto ingenio, ut quantumvis voce Evangelii moniti ac incitati, nec movere pedem nec manum exporrigere velint, petendo reportandóque suo (quam libet ingenti) pretio, digni sunt ilicet qui captivi moriantur. Quid hic, interim, decedit infinitæ Redemptoris munificentiæ?

Placere mihi solet hîc Molinæi mei, viri clarissimi, satis apta similitudo *: illustrandis illuminandísque omnibus, datus est sol huic mundo: sunt, tamen, cæci non pauci: sunt alii carcerum tenebris damnati: somno sepulti sunt alii: parùm fruuntur isti omnes solis beneficio: quid hoc ad magnum illud ac munificum luminare? Oculati quotquot sunt, subque dio vigilant, gaudent hâc luce, illiúsque radiis refocillantur. Pariter se habet cum morte Christi; cujus fructus ὁ σωτήριος patescit quidem omnibus meritoriè, non efficaciter: in se sufficit omnibus; non omnibus, interea, sive ad remissionem sive ad salutem applicatur: reconciliabile est hâc ratione totum genus humanum; actu, autem, ut reconcilietur, quiddam aliud insuper requiritur; impletio, scilicet, conditionis gratuiti fœderis, quæ in fide recipientis consistit. Credunt, autem, efficacissimâ virtute hujus salvificæ mortis quotquot ad salutem ordinati sunt.

Hanc, vero, exprimendi formulam quòd parum ferre videantur Theologi Palatini; hinc fit, quòd Remonstrantium nonnullis, longiùs multò quàm par erat procedentibus, contra-venire istic studuerint; utpote qui, non meritum modò, sed et efficaciam mortis Christi, toti humano generi actu communicare videantur: re tamen ipsâ fratres Palatini de merito pretioque mortis Christi infinito, applicabili quidem universis, si possent credere, mortalibus, solis electis salutariter applicato, idem nobiscum sentiunt †.

Sed et eadem ipsa est promissionum insuper divinarum extensio. Per totum terrarum orbem nemo homo est, cui non istæ liberè promulgari et possint et debeant. Occurrat mihi quivis vel Turca, vel Judæus, vel Judus: quidni ego fidenter et seriò illi dixerim, "Ita, O Homo, pro te mortuus est Christus, ut si in ipsum credideris certò salvaberis?" Sed et omnium eadem planè ratio est, quæ unius.

Quicquid sit, ob defectum salutaris pretii certum est, neminem unquam perîsse, neminem unquam periturum. Sic ergo, ut Theologi nostri Britanni plenè et perspicuè, Christus pro omnibus mor-

* Sent. de v. Artic. ad Synod.

† Sent. Palat. Theol. de v. Art. 2. Propos. 2. et 3.

tuus est, ut omnes et singuli, mediante fide, possint virtute ἀντιλύτρε hujus, remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam consequi: sic pro electis mortuus est, ut ex merito mortis ejus, secundum æternum Dei beneplacitum, specialiter illis destinato, et fidem infallibiliter obtineant et vitam æternam.

Breviter, ita Primum hunc de morte et merito Christi Articulum tractâsti, ut planè habeas Scripturas, Patres, Scriptores quosque Orthodoxos, tibi pleno ore suffragantes: sed et Ecclesia nostra Anglicana ita hîc tota tua est, acsi ipsissima illius verba fuisses ubique mutuatus.

Secundum porrò Articulum, meo quidem judicio, dici vix potest solidiùsne an modestiùs exegeris. Si quis alius in totâ Theologiâ, ille profectò de Reprobatione locus lubricus est: in quo labi, et facile sit et periculosum. Tu, verò, ita cautè istic movisti pedem, ut neque blandiores decreti æstimatores quicquam, quod culpent, invenire possint; nec severiores, quod desiderent: eò magis mihi mirandum videtur quid illud sit, quòd censuræ suæ prætendere possint scitissimi cavillorum artifices.

Dicam, certè, quod res est: totus iste, uti à te explicatur, locus nihil aliud est, quam sententiarum Dordracenarum accurata quædam contractiuncula; in quâ non sensum modò illibatum, sed et plerunque, verba ipsissima satis curiosè retinuisti. Quî fit ergo, ut, quibus illa Synodus in pretio est, tam justa ac fidelis ejusdem displiceat epitome? Certè, ni tu digitum intendas, ego quid hæreat nullus inveniam. Enimvero, esse quandam reprobationem, eamque ab æterno, quis dubitat? sed et hanc reprobationem, quà Omnipotentis Dei actum spectat, ejusdem esse quorundam hominum, quos decrevit Deus in communi miseriâ, in quam se suâ culpâ præcipitârunt, relinquere; tandémque non tantùm propter infidelitatem, sed etiam cætera omnia peccata, ad declarationem justitiæ suæ damnare et æternùm punire. Sic illi. Culpa ergo et peccata ita hîc interveniunt, ut positiva reprobatio absque his non sine summâ injuriâ Deo attribuatur.

Hoc est, quod tu, ex Augustino, Fulgentio, Prospero, ex omnibus Ecclesiarum Confessionibus, ex orthodoxis quibusque authoribus, facili negotio eviceris. Meritissimò, ergo, inveheris in illorum explicationem, et rigidam et planè iniquam, qui electioni liberæ et gratuitæ reprobationem absolutam, ex mero odio profectam opponendam censent. Ecquod enim odit Deus, præter peccatum? et propter peccatum, non in se, creaturam suam? Hoc sanè seposito, vidit Deus omnia quæ fecerat, et bona pronuntiavit. Quomodo verò se Φιλάνθρωπον præstaret Deus, si hominem, quà hominem, odio haberet?

Præibis, ergo, et tu mihi verba illa, quibus ego lubentissimè assentior, ut summè pia et suavissima illa vox est, nos gratuitò, ex merâ misericordiâ et beneplacito Dei, fuisse electos in Christo ad salutem; ita nec satis pia nec tolerabilis altera, meritò perire alios etiamsi in Adamo non essent perditi, quoniam Deus ita præfecit Christum Ecclesiæ suæ Caput, ut in eo servemur, non omnes, sed qui sumus electi.

Quod zelus hic tuus, ut et boni cujusque exardescat, non herclè miror. Quid, enim, hoc aliud est, nisi tyrannidem quandam affingere Misericordissimo Numini? Absoluta ipsius in creaturam potentia quoúsque se extendat, nemo est qui dubitet: illam, verò, ut in nos exerat exerceátque Deus, qui cum ordinato jure cum hominibus agere decreverit, toties dilectionem suam desideriúmque humanæ salutis protestatus est, durius est quàm ut à quoquam Christiano cogitari debeat. Utinam verò odiosæ hujusmodi loquendi formulæ, aut nunquam pio alicui doctóque Reformatæ Religionis professori excidissent; aut, si aliquando temerè ἔρκος ὀδόντων excêsserint, æternæ oblivioni damnatæ illico fuissent.

Hujúsce furfuris sunt incommodæ illæ ac incongruæ locutiones, quas Theologi Dordraceni non pauci, rejici corrigíque voluerunt: quod et tunc temporis factum fuisset, nisi quorundam existimationi fortè plus nimio fuisset indultum.

Quâ de re largiùs aliquanto scripsi ad collegam tuum clarissimum, D. Crocium. Literas ille meas tecum sine dubio communicabit. In eâdem vos navi estis uterque: ejusdem consilii sortes ut sitis, par est.

Interim, analysis hæc tua, ut in hâc resolvendi facultate præcellere te video, scopo loci illius optimè quadrare videtur; nec à quoquam meritò impugnari potest. Ut Scriptura tota, ita illa cum primis ad Romanos (quod Patrum doctissimus olim) plena est sensibus: vix dari potest ita certa loci alicujus resolutio, quin et alia satis commoda possit fortassis superadjici. Suis alii litent sententiis: ego tuam hanc loci contexturam et explicationem valde probo. Si quis contrà mussitet, dic illi meo, si vis, nomine, carpere multò faciliùs esse quàm emendare. Tu, verò, Vir Celeberrime, perge, quod facis, sanctis hisce piísque laboribus, de Ecclesiâ Dei benè promereri; et, quod tibi ac tuis ex animo gratulor, φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ἡσυχάζειν: precibúsque tuis adjuva

Devotissimum tibi, in Domino,

Fratrem ac Symmystam,

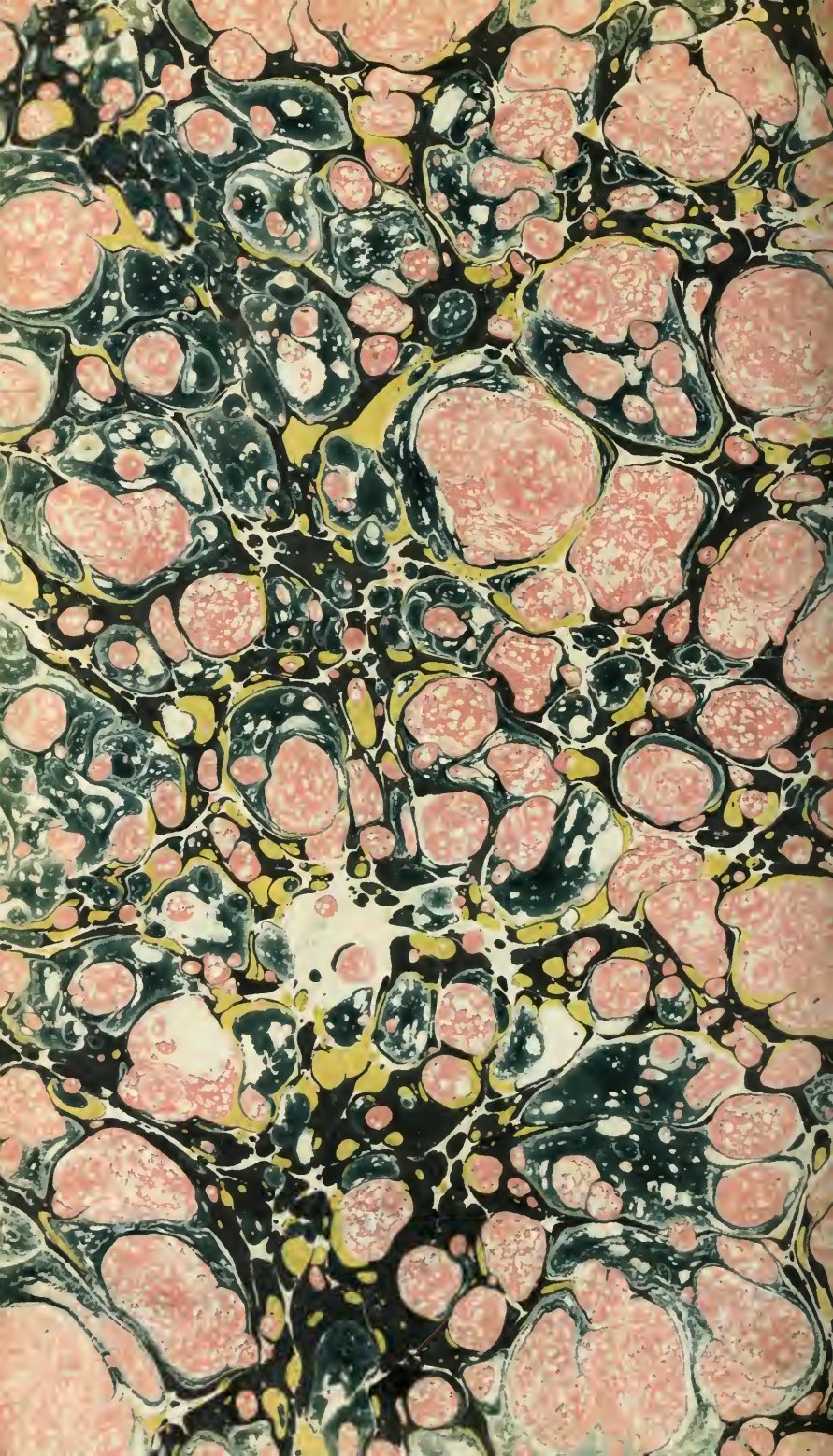
JOS. EXON.

Dat. in Pallat-nostro Exon.

END OF THE NINTH VOLUME.

C. Whittingham, *Printer*, Goswell Street, London.

UCSB LIBRARY
X-00133



US SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
D 000 222 557 1